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JOHN WYCLIF

A STUDY OF THE ENGLISH MEDIEVAL CHURCH

Johannes Wiclif S. T. P. Rector de Lutterworth.
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JOHN WYCLIF

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A STUDY OF THE ENGLISH MEDIEVAL CHURCH

BY

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[1] NOTE.—These illustrations are reproduced from a fifteenth-century manuscript of a contemporary chronicle, written in French by Jehan Creton, of the Fall of Richard II (British Museum, MS. Harley 1319). Creton was an eye-witness of the events he describes. There is a full account of the Chronicle and its miniatures by Sir Edward Maunde Thompson in *The Burlington Magazine* for May and June 1904.

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BOOK III
THE REFORMER

'DOCTOR EVANGELICUS'

Ideo si essent centum papae, et omnes fratres essent versi in cardinales, non deberent credi sententiae suae in materia fidei, nisi de quanto se fundaverint in scriptura.

WYCLIF, *Trialogus*, 266.

I

WYCLIF'S CONCEPTS OF CHURCH AND STATE

§ 1

In life as in history there are few sharp divisions. The Ancient World does not suddenly pass into the Medieval; or the Medieval into the Modern. A Gladstone does not change in a day from the rising hope of the Tories into the idol of the Liberals. And so with Wyclif. If for the sake of clearness we head these chapters 'Wyclif's life as a Reformer', as distinct from Wyclif the Schoolman or Politician, we must beware of discovering abrupt transitions. Nevertheless the parliament of Gloucester does mark for Wyclif the end of a period. The Court was beginning to find out whither he was leading them, while Wyclif with relentless logic worked out his abstract thoughts into every department of life. In the Middle Ages a scholar who thought out any idea to its conclusion was bound sooner or later to come up against the Church, either in defence or attack. The doctrine of Dominion founded on Grace demanded as a sequence a doctrine of the Church, and this led inevitably to a theory of the Sacraments. Even before the parliament of Gloucester Wyclif had devoted himself to working out his ideas on this and other cognate subjects. After Gloucester he abandoned politics, or possibly politics abandoned him. He discovered the rottenness of court life, its lechery and gross amusements.[1] With unusual rapidity he passed from an Oxford don into a rebel. In this present book it will be our business to trace this development and its consequences. The environment of Wyclif as a schoolman, without which his position could not be understood, was medieval Oxford; as a politician we have seen his dependence on John of Gaunt. Wyclif the Reformer was largely determined by the Great Schism, while nothing contributed more to destroy his influence than the Peasants' Revolt. Both these events, therefore, will demand our notice.

[1] See *Eng. Works*, 206–7.

As a reformer Wyclif is best known to-day by his supposed translation of the Bible. We are not surprised, therefore, that the earliest work of his theological period, written in the spring of 1378 before the incident of Haulay and Shakyl, should be his treatise *de Veritate Sacrae Scripturae*.[1] As the book contains no reference either to his *de Ecclesia* or his *de Officio Regis*, it is probable that they were not yet published. The two works on the authority of the Church and the authority of the Bible, in fact, seem to have been written about the same time; but the *de Veritate*, more loosely strung together, was completed before the more formal treatise, the *de Ecclesia*. From its references to Urban, which are at first respectful, it is evident that Wyclif put the treatise into shape for publication in the early months of Urban's pontificate. For a wonder Wyclif has actually dated one of the chapters in the first book as written on 'the eve of the Annunciation, 1378', i. e. on the 25th March, the New Year's Day of the then world, though, as is common in all matters affecting Wyclif, the date itself is ambiguous.[2] Another personal reference is to his citation before the archbishop and his refusal to appear. He professes to fear plots against his life, but is confident that he is set 'for the resurrection of many'.[3] As the work proceeds, the tone grows more violent, and there is evident doubt as to Urban's true position. But the absence of any reference to the Eucharistic controversy or to the outbreak of the Schism leads us to date the work as finished before the issue of Urban's bull proclaiming a crusade against Clement (29 Nov. 1378).

We are inclined to consider that for the most part the *de Veritate Scripturae* was based on lectures given during his period of reading for his doctorate in theology. This suppo-

[1] Ed. in 3 vols. by R. Buddenseig in 1905–7.

[2] *Ver. Script.* i. 258. Shirley, *Fasc. Ziz.*, p. xxxiv *n.*, interprets this as 24 March 1379. But 'the eve' was part of the day itself, and so I think Wyclif means 25 March 1378, though to-day we should call it 24 March 1378. In favour of this year, which Buddensieg, *Ver. Script.* i. p. xlix, adopts, I would point out that there is no reference to Urban VI at all in the first book, the references to 'Urban' (*ib.* i. 355, ii. 176, iii. 291) being to Urban V, who is not, however, so designated, which surely he would have been if Urban VI had been pope. To date in March 1379 throws the whole too late, nor can I agree with Shirley that there is any reference in *ib.* i. 407–8 to Urban's new creation of cardinals, for which see *infra*, ii. 57.

[3] *Ver. Script.* i. 373–4.

sition will best explain an absence of reference to the problems that in 1378 were occupying his thoughts, and will also account for the loose construction. The fact that there is not a single allusion to any prohibition of vernacular Scriptures or to the persecution of the Bible-men shows that the book was written before Wyclif had begun either to send out his Poor Preachers or to translate the Bible. With the main theme of the work we shall deal elsewhere. In the exaggerated judgement of Dr. Buddensieg " there is not a single book in the whole range of medieval literature which can be placed side by side with this apology ".[1] Certainly in none of his works does Wyclif come closer to the standpoint of the later reformers. For the most part it is a rambling but uncompromising defence of the absolute inspiration and authority of the Bible, though beginning with an attack on the errors of scholastic philosophy.

In the third book of his *de Veritate Scripturae*—manifestly of later date than the rest—Wyclif defends certain positions that in his last years he reiterated in every work. The right of the State over the property of the Church had been propounded by him in his *de Civili Dominio*. He reaffirms his conviction that only by disendowment, especially the withholding of tithes from bad priests, can the interests of the realm be adequately guarded, the spread of the Gospel be secured, the Church be purified, and the intentions of pious founders be fulfilled.[2] As a corollary Wyclif defended the right of laymen to pass judgement on priests, even as Christ and his Apostles submitted to the rulers of the Jews. Bishops who failed to punish offending priests must themselves be deprived.[3] He maintained that according to English law temporal lords had the right ' to withhold their alms ', and found confirmation of his views in the decree *Exiit*.[4] A growing consciousness of opposition is seen in his protest against the silencing of evangelical truth ; ' nowadays ', he complains, ' the man who defends the truth of Scripture suffers contumelies and persecutions '.[5]

[1] *Ver. Script.* i. p. xxiii.
[2] *Ib.* iii. 1 f., 55, 239, 264. Cf. *Civ. Dom.* i. 266, ii. 127, 136.
[3] *Ver. Script.* iii. 13 f., 24 f., 28.
[4] *ib.* iii. 237–8. For the bull *Exiit*, see *infra*, ii. 100.
[5] *Ver. Script.* iii. 99, 172.

In a passage which reminds the reader of Marsiglio, Wyclif maintains that the right to judge the heretic does not belong to erring man, nor to the Church Militant, but to God alone.[1]

§ 2

The publication of the papal bulls led Wyclif to put forth in detail his views on the nature and constitution of the Church. He determined to gather into a more formal treatise the various tracts, protestations, and pamphlets in which he had set forth his opinions upon this central theme. The result was the publication of his *de Ecclesia*.[2] Upon the writing of this treatise, or rather the collection under one cover of old and new matter,[3] Wyclif set to work immediately after his trial at Lambeth. He was engaged upon the task at the time of the death of Gregory XI [4] and finished it in the autumn of 1378 after the Schism had broken out.[5] Shortly before its publication he inserted into it two chapters that had formed the statement delivered by him in November 1378 before the parliament of Gloucester, in the case of Haulay and Shakyl. But the bulk of the treatise was written in the summer of 1378. An examination of the work is therefore of value, not only by reason of the importance of the subject itself, but because we have here a definite milestone whereby we may measure the progress Wyclif had made on the road of revolt at a time when he was still the trusted adviser of the Crown, the popular

[1] *Ver. Script.* iii. 297–9. [2] Ed. J. Loserth, 1886.

[3] The latter part of the treatise is an argument with an unnamed 'doctor' to whom Wyclif's tone on the whole is respectful, though in one place he speaks of his 'art of lying' (*Eccl.* 505). Chapter 20 has not much reference to the subject-matter. It is an exposition of *Prov.* xxxi. 10–31 largely copied from St. Augustine. In the ultimate recast of Wyclif's works the *de Ecclesia* formed the seventh volume of his *Summa*. See the Vienna catalogue, *Pol. Works*, i. pp. lxvi, lxxiii.

[4] In several passages it is clear that Gregory XI was still alive (*Eccles.* 366, 546). Chapter II was written about Easter 1378, for in it Wyclif speaks enthusiastically of the election of Urban VI (*l. c.* 37). On p. 358 he thanks God for 'killing' Gregory XI—'number XI' he says is 'infamis et sterilis'—and 'revealing the crimes of his accomplices through Urban VI'. But if Wyclif's caution to Wykeham (*ib.* 370) against appropriating churches, &c., refers to his foundation of New College, the work was not published until early in 1379, for the licence was only granted on the 30th June 1379 (*Cal. Pat.* i. 378–9).

[5] On page 290 the rival popes are called 'pseudo-monks'. On p. 309 Clement VII is 'antipapa, vicarius Luciferi'.

preacher in London pulpits, and the dominant force at Oxford. How rapidly, however, he was drifting away from his sympathy with the Court is seen in his protest against 'the sin of the realm in invading the kingdom of France'.[1] Nor is the *de Ecclesia* of less value because in it we see Wyclif's theories at their best, free from many of the extravagances of his later teaching.

Important as the *de Ecclesia* is in itself, it is even greater if account is taken of its influence in Bohemia. When in 1413 Hus brought out his own *de Ecclesia*, in reality a mere abridgement of this treatise made, unfortunately, from an inferior manuscript,[2] the historian, Dietrich of Niem, remarked at Constance that it (the abridgement) 'attacks the papal power and the plenitude of his authority as much as the Alcoran the Catholic faith'.[3] Niem did not know that Hus's abridgement, in spite of the stir it made in the world, contains hardly a line, local colouring apart, "which does not proceed from Wyclif".[4] Even Wyclif's mistakes are incorporated, and sometimes mere local English references with 'Bohemia' strangely inserted.[5] Yet it was chiefly for this "feeble imitation"[6] of Wyclif's original that Hus at Constance was condemned to the stake.[7] Again in his treatise on *Adversus Indulgencias Papales* written in 1412, the Czech reformer followed word for word the twenty-third chapter of Wyclif's *de Ecclesia*.[8]

In our attempt to understand Wyclif's doctrine of the Church we are confronted with the same difficulties as in the study of his political speculations. The whole presentation is

[1] *Eccl.* 427; *Civ. Dom.* iv. 412. Cf. *infra*, p. 28.

[2] Wyclif, *Eccles.*, Introd., p. xxvii.

[3] Gerson, *Opera*, ii. 901; Hardt, i. (5) 307. All the historians, Creighton, Neander, Loserth (*Wyclif. de Eccl.*, p. iii), &c., attribute this remark to cardinal D'Ailli. This is remarkable in the case of Creighton, for he rightly attributes, following Schwab, *Gerson*, 481 ff., Finke, *Forschungen v. Quellen zur Gesch. des Konstanzer Konzils* (Paderborn, 1889), 132 f., the *De Necessitate Reformationis*, where it is found, to Niem. The conclusion of this treatise, missing in Hardt, has been printed by Finke, *op. cit.*, 267–78. The last sentence is conclusive against the authorship of D'Ailli.

[4] Loserth, *Hus*, 156, 210. For the treatise, see *Mon. Hus.*, i. 196–255, analysed Neander, x. 433–44, and, with more accuracy, Loserth, *Hus*, 181–224.

[5] *Eccles.* 196, compared with *Mon. Hus.* i. 194; *Eccles.* 338 *n.*

[6] Loserth, *Wyclif de Eccles.*, p. iii. Hus often softens Wyclif's somewhat boisterous language (cf. Loserth, *Hus*, 244).

[7] See my *Age of Hus*, 318.

[8] Hus, *Mon.* i. 184–9; Loserth, *Hus*, 236 f.

abstract, but this perhaps was unavoidable. Probably it was Wyclif's misfortune rather than his fault that through the circumstances of the times he was forced to dwell on the destructive rather than the constructive side of his theories, thereby differing from Calvin and the presbyterians with whom, otherwise, he had so much in common. It is a greater defect that the Reformer revels in subtleties, riddles of the schools, the squaring of a circle (God) whose centre is everywhere and circumference nowhere,[1] and the like. Repetitions abound, and many pages have little bearing on his argument. Hence we best get at his meaning by presenting his views in their least elaborate forms. Above all we must remember the circumstances which led Wyclif to the writing of his treatise. He had been attacked and condemned by the hierarchy for heresy, and in the judgement of the people the hierarchy was the Church. This idea Wyclif sets out to combat :

'When men speak of holy church they understand thereby prelates and priests, monks and canons and friars and all men that have crowns (tonsures) though they live never so cursedly against God's law, and clepe (call) not nor hold secular men to be of holy church, though they live never so truely after God's law, and end in perfect charity.'[2]

Wyclif begins by accepting the ancient division of the Church, outside of which there can be no salvation or remission of sins, into three parts, 'symbolised, doctors say, by the three parts into which the host is broken in the eucharist', 'one triumphant in heaven', 'one militant here on earth', and the third 'asleep in purgatory'. These are the 'queens, concubines, and virgins' of Solomon[3]—that is, of Christ. The Church Militant he defines as the whole number of the elect —'universitas predestinatorum'—containing 'only men that shall be saved', and who cannot cease to be such even by mortal sin, for theirs is the grace of final perseverance.[4] This

[1] *Eccles.* 100, 101 ; *Serm.* ii. 126, 387. See *supra*, i. 100.

[2] *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 447 ; cf. *Op. Min.* 100.

[3] *Eccles.* 8, 11, 125. Cf. *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 102, 339 ; *Pol. Works*, ii. 653–4 ; *Trial.* 325 ; *Serm.* iv. 42, 429. The Church Militant he divides into clerics, secular lords or 'defenders', and toilers (*Pol. Works*, ii. 61, 705 ; *Off. Reg.* 58 f. ; *Op. Min.* 363 ; *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 130).

[4] *Eccles.* 74, 111, 140 ; *Blas.* 86 ; *Op. Min.* 99, 114 ; *Trial.* 152 ; *Eng. Works*, 198 ; *Serm.* iv. 148.

thought, which he inherited from Augustine through Bradwardine, runs through all his system. With Wyclif the basis of the Church is the Divine election. To be in the Church is not of necessity to be of the Church,[1] whose groundwork must be invisible, as opposed to the visible organized community, which thus of necessity becomes of secondary importance. Not the institution on earth but the eternal decrees become the centre of the whole, and these decrees exist in the timeless present with God with Whom is neither past nor future.[2]

So absolute is Wyclif's predestinarianism,[3] so complete his disbelief in the power of the institution to decide a man's relation to itself, that he adds that no man, not even a pope, much less a bishop, knows whether his sin is ever forgiven, or 'wots whether he be of the Church, or whether he be a limb of the fiend', any more than he knows the day of his death or the hour of judgement. We know not, he adds, how or when God imprints the priestly character. No man therefore 'should take prelacy or cure of souls but in great dread'.[4] Nor will he allow that 'the Church can ever be called the whole body of faithful travellers'. He refuses, therefore, to accept, as Aquinas had done, that 'Christ is the head of all men both of the faithful and the unfaithful'; this is restricted to the predestinate, whom Christ alone redeems. One of his objections to monastic institutions is the government by a 'fat abbot who may be in God's prescience a devil incarnate'.[5] Nevertheless he guards this rigid doctrine from some of its dangers by adding that

'as each man shall hope that he shall be safe in bliss, so he should suppose that he be a limb of holy Church,'

and even maintains, with complete abandonment of the logical basis of his creed, that

'each man that shall be damned shall be damned for his own guilt, and each man that is saved shall be saved by his own merit,'

[1] *Eccles.* 89; *Serm.* ii. 399, where the distinction is elaborated.

[2] *Eccles.* 70, 76.

[3] *Eccles.* 3, 5, 29, 130, 464; *Pot. Pap.* 111; *Op. Evang.* i. 105; *Civ. Dom.* iv. 515, 595; *Serm.* iv. 45; *Eng. Works*, 317; cf. *Lay Folks' Cat.* 18.

[4] *Serm.* ii. 361; iv. 97, 133; *Eccles.* 514–15; *Sel. Eng. Works*, i. 264; iii. 339.

[5] *Eccles.* 57–8, 92; *Serm.* iv. 43, 90; *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 381, 395; *Pol. Works*, ii. 532.

by doing 'some good that Christ hath ordained', or by his belief in God.[1]

Wyclif's doctrine of election and foreordination is involved in the usual difficulties. These are accentuated by his falling back for his defence on Bradwardine's doctrine of God's unchangeableness in love or hate,[2] and his rejection of the pleading of an unnamed opponent that God's mercy extends to the damned.[3] Such a position is only fit to be sent to 'the brewsters of Oxford'. He even maintains that 'damned men in hell do ever good to saints in heaven, for their bliss is more savoury for pains that they see in them'. Wyclif does not see that either man is not free, a mere automaton conditioned by the absolute will, or else that foreknowledge is simply the prevision of the self-determination of the creature. The first idea is repellant to all moral conceptions; the second makes the eternal determined by the temporal. To some extent Augustine had escaped the difficulty by his doctrine of the impotency of fallen man for moral good. The saved were saved by grace alone. But for all his dependence on Augustine, Wyclif never grasped his doctrine of grace. He rested all, as did Duns Scotus, upon the omnipotence of God and His all-conditioning will. This arbitrariness becomes worse inasmuch as he speaks of the damned as having in them the image of God which must be honoured.[4] Conscious of this, possibly, he attempted to overcome his difficulties by developing a doctrine of antichrist. The 'foreknown'—the name he gives to the damned—form one body united with the devil as head, just as the 'predestined' are one body united with Christ.[5] Antichrist became with Wyclif the source or symbol of all evil, and as such identified with the pope, though Wyclif is careful to point out that it does not follow that because one pope is antichrist all the popes are such. From the first Wyclif claimed that the endowment of the Church was antichrist's work,[6] and after

[1] *Sel. Eng. Works*, i. 42, 133, 166–7, 338, 350; ii. 101; iii. 72, 116, 339, 426; *Serm.* ii. 124; iii. 182; iv. 78; *Eng. Works*, 111. So also *Pol. Works*, i. 327–9 (a tract written in 1384 and not 1377 as Buddensieg, *ib.* i. 320, imagines. This is proved by the reference to the conspiracy against John of Gaunt, for which see *infra*, p. 303).

[2] *Eccles.* 138 from Bradwardine, *Causa Dei*, 79; *Op. Min.* 108.

[3] *Eccles.* 497–9; *Sel. Eng. Works*, ii. 46.

[4] *Off. Reg.* 24.

[5] *Eccles.* 102 f.; *Pol. Works*, i. 328; *Sel. Eng. Works*, ii. 48.

[6] *Pot. Pap.* 321, 328; *Pol. Works*, ii. 700.

his breach with the friars charged them with being the instrument and product of antichrist. Wyclif did not see that his conception of antichrist, pushed to its logical issue, ends in dualism, mithraism and the like.[1]

In the eighteenth century this predestinarianism, when stripped of its Puritan faith and expressed in the terms of frozen metaphysics, became known as deism. Deism proclaimed a world unrelated to God, in which miracle was impossible and prayer unavailing. The trend of predestinarianism to these logical issues is seen in Wyclif's decision that prayer ' standeth principally in good life ', and at all events must be general in nature, not special, ' since general prayer comes of more large charity '.[2] In the vehemence of his protest against ' prayers for the damned ', in spite of their monument in chancel or choir,[3] he overlooks, or, rather, brushes aside the argument that according to his own teaching none know who are the damned. The prayers of the Church are effectual, he claims, only for the elect. Trajan, for instance, to quote the familiar medieval story, was not saved by the prayers of St. Gregory, but by his predestination thereto.[4] But if so, prayers are valueless, except in so far as they are resignation to or thanksgiving for what must happen, a conclusion ignored by Wyclif—who maintains that we must trust that our prayers will be answered[5]—but emphasized by the logicians of the eighteenth century.

From this basis of the Church in Divine determination certain conclusions follow. As with Calvinism in a later age, Wyclif's doctrine finds no place, as an article of faith, for a pope as the head of the Church, for it is not certain even that he is a member of the Church. That the pope and his cardinals may be foreknown and so fall away from God is, he claims, ' the first article of our creed '.[6] The pope, it is true, may be the head

[1] This is seen in the title of his earliest work on Antichrist, *de Contrarietate duorum Dominorum*, in *Pol. Works*, ii. 695–714, which I date as about 1379 (cf. *ib.* ii. 696). *Pot. Pap.* 118 f. on Antichrist dates from the same period.

[2] *Serm.* iv. 33 ; *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 425. Cf. *Eng. Works*, 76. From a different point of view Meister Eckhart had said the same thing.

[3] *Eccles.* 523 f., 528–9 ; *Serm.* iv. 32.

[4] *Eccles.* 530–3. In *Serm.* iv. 33 he maintains that the story of Gregory's prayer for Trajan is legend.

[5] *Serm.* iv. 76 ; *Op. Min.* 385.

[6] *Eccles.* 29, 464 ; *Apos.* 200 ; *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 343 f.

of a 'local church', or even of the 'militant church', but only in so far as he lives in accordance with the commands of Christ, and is evidently predestinate of God, and not reprobate.[1] The pope's position is not determined by his institutional status, but by his conformity with the tests of the predestinate, so far as men can apply such tests. His whole influence depends upon how far he is well pleasing to God. The pope and his college are chief in dignity only so far as they follow Christ. And so Wyclif passes to the central position of his preaching, that which brings him into close touch with so much post-Reformation thought. At every command of the pope we must enquire whether his orders are in conformity with the Bible, 'and this is the reason why every catholic ought to know the sacred scriptures'. 'The life and teaching of Christ are the best glass', by looking into which we can discern the true believer and the heretic.[2]

Another conclusion of Wyclif, following logically from his main premise that the foreknowledge of God is eternal, is the position upon which he so frequently insists, that the Church existed of necessity before Christ's incarnation.[3] Incidentally he uses this argument to prove that the pope cannot be the head of the Church, for if so, before the Incarnation the Church would have had no head at all. To some extent this argument was a consequence of Wyclif's realism. As with Plato so with Wyclif, real ideas must have their origin in the eternal. Everything that is is eternal both in its causation and in its quidity. To deny this real, eternal existence to the Church were an inversion of philosophic and Catholic faith. From Wyclif's premises there also follows his deliverance from a doctrine of sin dependent on the Fall. He maintained that 'Christ won more wealth for man than Adam ever lost'.[4]

Another effect of Wyclif's emphasis upon predestination as the condition of salvation was equally sweeping. Salvation no longer depends on connexion with the visible Church, or upon the mediation of the priesthood. Wyclif's doctrine involves the universal priesthood of the predestinate, and his

[1] *Eccles.* 17, 19, 28, 31, 96. Cf. *infra*, p. 77.
[2] *Eccles.* 34, 38–9, 41, 88. Cf. *Eng. Works*, 463, and *Pot. Pap.*, *infra*, p. 75 f.
[3] See especially *Eccles.*, cc. 17 and 18, and pp. 123 f.; and cf. *Off. Reg.* 49.
[4] *Eccles.* 30, 106, 119; *Ver. Script.* iii. 206.

free, immediate access to God in Christ. When faced with the difficulty of the place and value of the sacraments in his system Wyclif goes off at a tangent and never comes to grips with the problem.[1] But in the last years of his life, when his break with the past was complete, Wyclif maintained that a bishop has no spiritual powers above a priest, for in the early Church priest and bishop were one, and asked why, if a layman can confer grace in baptism, there should be a limitation for confirmation.[2] He held that every predestinated man was a priest, and that 'every priest divinely ordained can confer all the sacraments of the Church as well as a pope'.[3] A lingering feeling of the difficulties that would follow led him to warn men that 'no one without a revelation should despise the consecration of his bishop'.[4]

But the main effect of Wyclif's teaching is his emphasis of character as the test of spiritual function. The priest must follow Christ more fully than the layman; the pastor will approve himself to his flock by his good works, and the unworthy should be deposed. The honour given to all prelates must be determined by their deeds.[5] Wyclif himself never worked this out to its end. He expressly states, in fact, that the foreknown even when in actual sin can administer the sacraments with profit, though to their own damnation, Christ supplying all the defects of the priest.[6] But in the hands of his disciples the extreme position became a cardinal tenet of faith. The value of every sacrament was made to depend on the spiritual attitude of the priest: 'That priest that lives better sings better mass'.[7] We may note that Wyclif's theory of spiritual values grounded in worthiness was logically one with his theory of dominion grounded in grace. But whereas in considering dominion the stern necessities of daily life prevented its

[1] *Eccles.* 77 f.; cf. the earlier *Civ. Dom.* iv. 593.

[2] *Trial.* 296, 438; *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 131; *Pol. Works*, i. 313, 315; *Pot. Pap.* 74 f., 199, 201, 246, 316; *Serm.* iii. 43.

[3] *Trial.* 280–1, a view directly contrary to his earlier *Euch.* 99; *Eccles.* 458; *Ver. Script.* ii. 178.

[4] *Pol. Works*, i. 259 (July 1383).

[5] *Ver. Script.* iii. 165; *Eccles.* 43, 55, 129.

[6] *Ib.* 448, 456–7; *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 227. In later life he doubted this, *Serm.* iii. 47.

[7] *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 425. This was the popular view; see *Handlyng Synne*, 10, 427 f.

application except as a theory, in the realm of the spiritual the application could be made thoroughgoing, if one were prepared to pay the price. The dominion of the unrighteous could not be overthrown. This was part of the ' civil domination and use ' which had been denied to St. Peter even though God had given him ' the evangelical dominion and usufruct of all the wealth of the world '. But worthiness as a test of spiritual values has to do with matters that lie in another plane in which certainty is restricted to a ' guess '. Nor will Wyclif allow that just as lay rulers are divinely appointed, whatever be their status in grace, so also are clerics. They may be so in the apparent Church, which however must be distinguished from the real Church.[1]

Of other consequences which followed from Wyclif's premises we may note the following. A desire to enforce their tithes is itself a proof of the unworthiness which would deprive the clergy of their claims.[2] By an ingenious piece of reasoning Wyclif connects his argument with the recent claim for privilege of sanctuary for Westminster Abbey. ' Privilege ', he maintains, is ' private law ', and the highest privilege granted by Christ is to be allowed to follow ' a naked Christ ' in His poverty, a primacy not in honour or goods but in labour. This poverty, as Wyclif constantly asserts, is nearer to the state of innocence, and also to the condition of the Church before it was driven into the schism of East and West, or ruined by Sylvester's acceptance of the donation of Constantine. What business have we to provide in advance for a thousand years ; let the dead bury their dead ; temporary alms are better than perpetual endowments.[3] A restoration of the Church to this primitive privilege of poverty in which the clergy should possess no more than would enable them to discharge their spiritual duties, with all appropriations and endowments at an end, would be worth more than ' Caesar's privilege ', namely ' the great privilege of bishop or abbot that they should have a right of gallows on which the condemned might be done to death '. It was not to gain these things that Christ suffered

[1] *Eccles.* 71–2, 365 ; *Eng. Works*, 422.

[2] *Eccles.* 47, 49, 53.

[3] *Ib.* 167–9, 176–7, 180, 187, 215 (' Christus exproprietarie pendebat nudus in cruce '), 274, 288, 307, 360, 362 ; *Sel. Eng. Works*, i. 40–1. In *Eccles.* 376 Wyclif urges that disendowment must apply also to colleges. See *infra*, p. 310.

on the Cross.[1] Such a restoration would be 'the medicine needful for extinguishing the poison of the devil' and would also deliver the Church from the unfit men who take up clerical office for the loaves and fishes; at the same time it would sweep away the distinction between seculars and regulars.[2] Wyclif instances three objects in special on which it would be lawful to spend church treasure: the defence of the realm—out of the possessions of the friars many more thousands of armed men could be maintained than would suffice; the redemption of captives; and the avoidance of excessive taxation. In a work written a few months later he added a fourth—the maintenance of good lay ministers.[3] Nevertheless, in spite of occasional outbursts, Wyclif in his *de Ecclesia* may be said to be on the side of the parochial clergy. This we see more clearly in his letter to a 'renowned friend' who had asked him to answer 'in brief and bright fashion' eight difficult questions on the use of tithes.[4] In a book written shortly after the *de Ecclesia* in his defence of the seculars he claims that it is the duty of the State 'to provide them with the necessaries of life'.[5]

By finding the test of the predestinate in their living in conformity with the teaching of God, Wyclif sweeps away much of the Catholic system as then practised. Absolution must depend wholly upon worthiness in God's sight; only in so far as this is attained will the absolution of priest or pope benefit at all. Apart from this even the pope has no right to grant absolution, for every sin has its assigned punishment which none can remit. The whole system of indulgences therefore rests upon the false basis of an inexhaustible store of supererogatory merit at the disposal of the pope.[6] Even God himself, Who alone can grant indulgences, cannot remit sin without satisfaction. Moreover if the pope possessed such power he should use it freely and so restore the golden age, or he would be guilty of the death of those whom he might have saved.[7]

[1] *Eccles.* 189, 305, 381. [2] *Serm.* ii. 269; iii. 21; *Eccles.* 203, 308.
[3] *Ib.* 376–7; *Serm.* iv. 10 (later); *Off. Reg.* 52.
[4] In *Op. Min.* 12–15. See especially Wyclif's answer on p. 14, and cf. *Eccles.* 374. [5] *Apos.* 91.
[6] *Pot. Pap.* 208; *Eccles.* 551. Indulgences form the main theme of c. 23.
[7] *Eccles.* 561, 571–2, 583, 585–6; *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 355.

Over indulgences there was little difference between Wyclif's attitude and that of the orthodox Dr. Gascoigne. 'Modern sinners', writes Gascoigne,

> 'say: I do not care what and how many sins I commit for I can easily get a plenary indulgence granted me by the pope, whose writing I grant I have bought for fourpence or sixpence or for a game of tennis.'

He adds that the price was now reduced to 'twopence, or a good drink of wine or beer, or the hire of a harlot'. Sometimes even they were granted 'as a personal favour'. The seller of such indulgences received a bishopric or other favour.[1] In Rome the whole matter had been systematized, and a bureau of penance established. In 1338 Benedict XIII published a tax table of the penitentiary setting forth in detail, not, as is so often stated, the fees to be paid for the various sins for which absolution was sought, but the fees to be paid for the letters of absolution; directing, however, that where the penitent is poor the said letter shall be written gratuitously.[2] But such tax lists did little to check the greed of the papal officials, but, as Gascoigne pointed out, made 'the Church of Rome into a harlot, for she sells herself to whomsoever seeks her'. There is ample proof that the money expiation for the sins themselves, fixed by the papal penitentiaries in accordance with the financial means of the penitent, did much to hinder the development of moral sense among the ignorant.[3] Nor is it any excuse that the indulgences were often used to obtain money for social objects, bridge-building, relief of debtors, redemption of captives, and the like.[4]

The cult of saints, apart from that of the Virgin Mary,[5]

[1] Gascoigne, 123–5.

[2] John XXII had taxed all letters 'in forma pauperum' at '8 gros tournois' each (*Eng. Hist. Rev.* viii. 430 *n.*).

[3] For the papal penitentiary and its taxes see *Eng. Hist. Rev.* viii. 424–38; H. C. Lea, *A Formulary of the Papal Penitentiary* (Philadelphia, 1892). For its oldest tax-roll, Denifle, *Archiv.* iv. 200 f. E. Göller, *Die Päpst. Pönitentarie* (Rome, 1907), has shown that from John XXII relaxation 'a pena et culpa' was absolution both from the sin and penalty.

[4] For illustrations the student may look up *Reg. Stafford*, 13, 21, 42, 65, 74, 88, 133, 239, 325, 338, 356; *Reg. Wykeham*, ii. 476, 495; *Reg. Brant.* i. 344, 433; A. Gibbons, *Ely Episcopal Registers* (1891), 400–1.

[5] He speaks in glowing terms of her help and assumption (*Serm.* iv. 388–92). She was probably sinless (*ib.* ii. 54–5). 'Worship we Jesus and Mary with

must also be done away, for 'some may be enrolled in the catalogue of saints who are most justly rejected of God'. Of the apostles and martyrs we may be certain, but not so 'of modern saints who are canonized for family reasons, for gain or reward', or for 'favour of parties'. Nor are such attested by the 'current miracles', for these may be the result of diabolical delusion. The curia in its canonizations 'is as ignorant of the real holiness of the canonized as Prester John or the sultan'.[1] There are also many saints holier than those canonized who could help us by their prayers. But the truest saints, e. g. St. Bernard, always hesitated to call themselves members of the Church. With the fall of the cult of the saints, the evils of relic worship and of shrines emblazoned with jewels and gold will also pass. Such 'wealth foolishly lavished on shrines might be distributed to the poor to the honour of the saints'.[2]

In his condemnation of relics and pilgrimages Wyclif in his *de Ecclesia* is restrained. He owned that in his early days the view that images are laymen's books had something to be said for it.[3] But in his later works, as in the writings of his followers, Wyclif was unsparing in his condemnation. It seemed 'a great blindness' to spend

'so much about a rotten stock, and suffer a poor man, very image of the Holy Trinity, made of God Himself, for to lie in much mischief,'

a position that characterized lollards throughout the fifteenth century.[4] Wyclif was conscious of the dangers to which their veneration gave rise, and he warned his readers against 'sensuous preparations which have nothing religious about them'.[5]

all our might' (*Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 113). But in *Op. Min.* 396 he alludes to the friars' vain disputes *re* the Immaculate Conception.

[1] *Eccles.* 44–5, 67, 465; *Pot. Pap.* 329, 337; *Serm.* ii. 1; *Trial.* 237; *Sel. Eng. Works*, i. 329. It is probable that Wyclif in his 'family reasons' refers to the attempts to canonize the worthless Thomas of Lancaster in 1327 (*Rot. Parl.* ii. 7; Froissart, i. 6; Raine, *North. Registers*, 340; Rymer, ii. 525, 536–7, 547).

[2] *Serm.* ii. 164–5; *Eng. Works*, 210, 279. The reader should consult the description by the Venetian ambassador in 1500 of the wealth of the shrine of St. Thomas, in *A Relation of the Island of England* (Camden Soc., 1847), pp. 30–1.

[3] *Serm.* ii. 125.

[4] *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 462–3 (not Wyclif's). For this opinion of later lollards see Foxe, iii. 265, 397, 594; iv. 133, 238; Purvey, *Rem.* 23, 25, 58, 66; and compare with Ruskin, *Lectures on Art*, 71–6.

[5] *de Mand.* f. 134.

Probably few men of intelligence believed all the tales which Caesarius of Heisterbach collected ;[1] yet even Dr. Gascoigne could credit the story that an image of the Virgin at S. Paolo *fuori* in Rome had raised her sword and struck off the head of a thief.[2] Pilgrimages he considered to be ' blind ', for ' Christ is in every place of the world ' ready to take away sin.[3] He also averred that they encouraged ' lechery ' through the promiscuous association of men and women.[4] They enabled a rich man to obtain a thousand years' pardon, but had nothing for the bedridden poor.[5] In his scorn for the ' pardoner with stolen bulls and false relics ' Wyclif but echoed the general sentiment of his age.[6] For Wyclif these ' naked, dead bulls with their frigid images of Peter and Paul ' are fit only for the fire. Pardoners ' sell a fat goose for little or nought, but the garlic costeth many shillings '. So a ' little dead lead costeth many thousand pound by year to our poor land '.[7] Curious to say, Wyclif urges no objection against the custom of making pilgrimages by deputy. Perhaps no instance of it had come under his notice.[8]

In his *de Ecclesia* Wyclif did not develop the full consequences of his doctrine in its relation to purgatory. But in later tracts he worked out a theory which, for the sake of completeness, we may here insert.[9] He held that without doubt the soul after its separation from the body must be cleansed from many desires, and cannot attain at once to full blessedness. He maintained also the medieval doctrine of the harrowing of hell to this

[1] Caesarius' *Dialogus Miraculorum* (ed. J. Strange, 2 vols., Cologne, 1851) gives the best insight into this side of medieval life. Cf. also Coulton, *Five Centuries of Religion*, i. 501 f.

[2] *Op. cit.* 206.

[3] *Eng. Works*, 7, 343. Wyclif's objection to pilgrimages began as early as *Civ. Dom.* iii. 164.

[4] Cf. *Piers Plow.* (B), Prol. 52–3.

> ' Eremites on a heap with hooked staves
> Wenten to Walsingham and their wenches after.'

[5] *Sel. Eng. Works*, i. 82–3.

[6] *Eng. Works*, 154. Cf. *Piers Plow.* (Prol.) 68 f. ; Chaucer, *Prol.* 670 f.

[7] *Op. Evang.* i. 382 ; *Eng. Works*, 82.

[8] See Appendix L.

[9] Wyclif's views on purgatory are found in *Pol. Works*, i. 146–50, and for the date, after 1380, *ib.* i. 111–12, 130 *n.* Wyclif's views are by no means consistent. In *Serm.* iv. 433 he holds that to shorten sufferings in purgatory was a meritorious work of charity, whereas in the much later *Serm.* iv. 28–33 he makes light of prayers for the dead. Cf. *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 256, 259–63, 355, 362 ; ii. 417 ; and for a lollard exposition not by Wyclif, *ib.* iii. 459.

extent that 'no man entered into bliss before Christ'.[1] Beyond this he was unwilling to go. He refused to search for the place, duration, or manner of purgation. But of one thing he was convinced: indulgences, trentals, masses, and the whole system of prayers for the dead were deceptions of the devil, invented by the father of lies to deceive believers. Incidentally one of his tracts on the matter is of interest for his scornful reference to the Purgatorium of St. Patrick. This cavern on an island in Lough Derg, in Donegal, was a famous place of pilgrimage where the greatly daring might hold a night's communion with the dead.[2] We may note that Wyclif did not shrink from insistence upon the eternity of punishment. He rejects with scorn the argument that the idea of an all-merciful God cannot be reconciled with eternal punishment for temporal sin, or that punishment must, as everything else, find an end. Like many later theologians he argues from the eternity of salvation to the permanence of damnation, and is emphatic that not a single word of Scripture justifies the theory of universal salvation.[3]

The reader will criticize Wyclif's conceptions of the Church and her functions according to his prepossessions, nor is it the duty of the historian to demonstrate their truth or falsity. But one or two general criticisms may be passed. We note the individualism of Wyclif's system. The organic whole finds little or no place; every man stands face to face with the Will of God; individualism permeates every act of his life. All his judgements and obligations are determined by this supreme

[1] *Ver. Script.* iii. 135.

[2] *Pol. Works*, i. 148. Cf. *Euch.* 185, 'In Hibernia ubi vident mortuos'. For Patrick's Hole see Wylie, *Henry IV*, ii. 166–8, who gives an account of a journey to it by a Hungarian noble called George Grissafary in 1353. For the visit in 1409 of an Englishman, William Stanton, see T. Wright, *St. Patrick's Purgatory* (1844), 140 f. Of this last work many Latin MSS. exist, and at least thirteen French MSS. exist (Wright, *op. cit.*, and Wells, 334, 815, 1014, who gives a complete bibliography). Three Middle English versions exist, two from the fourteenth century. The original Latin was probably the work of a monk, Henry of Sawtrey, in Huntingdon. It belongs to a cycle of which *The Vision of Tundale* is the best known (Wells, 335–7). Fifty-four Latin versions still exist and several English versions of late fourteenth or early fifteenth century. The most notable literary outcome of the story was Calderon's *El Purgatorio de S. Patricio.*

[3] *Ver. Script.* iii. 215–30. In 1373 Juliana of Norwich indulged this hope. See her *Revelations of Divine Love* (1902), 79.

fact. Calvin starting from the same premises rectified this individualism by his conception of the Church; with Wyclif there was no such antidote. The only check upon the individual judgement is the conformity of the same with Scripture. Popes and curia may err, but the Scriptures will unerringly guide us. But Wyclif neither raised nor answered the question who is to decide the interpretation of Scripture, a problem less borne in upon him inasmuch as he lived before the days of criticism, higher or lower. As a result of this individualism, with its negation of sacerdotalism, we may allow that no one, not even Luther, gave the laity such a place in his church system.[1]

§ 3

Shortly after the publication of his *de Ecclesia* Wyclif wrote a companion work, his *de Officio Regis*,[2] afterwards recast and enlarged as the eighth volume of his *Summa*.[3] His object was to set out the relations between the royal power and the sacerdotal, in other words, the problem of Church and State.[4]

Wyclif's starting-point lay in an argument advanced by his opponents that as 'civil dominion is a perfection' it must belong to the most perfect part of the Church.[5] Wyclif's basis of thought is the dignity of the king as derived immediately from God, and, therefore, independent of the Church. This dignity was recognized by Christ both in His words and in His deeds. 'He chose to be born where this lordship flourished most, in the empire of Rome', and did not refuse to pay tribute to the 'heathen emperor'.[6] His adoration by the Magi, as well as His 'burial by the Military Order' in the person of Joseph of Arimathea, prove His sanction of the power

[1] Buddensieg in *Pol. Works*, i. p. xv.

[2] Ed. A. W. Pollard and C. Sayle, 1887.

[3] Probably cc. 9–12 with their repetitions of argument were added at this recast. See *Off. Reg.*, p. xx. This is clear from the constant reference in these chapters to attacks made on his earlier chapters, e. g. 231, 239. That the work was written after Nov. 1378 is clear from the reference to Urban's bull of that date, *Off. Reg.* 120. The reference on p. 183 to the 'poor soldiers still unransomed in Spain' will fit in with a date early in 1379, as also the references to the violation of Westminster sanctuary (*ib.* 157, 169).

[4] *Off. Reg.* 1. For a short statement see *Serm.* ii. 413 f.

[5] *Eccles.* 319. Wyclif quotes from 'a certain Nicolas Putanensis', whom Loserth fails to identify.

[6] *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 435; *Eng. Works*, 86, 139.

of kings and knights, while His teaching and that of His Apostles and the doctors of the Church prove that the king must be pre-eminent in the State.[1] The king therefore is a vicar of God as the pope is the vicar of Christ.[2] As God's vicar he must exhibit divine justice in all his actions. In claiming for the king this dignity Wyclif insists that the king represents the divinity, the priest the humanity of Christ,[3] an idea derived from the statements of St. Augustine [4] and Ambrosiaster that 'the king has the image of God as the bishop has that of Christ'. This Wyclif explains as meaning that the king represents the glorified, ruling Christ, the priest the suffering, submissive Christ, or to put it in another form, the king represents the will, the priest the love of God.[5] The real glory of the priest, whose order is more perfect because it should be more humble and saintly, is greater than that of the king. This, in Wyclif's judgement, is the real meaning of the decretal of Innocent III on the matter, which Wyclif twists round [6] in a way that would have astonished Innocent. Nevertheless outward or 'sensible honour' is to be rendered more freely to kings than priests. In the same way, though the pope is spiritually greater, the king is greater temporally. Both powers are from God, but the kingly was the first in time—Adam, says St. Augustine, was the first king and Cain the first priest—nor does the priestly consecration of kings confer any superior authority.[7] Even bad kings, though not possessing real lordship, must be honoured as appointed by God, just as froward priests are honoured for the sake of their office, and as also we honour the image of God even in the damned. But if bad kings do wrong to the cause of God they must be resisted unto death, though Wyclif qualifies the argument by emphasizing that Christ and His martyrs glorified the Church by their patience.

[1] *Off. Reg.* 1, 2, 19. In *Serm.* ii, no. 1, Wyclif enlarges on this theme.

[2] *Off. Reg.* 13, 197. This is a slight advance on his position in *Eccles.* 325. It is clearly stated in the late *Serm.* ii. 300.

[3] *Off. Reg.* 13, 137; *Op. Min.* 148; cf. *Eng. Works*, 362–3 (not Wyclif's).

[4] Augustine, *Quaest. ex vet. Test.*, c. 35. Cf. *Ep.* 185. Wyclif refers to this passage frequently. Cf. *Off. Reg.* 10–12; *Serm.* i. 233, ii. 300.

[5] Cf. *Eng. Hist. Rev.* xix. 333.

[6] *Off. Reg.* 34 f., a fair specimen of scholastic ingenuity in proving black to be white.

[7] *Ib.* 139 f., 144.

In chapter II Wyclif distinguishes at some length between the honour due to office and that due to merit. He insists that no cleric should be honoured by reason of the connexion of his office with any lay dignity. To forbid clerical marriage while permitting clerical tenure of lay offices is to strain out the gnat and swallow the camel.[1] The seeking honour apart from merit is to liken ourselves to the fig-tree cursed by Christ. This vain pursuit of mere worldly honour is especially rife ' in scholastic camps ', though there is nothing worse than to be soldiers in bearing whilst priests in profession.

In chapter III Wyclif considers in detail the duties of a king. As a man his duty is to be wise, and to have round him good counsellors, well acquainted with the Divine Law. His domestic clergy must be more than mere ' table-companions '— some of Richard's bishops, especially in days after Wyclif's death, would recognize an accurate portrait. By their contempt of the world and their love of truth they must be a model for all. As king he must realize that good government lies in the enactment of a few just laws which should never be suspended save for cogent reasons, for justice is the brightest of the virtues. As God's vicar the king must govern according to the Divine Will, and support the clergy according to the Law of God, punishing severely all degenerate members. He must see to it also that the clergy live on their tithes and private alms and are deprived of the temporal lordship which they have unscripturally acquired. With the forfeited wealth good ministers ' might be hired suitable for lay service '.[2] To the argument that things consecrated cannot be taken back, Wyclif replies that it is no breach of vow to correct abuse.[3]

In his fourth chapter Wyclif considers the extent of the royal power and he insists upon the supremacy of the king's jurisdiction over the clergy. In his fifth chapter Wyclif deals with the king's subjection to law. Wyclif argues that this law is the Divine Law obligatory on all men, even on Christ. This Law leads the king to conform to his own law as an example of obedience and honour. He concludes the chapter with

[1] *Off. Reg.* 29 ; cf. *Eccles.* 365.
[2] *Off. Reg.* 52.
[3] *Ib.*, c. 3 and cf. *ib.* 206 f., and *Eccles.* 322.

a disquisition on the nature and limits of obedience, a virtue which he identifies with humility. He argues that the obedience of Christ to Pilate was more meritorious than that of the apostles ' to their abbot, Christ '. Christ thus showed that even tyrants are to be obeyed. But as regards spiritual things we must obey the veriest pauper, if he be the better man, rather than a worse pope or kaiser. One element in all true obedience is its freedom. Hence the obedience of seculars is of a higher order than that of regulars. But in all obedience the law of Christ is the deciding factor ; so only in so far as they are founded on scripture should papal bulls be obeyed.

In his sixth chapter Wyclif proceeds to a daring development of his theory. He maintains that since the sin of an individual weakens the kingdom the king may inquire into all sins. Episcopal jurisdiction, in fact, is derived from the king, and the king's power to correct the secular clergy, in the first instance acting through his clerical ministers, must be fully acknowledged, as indeed is shown by Urban VI calling in the secular arm to crush the antipope.[1] The higher the rank of the ecclesiastic, the more necessary the king's power of punishment.[2] The claim of ' Christ's pretended vicar ' to control the king is pure blasphemy, for the sole support of the papal authority is spiritual. He attacks the ' sanguinea argumenta ' —parliamentary language was never Wyclif's strong point— of John of Usk, abbot of Chertsey,[3] who would have removed the clergy from subjection to any secular prince, and yet have awarded them the right of ' Church and mill, pit and gallows ', and the other claims of lordship, including their wives as handmaids to their order. Perhaps Wyclif's strong language was provoked by the abbot's sneer that seculars were inferior to regulars both ' in sacred orders and scholastic acts '.[4]

Scattered throughout his argument there are many digressions. Sometimes these are of interest, as when Wyclif demands that an oath of loyalty should be exacted from all alien

[1] *Off. Reg.* 119 f. This fixes the date.
[2] *Ib.* 135, cf. *Serm.* ii. 21, 96 ; *Pot. Pap.* 377.
[3] Abbot from 25 Aug. 1370 to Sept. 1400 (*Pat. Ed.* xiv. 465 ; *Pat. Hen.* i. 366). In Ap. 1378 his tenants in Egham and Chobham refused to pay their customary services (*Pat. Ric.* i. 204).
[4] *Off. Reg.* 129 f. ; cf. *Eccles.* 189.

clergy in England, and thus the number of foreign 'traitors' be reduced. He also contends that if popes have deposed emperors, emperors have more often deposed popes, and maintains that 'England is not bound to obey the pope except in so far as obedience can be deduced from Scripture';[1] both themes were more fully developed a few months later in his *de Potestate Papae*. In another section Wyclif inveighs against the doctrine that monasticism is more perfect than the simple religion of Christ. Nor will he allow that priesthood is inherent in the clergy. As patronage originally was wholly in the hands of the laity, he blames John XXII for his papal reservations.[2] More important on their practical side are the three demands of Wyclif:

(1) that bishops, on whose choice the king should bestow infinite diligence, should be obliged on pain of the confiscation of their revenues, by yearly visitations to investigate the state of the clergy in their dioceses and to see that their number was more in harmony with the number of laymen. For this purpose use should be made of provincial church councils.[3]

(2) that the king through his bishops should enforce residence in all parishes of learned, zealous curates. Thus the country will be rid of foreign absentees whom the pope now imposes upon the Church in virtue of his blasphemous pretension to be lord in chief of all benefices, 'who can transfer them to horses, dogs, women, and even harlots'. Where the curates fail to do their duty the parishioners must withhold all pay.[4]

(3) for the extension, defence, and reform of the theological faculty.

As regards this last, Wyclif urges the strict interpretation of the decree of Honorius III ordering all 'religious' attending lectures on physics or law to return to their convents within two months under pain of excommunication.[5] He would also forbid all lectures on civil law, which the pope disallows in Paris but allows in England. And since the Law of Christ is easier, more sufficing and more wholesome, why is it necessary to keep the Canon Law? If it be said that the Roman Civil

[1] *Off. Reg.* 71, 97, 108, 128, 146; *Ver. Script.* iii. 20.
[2] *Off. Reg.* 112, 115 f., 147, 182–3.
[3] *Ib.* 152 f., 158, 244; cf. *Eccles.* 372.
[4] *Off. Reg.* 77, 163 f., 227, 231 f., 237, 245.
[5] *Chart. Par.* i. 90 f. on 16 Nov. 1219, really a repetition of a decretal of Alexander III at Tours on 19 May 1163 (Jaffé ii 168).

Law, ' Caesar's Law ', as he scornfully calls it, is distinguished for its logical subtlety and justice, the same holds good of our English law, especially our Common Law.[1] Herein again, as in much else, we see how representative Wyclif was of the new self-consciousness of England. With one of the rare references to his own experience he pleads that prelates who exact money from theologians for permission to study should be made to contribute to their support.[2] Ignoring how few were the university men in the ranks of the priesthood, Wyclif would also ordain that no one save a theologian should be appointed to any benefice. Theology, to whose neglect Wyclif attributes the Schism, has become a life study which is difficult for men of the world to understand ; without theologians heretics will multiply. So he approves the restrictions of founders of colleges whereby other studies than philosophy and theology are barred out. Wyclif's proposals would have made a clean sweep of the lawyers who packed the higher courts of the Church.

' Christ's fishers ', he claimed, ' should not meddle with man's law, for man's law containeth sharp stones and trees by which the net of God is broken and fish wend out to the world '.[3]

In his treatment of excommunication Wyclif in the *de Officio Regis* took a firm stand. Excommunication can hurt no one who has not been excommunicated by his own sin or by ' the Bishop of the Church triumphant '. Few things stirred the wrath of the lollards more than the use by the clergy of all ranks of excommunication to enforce dues or tithes. Illustrations of the custom abound ; two must suffice. In 1364 the parson of St. Mary Woolchurch excommunicated the wardens of London Bridge for letting on lease certain stalls or benches at the Stocks market, which formed part of what came to be known as the Bridge House Estate, and which the parson unlawfully claimed as belonging to his church.[4] At

[1] *Off. Reg.* 177, 179, 189–90, 193–4, 250 ; *Eng. Works*, 157. In *Off. Reg.* 237 Wyclif says that the one advantage of studying ' papal or Caesarean laws ' is thereby to prove the pope's ancient subordination to the emperor. For ' common law ' Purvey substitutes as the object of study ' the king's statutes and especially the Great Charter ' (*Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 326–7).

[2] *Off. Reg.* 180. See *supra*, i: 153.

[3] *Off. Reg.* 73, 77, 125, 179, 257 ; *Sel. Eng. Works*, i. 14 ; *Serm.* ii. 18.

[4] Sharpe, *Letter-Book* (G), 194 ; cf. 198.

Hereford the citizens were all excommunicated for distraining on the bishop's tenants for taxes.[1] So common was the use of this weapon for selfish purposes—'to curse a man for sixpence when he may unnethis (with difficulty) live by all his travail'[2] —that Chaucer points out that his model priest rarely resorted to it:

> A good man was there of religioun
> And was a poore Persoun of a toun,
> Full looth were hym to cursen for his tithes.[3]

Myrc on the contrary, in his *Instructions for Parish Priests*, gives full directions for pronouncing 'the great sentence twice or thrice in the year . . . with cross and candle and bell'.[4] Moreover at some date unknown, but before the reign of Henry III, a compromise had been reached between Church and State. As the law now stood, the prelates after excommunicating a man could send his name to the chancellor of England, who, if the accused remained obdurate for forty days, by the writ *significavit* consigned him to the king's prison, thus freeing the bishop from further trouble and expense. This privilege was as a rule restricted to the bishops, the abbot of Westminster, and the chancellor of Oxford.[5] Ten thousand of these writs are still preserved in the Public Record Office, few of which were ever copied into the episcopal registers. A few of the writs deal with heresy; the majority with questions of tithes and money.[6]

Against all this Wyclif raises his protest, singling out especially the extension of the triple summons to repentance demanded in St. Matthew's Gospel into a triple summons to pay. Such exhortations, the work of poisoners rather than of

[1] Capes, *Charters*, 63.

[2] *Eng. Works*, 36, 132 (for goods worth 4*d.* 'many thousand souls' are damned to hell), 146, 150, 277.

[3] *Prol.* 479–86.

[4] Myrc, *Instructions* (E.E.T.S., 1868), p. 21.

[5] On 28 Ap. 1391 Richard revoked all such rights granted to archdeacons (*Cal. Pat.* iv. 415). The right was granted to Cambridge on 8 Ap. 1383 at the instance of Rushoek (*supra*, i. 228). See Cooper, *Ann. Camb.* i. 126; *Cal Pat.* ii. 241. It was constantly granted to Oxford, e. g. for five years on 25 June 1379 (*Cal. Pat.* i. 369). See also Salter, *Snappe*, 22–39.

[6] For an account of these writs in 217 files, as yet little studied, see *Trans Hist. Soc.* (1914) 113–17. For their working see *Reg. Brant.* i. 437 (1380 against five Devon rectors), i. 446, i. 488 (in 1382).

physicians, ought not to be supported by imprisonment by the secular arm.[1] By such means, writes Purvey,

> ' cruel tormentors slay a soul bought with Christ's precious blood, that is better than all riches of this world, for six pence, . . . and damn to hell for a little rotten dritt (dirt) ',

conduct worthy only of ' blind moles ever rooting in the earth about earthly muck '.[2] Purvey but echoed the protests of Wyclif against the curates who ' cry after tithes ' and ' curse ' the defaulters

> ' seven foot above the earth, and seven foot within the earth, and seven foot on each side ; and afterward draw men to prison, as (though) they were kings and emperors of men's bodies and cattle '.

Such ' cursing for the muck of this world ' is because of covetousness, not because of the ' sin of the people and trespass against God '. Wyclif grimly tells the story of a layman who told the excommunicating priest that his medicine was so bad that in future he might keep it for himself. All excommunications should be based on love, and should carry the right of appeal to the Crown. The decision should only be made in a joint session of parliament and synod—a daring extension of the then rights of the Commons—and should then bear appropriate punishment, a position not far removed from that of Marsiglio.[3] But it should be noted that Wyclif considers the removal of heretics as one of the duties of the State, acting on the advice of skilled theologians deciding according to God's Law.[4] He failed to see the illogical basis on which stood his demand for the exemption from persecution of his own followers. Persecutors in all ages have claimed to act on " God's Law ".

Wyclif also deals incidentally with other matters that figured largely in lollard doctrine. He maintained the lawfulness of oaths, contrary to the opinion of his later disciples.[5] No doubt he would have agreed with Purvey's protest against the common swearing ' by God's heart, bones, nails, sides and

[1] *Off. Reg.* 169–76, 230 ; *Blas.* 108.
[2] *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 309–10, 312, 315.
[3] *Off. Reg.* 176, 228 ; *Eng. Works*, 146 ; cf. 74, 157, 453 ; *Pot. Pap.* 358 ; *Serm.* iii. 159 ; *Blas*, 102, 109–10.
[4] *Off. Reg.* 72 ; *Eccles.* 341.
[5] *Off. Reg.* 218 f. For his condemnation of idle swearing see *Serm.* iv. 415 417. But in his last work he finds it difficult to follow Augustine in his allowance of oaths (*Op. Evang.* i. 180 f.).

other members'. Our host of the Tabard, as all remember, when reproved by the Parson at once retorted 'I smell a loller in the wind'.[1] Wyclif did not agree that all war is wrong, though quite prepared to own that the maxim that force must be repelled by force is an argument of Antichrist. To deduce otherwise were 'Mahommedan logic', though alas 'the most powerful horses in Christ's chariot' are jibbing and turning from the path of Christ to serve Pharaoh. Nevertheless Wyclif maintained that wars waged for 'God's justice', 'in the cause of the Church or for the honour of Christ', are right and no other, a position which would have justified some of the worst crusades ever preached, for example the wars against the Stedingers of Holland or the Albigensians. But Wyclif met this by claiming that all 'wars of priests' are essentially wrong. Even in the event of invasion we must not forget to love our enemy's soul more than our own body. His declaration that, in general, conquest is wrong, that the employment of mercenaries ignorant of the justice of the cause for which they fight is altogether evil, and that only under exceptional circumstances may a king desire to rule two nations, as well as his plea that we have no right to invade foreign nations save for their own good—Wyclif here asks the pertinent question why the invaders do not begin by redressing wrongs at home—must have been distasteful to a court that claimed, at the cost of one hundred years of war, to exercise dominion in both France and England. Remove, said Wyclif, cupidity and ambition and wars would end. This is not far removed from the modern cry that wars are the result of capitalism.[2]

Wyclif sums up the general drift of his treatise in three principles: (1) that the clergy and especially the pope must be more humble and more ready to serve; (2) that they must be more removed from secular affairs and fall back upon apostolic example; (3) and that for this purpose the Church must be relieved of its excessive endowments, and so be restored to its primitive condition.[3] But in reality the treatise went far

[1] *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 332; cf. *Eng. Works*, 206; Chaucer, B. 1173.

[2] *Off. Reg.* 248–9, 261–2, 263, 271–2, 277, 279; *Civ. Dom.* ii, cc. 17–18; *Serm.* iv. 354.

[3] *Off. Reg.* 182, 210–11, 275–6, 280–1.

beyond these general principles. Its exaltation of kingship seems to-day strangely unreal. Its whole tendency is to assert that the king is both supreme in the State and is also the supreme head of the Church, for whose defence he must give an account to God :

> ' One thing I dare boldly assert, that the pope cannot be greater than the kaiser either in that which pertains to the world or that which pertains to God.' [1]

What more could Thomas Cromwell or Henry VIII have desired than Wyclif's invitation to inquire into all Church property, how it was got and how used, or his statement that it would be lawful to pull down a church in order to build a tower, or to melt chalices and the ' waste treasure hanged on stocks and stones ' to pay for soldiers. How they would have thanked Wyclif for his pleading that the kings of England must redress the sins of their fathers in their foolish endowment of the clergy. And these plunderers would have taken for what they deemed it worth Wyclif's caveat that it was not gold, silver, or marble which mattered, but the worship of God. How they would have rejoiced to know that they could plead Wyclif's condemnation of the gilds because of their masses for the dead ; the very reason put forth by the spoilers for sweeping gild revenues into their pockets.[2]

The whole argument of the Reformer tends towards the proclamation of the Divine Right of Kings, especially as against priest and pope. ' There is no king, except from God ' might mean for Wyclif the necessity of character—' that all the king's works should be copied from the justice of God ' ;—for Richard II, it would be an invitation to autocracy. If indeed Richard II read this treatise he forgot Wyclif's safeguards, that ' the king is more bound to his subjects than they to him ', but remembered his main thesis.[3] On the other hand, in spite of his assertions about obedience due to tyrants, Wyclif had little sympathy with the doctrine of non-resistance so sedulously preached by the divines of the seventeenth century. By a scholastic paradox, which he

[1] *Off. Reg.* 84, 143.
[2] *Eccles.* 376–7, 384, 547 ; *Off. Reg.* 185, 213 ; *Eng. Works*, 279.
[3] *Off. Reg.* 10, 78–9.

justified from the writings of Grosseteste, he maintained that sometimes the truest obedience lies in resistance.[1] Wyclif was trying the impossible: to think out a theory of Church and State which would leave the king supreme and yet guard the rights of the people. As our later history showed, it became necessary to check the royal prerogative by stern measures, as well as by the substitution of the supremacy of his ministers for that of the king. If Wyclif could have seen all this he would have had more than mortal prevision. But in his claim that no institution, however good in its day, can establish an immunity from due correction or even revocation,[2] we may recognize and honour the demand for constant progress. Wyclif also stands almost alone among the thinkers of his day in his emphasis that the unity of the realm will not allow any place for the pope's liegemen, as he calls the Mendicants, or for the special privileges of the clergy in questions of law.[3] In this at least he was a prophet of the future.

§ 4

From his examination of the relation of Church and State Wyclif passed to the consideration of the meaning of the sacraments. Doubt on this matter came somewhat late in life. Not until the summer of 1379 [4] did Wyclif make his first attack at Oxford on the current theology of the Eucharist. Of the real presence of Christ in the Sacrament of the Altar Wyclif never had any doubt, even in the extreme statements of his old age. His objection was to the nominalist interpretation which held that the bread had been annihilated, thus leaving 'accidents without subject', a doctrine of illusion that seemed the 'abomination of desolation' to so thorough-going a realist. For above all else Wyclif was a metaphysician. He approached the Eucharist from the standpoint not of abuses, but of a metaphysical system.[5] The discovery of the abuses came later.

[1] *Off. Reg.* 82. Cf. 201, where he maintains that the support of a tyrant may take the form of killing him! In this sense 'God must obey the devil' (*infra*, p. 268).

[2] *Off. Reg.* 99 f., 160; cf. *Eng. Works*, 279; *Civ. Dom.* i. 200.

[3] *Off. Reg.* 199 f.

[4] On this date see Appendix M.

[5] For this see *supra*, i. 136 f.

The dogma of transubstantiation plays so great a part in the story of the medieval Church that it is necessary that the student should understand exactly what it means. The history of the dogma does not here concern us, but the precise question at issue is all-important for the comprehension of Wyclif and of the conflicts in which he was involved. According to this theory, the bread and the wine, at the touch of that more glorious Substance which takes possession of them, pass out of existence and are lost, leaving behind nothing but appearances which serve to indicate the presence of something else instead. There is thus a twofold movement—the cessation of the bread, and the creation of the Body. But as regards the cessation of the bread the movement was not complete, for it was acknowledged that it did not extend to the accidents. Now this explanation, though at first it satisfied the medieval Church, was soon discovered to be itself a mystery requiring explanation ; for how can appearances exist without anything that appears—how can the *noumenon* alone be changed while all the phenomena or accidents remain, e.g. the '*panitas*' and '*vinitas*', to use the jargon of the schools.[1] If some miscreant should burn the consecrated host, or eat it with an oyster, what exactly is he burning or eating ? Is it the body of Christ, or is he merely burning a phantasm, subjectless accidents ? [2] The subtle intellect of St. Thomas, following out lines of thought indicated in Aristotle, answered the question by his conception of 'quantity'—or, as we should now term it, *subsistence* as distinct from *substance*—" which remains in the Eucharist as the subject of form, colour, movement, taste, and all other phenomena observed in the visible and tangible host. The reader will of course ask : Can 'quantity' exist without anything that has quantity ? but the very question indicates that he has not sufficiently understood the hypothesis. Quantity is not a mere abstraction, not a mere mode of being ; it is quite different from extension, for it is that which makes extension, and may be defined as a force that extends material substance, *vis extensiva materie*. Thus, after the words of

[1] *Euch.* 59 ; *Apos.* 134.

[2] Wyclif raises this favourite medieval question in *ib.* 176. Witmund (*infra*, p. 37) maintained, as Wyclif notes, that the body of Christ was taken away by angels, and that the burning was illusion (Migne, cxlviii. 1448–9).

consecration, the substance of bread is no longer there, but quantity takes its place and upholds the other accidents naturally, being itself upheld by God's supernatural power; and therefore, whatever the bread could do, even to feeding the body, is now performed by the quantity that remains ".[1] When asked what becomes of the bread after consecration, St. Thomas is in a difficulty; he admits that the bread is no longer present, but denies that it is annihilated, since it is changed into Christ's body.

The theory of Aquinas is hard to understand and was subjected by Wyclif to considerable criticism;[2] it is not an article *de fide*. There are, in fact, three other explanations of the dogma, all of which are allowed, and between which a cautious infallibility takes care not to decide.[3] With one only of these would Wyclif be familiar, the theory of Duns Scotus. Duns takes refuge in his treatment of transubstantiation—as he had done in his doctrine of the Trinity, of creation, and in his defence of the Immaculate Conception—in the omnipotence of God's will. The doctrines which his criticism and scepticism destroyed must be accepted without proof or reason on the

[1] Dziewicki, *Apos.*, Introd., p. xv; cf. Wyclif, *Serm.* ii. 461. Wyclif tells us that the favourite idea in the province of Canterbury was that what remained was weight; in the diocese of Lincoln (including Oxford) 'quantity'; in 'mountainous' Wales and Ireland, 'where men see the dead' (*supra*, ii. 19 *n.*) quality, especially whiteness (*Euch.* 196–7), which 'more than any other colour excites vision' (*Euch.* 184–6; *Apos.* 165 f.).

[2] In *Euch.* 139 Wyclif professes to believe that Aquinas' writings were falsified after his death in the interest of friar-inquisitors.

[3] The three other theories are:

(*a*) The theory of absolute accidents; the theory of Scotus. This does not differ essentially from that of Aegidius Romanus in his *Theoremata de Corpore Christi* (Venice, 1502–3), props. 38–9; nor from that of Ockham in his *Quodlibeta* (Paris, 1487), iv. 18–30, and in his two small treatises (both in Balliol), *de Sacramento Altaris* and *de Corpore Christi* (Strassburg, 1451; Paris, 1490 in British Museum). In the first Ockham deals with the distinctions of point, line, surface, &c. (cf. Wyclif, *Logica*, iii); in the second Ockham lays down that the substance does not remain after consecration (p. 123) and sums up decisively in the last chapter against 'quantity', inasmuch as 'substance is really and truly quantity itself' (p. 122), and quantity is in nowise distinct from the qualities (c. 23, p. 126). God, in fact, can make substances without any attribute, and effects without cause (p. 124).

(*b*) The theory of Descartes. Descartes will have nothing to do with the Scholastic theory of quantity. He supposes that when the bread-substance is taken away (whether by annihilation or otherwise) the *surface* is conserved (with all the movements that would have been imparted to it had the bread remained) through the supernatural presence of Christ below the surface.

(*c*) The theory of purely subjective accidents.

authority of the Church, or on the basis of a Will that is not even determined by Wisdom. Duns held, therefore, that though the substance of the elements is annihilated, the accidents of the bread and wine yet remain, maintained and multiplied as verities without substance by the unconditioned will of God. The Eucharist is thus the constant repetition of a stupendous miracle. With these conclusions Ockham was in practical agreement.

The Scotist theory of transubstantiation is of special interest because of its intimate connexion with the revolt of Wyclif. Wyclif's attack upon transubstantiation was at first a pure matter of the schools, in reality an attack upon the Scotist interpretation then prevalent at Oxford, and upon the nominalists, who had set aside the cautious Thomist doctrine and substituted their arbitrary annihilations and re-creations. To Wyclif the realist these seemed phantoms and unrealities; annihilation in any form is unthinkable, for nothing is thinkable or possible except that which is.[1] In his early days, though still a realist,[2] Wyclif accepted without inquiry the annihilation of the bread,[3] but soon after he began the study of theology he abandoned a position that contradicted his philosophic tenets.[4] In one of his later sermons he tells us:

'For many years I sought to learn of the friars what the real essence of the consecrated host might be. They at length had the boldness to maintain that the host was nothing',

or, as he puts it elsewhere, 'a bundle of accidents in which Christ is'.[5] For Wyclif this was an impossible position, nor was he prepared to look upon 'cessation' as anything other than annihilation.

The student must remember that Wyclif did not come upon the problem of transubstantiation and then seek its philosophic explanation. On the contrary he was forced by his opponents to apply to the Eucharist his fully developed theory of realism.

[1] *Ente*, p. xix; *Logica*, ii. 86–9.

[2] See Appendix D, i. 333. As an artist he had not yet thought about it.

[3] *Ente* 314, Wyclif agrees with Fitzralph: 'God can annihilate if he chooses'. Cf. also *Misc. Phil.* ii. 78; *Ente Praed.* 232, and his confession, *Op. Min.* 307. In *Ente* 289 he says the bread is no more, yet is not annihilated, for the accidents remain; practically the Thomist position.

[4] See *supra*, i. 139, in his *Ben. Incarn.*

[5] *Serm.* ii. 454, 460; iii. 279; *Euch.* 54.

At first he seems to have been scarcely aware of the difficulties in which his theory landed him, or that there was a problem at all. For we read in a contemporary account of the changes through which Wyclif passed before 1379, written by his opponent Woodford :

' While the said Master John was a sententiary at Oxford, and even a responding bachelor,[1] he held publicly and in the schools that though the sacramental accidents were in a subject, yet that the bread ceased to exist at consecration.[2] And being much questioned as to what was the subject of those accidents, for a considerable time he replied that it was a mathematical body.[3] Afterwards, when this position had been much argued against, he answered that he did not know what the subject of the accidents was, yet he asserted clearly that they had a subject. Now in these articles and this confession he lays down expressly that the bread remains after consecration and is the subject of the accidents.' [4]

From this we gather that Wyclif did not see all the implications of his theory of real universals [5] until two years after he had taken his bachelor's degree in divinity. And when his eyes were opened he took refuge in a doctrine not very different from the Thomist conception of quantity, or as he preferred to call it ' a mathematical body, which is nothing else but the mathematical points of which the bread consists.' ' Quantity,' he said in one of his early works, ' is substantial form ', ' the basis of every accident ' and quality.[6] At a later date he criticized freely Aquinas' conception of ' quantity ',[7] and dropped his own variant of a ' mathematical body '. Finally Wyclif himself tells us how after the Oxford condemnation God moved him to maintain that

' the genus *substance* is wherever any individual of the genus is. But in the Eucharist there is an individual of the genus *substance*, for, as you yourselves affirm, Christ's body is there bodily. Therefore

[1] i.e. a B.D. of two years' standing.

[2] See *supra*, i. 97 *n*. But that Wyclif held this as a ' sententiary ' is doubtful. See *supra*, i: 139.

[3] I take this to be the same as Aquinas' ' quantity '. See *Logica*, iii, pp. viii, 137 ; *Euch.* 142.

[4] Quoted in *Ziz.*, p. xv, *n*. 4.

[5] In *Misc. Phil.* i. 189 he owns of transubstantiation that it is ' mihi adhuc inscrutabilis '.

[6] *Comp. Hom.* 52 ; *Ente Praed.* 48 f.

[7] *Apos.*, cc. 11 and 12 which supplement his earlier *Ente Praed.* c. 6. Dziewicki, *Sim.*, p. xxv, maintains that his understanding of Aquinas was not deep.

Christ's body remains in the host, and as it is a substance (because it is the essence of every material substance) it is thus bread. It follows that the substance of material bread remains in the consecrated bread '.[1]

To this position that there can be no accidents or aggregate of accidents without subject Wyclif in his later years was henceforth consistent.[2] That he had moved away from his earlier position Wyclif more than once confesses. Even as late as the writing of the *de Dominio Civili* he had held the traditional view: ' The priest by the words of consecration makes the body of Christ to be present under the accidents '. But as he frankly tells us:

' though I once took the utmost pains to explain transubstantiation in agreement with the sense of the early church, I now see that the modern church contradicts the church of former times, and errs in this doctrine.' [3]

Wyclif was too serious to rest content with dialectic refinements, nor is it possible out of his writings to deduce a consistent system. Wyclif, in fact, like all men in earnest, became less anxious for his theory as he became more insistent upon spiritual facts. Even in his earliest treatises on the subject we find him again and again breaking away from his scholastic arguments to emphasize that the Eucharist can only profit in so far as it helps to the spiritual acceptance of Christ. He warns his readers against mistaking the sign for the thing signified, and maintains that the ' whole fitness to receive the host lies in sincere and grateful love of Christ and God '. He would in fact subordinate everything to moral values, and for definition fall back upon the unexplained phrases of Scripture and the language of the Fathers ' in the first 1,000 years of the Church, when Satan was bound ',[4] before the dogma of Innocent III had introduced ' heresy ' into the Church, and led ' the sects of yesterday ' to prevail over the ' pious uses ' of Catholic antiquity.[5] Of the reality of the transubstantiation—he uses

[1] *Blas.* 247–8.
[2] From *Pot. Pap.* 105 in 1379 onwards.
[3] *Euch.* 52, 199; *Civ. Dom.* i. 260.
[4] *Eccles.* 458–9; *Euch.* 169, 177, 286; *Apos.* 49, 50, 55, 110, 113.
[5] *Ib.* 108. In *ib.* 130 he divides the history of the doctrine into three periods: (1) The first 1,000 years; (2) Berengar to Innocent III; (3) Modern doctors of the last 200 years (cf. *ib.* 148, 178; *Euch.* 287). In *Apos.* 174 he asks what are 100 years compared to the ages before the birth of this theory.

the word, though protesting that it is an invention of the modern church—he has no doubt; of its method he is only sure of one thing, that it involves no destruction of substance.[1] "The truth is", says Mr. Matthew, "that Wyclif would like to avoid saying how Christ's body is present. Christ's institution makes it clear that He is in the Sacrament otherwise than by that universal immanence by which He is in all things. If his opponents would let him, he would be content to say that Christ was present *sacramentally*, as he does say sometimes. *In signo* (but not *ut in signo*),[2] in his writings, means that though His presence is figurative, it is not simply a figure, but has a special efficacy and reality of its own. What that is precisely he cannot tell and loses himself in trying to express it. He is sure that current explanations are carnal and wrong, but does not know how to replace them. . . . He would have liked Queen Elizabeth's quatrain:

> Christ was the Word that spake it,
> He took the bread and brake it;
> And what the Word doth make it,
> That I believe and take it." [3]

Above all in his arguments he sought to ground everything in the simple words of Scripture and to sweep away the accretions of centuries. No sentence of doctor, pope or council in interpretation of the Eucharist seemed to him of value which did not rest on this basis.

'John Wyclif', he tells us, 'is certain by faith that the bread is in reality the body of Christ', and that every separate wafer held the 'whole humanity of Christ'.[4] But his nominalist opponents would not allow him to rest there. They insisted on his explaining what his doctrine meant. He replied that a sinner changed to a saint remains a man still, that a new pope does not thereby cease to be man, and that ice is water still. One of his opponents attempted a genealogy of testimonies against him stretching back through the centuries, but, as Wyclif complains, leaving out Christ himself. Wyclif patiently examined the twenty-three authorities produced, and protested

[1] *Euch.* 47, 219; *Apos.* 170; *Ziz.* 105(4).
[2] Wyclif distinguishes between these two expressions in *Apos.* 223.
[3] *Ib.*, p. xxxvi. Cf. *Serm.* ii. 459 where Wyclif practically says this.
[4] *Euch.* 46, 82, 116, 347.

that his position was that maintained 'in the blessed decretal of Nicholas II, *Ego Berengarius*'.[1] He produced a long list of schoolmen with whom he agreed, including the English divines, Thomas Docking,[2] Ockham, and Fishacre [3] of Devonshire, ending up with 'Henry of Gawnt',[4] and Fitzralph.[5]

In the course of his argument Wyclif was driven from position to position, until finally he put forth a theory permeated with Platonic realism,[6] practically identical with that taken at a later date by Luther. In other words, Wyclif fell back upon a belief in Consubstantiation. 'That Christ lies hidden in the elements',[7] that we can 'see' Him there 'by faith' and receive Him in the host as the sun's fire is received through a sphere of crystal, that Christ is in every part of the host, as when you break a glass in every part 'thou mayst see thy face, and thy face not parted',[8] or 'as a man may light many candles at one candle and the light of that candle never the more nor never the less'[9]—he regarded as beyond question. But this presence of Christ is not formal, nor does this miracle of faith depend on the words of a priest, for otherwise the double consecration of bread and wine would mean that Christ is made twice, since 'under the host is the full manhood of

[1] *Apos.* 68, 193; *Euch.* 117. Wyclif looked on the denial of the real presence as a renewal of the heresy of Berengarius (*Apos.* 79). Dziewicki, *l.c.*, p. xxxv, is of opinion that Wyclif and Berengar held substantially the same opinions. Berengar was however a nominalist, whose language therefore differs from that of the realist, Wyclif. But it is difficult to know exactly what Berengar believed. See *Enc. Rel. Ethics*, ii. 524. If Witmund of Aversa's view of Berengar be correct, Berengar's views and Wyclif's were practically identical. But Wyclif often cites Witmund or 'Wymundus' and his treatise *de Corporis et Sanguinis Domini Veritate* (Migne, t. 149) to show his own orthodoxy by his agreement with Berengar's adversary (*Apos.* 126).

[2] For Docking (†*c.* 1270), who was seventh divinity lecturer at Oxford (*Mon. Franc.* i. 550, 552), see Little, 151–2; *D. N. B.*; James, *MSS. Caius*, i. 324. It is difficult to say why Wyclif picked him out, as Docking wrote chiefly biblical commentaries. Balliol, it is true, contains several MSS. of his works, but they are of the fifteenth century. Possibly the reason was that he is referred to by Ockham (Goldast, 957, 'Bokking').

[3] For the Dominican Fishacre (†1248) see *D. N. B.* and Tanner, 282.

[4] *Apos.* 75; cf. *ib.*, cc. 15 and 16. Henry Goethals of Ghent, 'doctor solemnis', a fellow pupil of Aquinas, was born 1217, died 1293. For his life see Ehrle, *Archiv.* i. 366 ff. Wyclif often refers to him, e. g. *Ver. Script.* iii. 142. Cf. *supra*, i. 105.

[5] *Euch.* 292.

[6] This is strongly seen in *Apos.* 110.

[7] *Euch.* 15, 29, 'insensibiliter absconsus est'. Cf. *Wycket*, 12. In *Serm.* iv. 344 he says the Eucharist may be called 'the tomb of Christ'.

[8] *Serm.* ii. 458, iv. 351–2; *Euch.* 206; *Apos.* 109.

[9] *Wycket*, 13.

Christ'. The sacramental words 'make the occasion only' of Christ's sacramental presence, and thus bring it about that bread, which because it is not alive is less perfect than a plant, becomes infinitely more so as sacramentally God himself. In another passage he compares the bread in its relation to Christ to the paper and ink which are the vehicle of the message.[1] He adds:

'The truth and faith of the Church is that as Christ is at once God and man, so the Sacrament is at once the body of Christ and bread—bread and wine naturally, the body and blood sacramentally.'[2]

The Eucharist is thus regarded as a perpetual renewal of the miracle of the Incarnation with its 'two substances' in one person.[3] Wyclif's language is not always clear when he attempts to pass into detail. 'The consecrated host is neither Christ nor any part of Him, but the effectual sign of Him', 'I do not dare to say identically according to substance and nature but figuratively, or 'spiritually'[4] and yet none the less the body of Christ, 'really and truly, according to His whole humanity', 'the sign and garment', as he puts it, 'of His body'.[5] He sweeps away the objection that, if so, 'the crucifix in the church was the real body of Christ, since it was a better sign of Christ than the bread', by pointing out that Christ is in the Sacrament otherwise than as in a figure—*in signo*, not *ut in signo*.[6] He will have nothing to do either with 'the heretics that trow and tell that this sacrament is God's body and no bread', or with 'the heretics that trow and tell that this sacrament may in no wise be God's body', for 'it is both together', though 'principally' 'God's body in the form of bread', in which 'all Christ' is present.[7] This last he attempts to explain:

'The body of Christ is in the sacrament of the altar not by way of multiplication but virtually only, as a king is in every part of his kingdom,'

[1] *Apos.* 184; *Euch.* 123, 144. [2] *Apos.* 103, 106, 116, 119.

[3] *Ib.* 213. In *Serm.* iv. 14, 16 Wyclif draws a parallel between heresies about the dual nature of Christ and about the dual nature of the Eucharist.

[4] *Apos.* 106; cf. 182; *Euch.* 303; *Blas.* 31, 253; cf. *Op. Min.* 307; *Trial.* 278. In *Blas.* 251 Wyclif tells us that his opponents sneered that though he 'celebrated figuratively, he would be damned literally'.

[5] *Euch.* 16, 121. Cf. *Sel. Eng. Works*, ii. 112.

[6] *Apos.* 223. See *supra*, p. 36.

[7] *Euch.* 109; *Apos.* 210; *Sel. Eng. Works*, ii. 274; iii. 404.

a position which in some of his followers easily passed into the Zwinglian doctrine.[1] The former position, the Scotist doctrine of the annihilation of the substance of the elements, he held to be a clever trick of the devil, ' the abomination of desolation ', which must ultimately lead to the denial of the divine substance as the basis of every creature.[2] This is a departure from early tradition, and especially from the teaching of Augustine, ' not known before Lanfranc ', by which ' Antichrist subverts grammar, logic, and natural science '. On its logical side he is never weary of pouring scorn upon this idea of ' accidents without subject ', which seems to him to strike at the root of all being, including that of the saints, and by throwing a doubt on the testimony of our senses to discredit all science. Even a shrew-mouse, he bitterly remarks, has a clearer sense of reality than this.[3] From the standpoint of theology he looks upon the doctrine as a crowning heresy, the teaching of the Devil in his school of lies, which reduces the Sacrament to a mere ' phantasm ', and which would associate God with the destruction of substance.[4] ' I believe ', he wrote in one of his latest works,

' that of all the heresies by which the Church has ever been infected, none deceives the people in such various ways ; it robs them, renders them idolaters, denies the faith of Scripture, and, through this infidelity, moves the Truth to wrath.' [5]

Wyclif's arguments are as full of hair-splitting distinctions

[1] In his *Wycket* we have a strong leaning to a Zwinglian interpretation e.g. ' a sacrament is no more to say but a sign or mind of a thing passed ', and also ' that He was a very man in kind as we be ' (p. 14). The *Wycket*, of which no MS. is known, was first printed at Nuremberg in 1546, possibly under the influence of Coverdale, who was at that time a Lutheran pastor at Bergzabern, and who used the Nuremberg press in Oct. 1545 for his (translated) *Defence of a certayne poore Christen Man* (*D. N. B.* xii. 367, 371 ; Tanner, 203). But there is no copy of the *Wycket* in a Continental library, and the type is said to be one not known at Nuremberg. Possibly therefore the ascription is a blind to cover English printing. It was reprinted with preface by Miles Coverdale (? no date). Also Oxford, 1612, quarto by Henry Jackson, with short life by T. James. A reprint of the Nuremberg edition was issued at Oxford by T. Pantin in 1828, also another reprint with T. James's life by R. Potts at Cambridge in 1851. My references are to the pagination of this last. The ascription to Wyclif does not seem to me so certain as is usually assumed (e. g. Wells, 470). It was probably by a follower who did not clearly grasp Wyclif's real position. But it is full of Wyclif's ideas.

[2] *Apos.* 120, 204 ; *Ziz.* 105(9). See *supra*, i. 138.

[3] *Ib.* 57, 58, 121 ; *Euch.* 78, 124, 132, 195, 201 ; *Trial.* 257, 261.

[4] *Euch.* 129 ; *Apos.* 59, 121, 149.

[5] *Trial.* 248, 261, 263.

and figments as the theories which he sought to demolish, puzzles about 'maggots bred in the host', about the 'vacua' which consecrated hosts, accidents without subject, would create, what happens when the bread is eaten by a mouse,[1] 'whether the real body of Christ in the sacrament is standing or sitting', whether all the qualities of Christ's body are in every minutest particle of the host, whether Christ is present dimensionally,[2] and the like; while his inconsistencies, and his facility for explaining away texts and authorities that are against him, show the shifts to which he was driven. His teaching, in fact, was still developing when death overtook him.[3] He has thus all the inconsistencies that seem inseparable from growth, nor is his elaborate 'genealogy' of ecclesiastical authorities always trustworthy.[4] Nevertheless, the drift of his thinking is clear. 'His chief intention', he said, 'was to call back the Church from idolatry',—the great danger of all worship of the elements,[5]—for 'the end of the Sacrament is the presence of Christ in the soul'. For him this is a reality, of which the Sacrament is far more than a mere sign. The nature of the bread, it is true, remains; but by the believer this should be forgotten in the consciousness of the greater fact, just as the thought of the charcoal is suspended when the fire comes.[6] He would rescue the Eucharist from its prevailing materialism, whether on the side of superstition or irreverence, as when men claim that 'the white round thing which I see is the body of Christ', which may be ground by the teeth.[7] Thus he would deliver the Christian from his bondage to the priest. But he will have nothing to do with a deliverance which is purchased by the denial of all mystery, for again and again he quotes approvingly the words of John Damascenus, with whom he is in considerable agreement,[8]

[1] Aquinas had explored this with his usual thoroughness. See Coulton, *Five Centuries*, i. 481 f.

[2] *Euch.* 21, 301; *Apos.* 99, 100, 103; *Blas.* 28; *Trial.* 273; *Sel. Eng. Works*, ii. 170.

[3] This would be the only justification for regarding the *Wycket* as genuine. But if so we must not talk of Wyclif as having a theory but a succession of theories.

[4] Wyclif gives us a history of sacramental doctrine in *Apos.*, cc. 15, 16.

[5] *Euch.* 53, 63, 111, 317; *Blas.* 20; *Ziz.* 107.

[6] *Apos.* 163, 243.

[7] *Ib.* 57, 123; *Euch.* 347.

[8] Wyclif professes this in *Apos.* 52.

'We must believe that the bread becomes the body of Christ, since the Truth has said it, not inquiring further.'[1]

Along with his main position Wyclif advocated other positions that seemed to him to be corollaries. The necessity of a fasting communion is disproved by the practice of Christ. The great need is 'a fast from sin'—apart from this all is valueless. As regards times or seasons there must be liberty; it is not necessary to communicate on Easter Sunday if we prefer Maundy Thursday.[2] In his earlier years he had insisted on the sacramental functions of the priest;[3] in his latest developments he maintained that under certain circumstances the Eucharist might be consecrated even by a layman.[4] Nor did he always make clear even to himself the relation of sacramental grace to character or foreknowledge. At one time he maintained that 'the foreknown even when in actual sin can administer the sacraments with profit to the faithful', though to his own damnation, Christ supplying all the defects of the priest; but in later years he maintained that the value depended on the character of the priest and the nature of his prayers,[5] in a word on the priest 'being consecrated of God'.[6] But he is careful to redeem this last from perilous uncertainty by pointing out that the sanctity which comes from Christ's presence is always the same.

In the medieval Church confession[7] was closely linked with the Eucharist, especially after the decree of Innocent III[8] against which Wyclif protests. 'Peter's keys', he said, 'should be furbished and cleansed from the rust of heresy', and from 'errors of antichrist'.[9] The consideration of the one therefore involves the other. At one time Wyclif held that there

[1] *Apos.* 52, 53; cf. *ib.* 208; *Op. Min.* 254.
[2] *Apos.* 123–4; *Euch.* 93, 145; *Sel. Eng. Works*, i. 360; *Blas.* 160–1.
[3] *Euch.* 99; *Eccles.* 457–8.
[4] *Trial.* 280. But see *Ver. Script.* ii. 178, an earlier work, for caution against this. Purvey grants the power of confirmation to both priests and laymen (*Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 285).
[5] *Euch.* 113; *Eccles.* 448, 456–7.
[6] *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 426 (in iii. 227 the opposite); *Euch.* 114.
[7] Wyclif's views can be best studied in his *de Eucharistia et Penitentia sive de Confessione*, printed in *Euch.* 327–43, written about 1380. There is a loose English translation in *Eng. Works.* 325–45 from a Dublin MS. We find similar views in *Serm.* ii. 138–9, 151; iii. 27; iv. 101; *Pol. Pap.* 310; *Blas.* 114 ff. For his latest views see *Pol. Works*, i. 345; ii. 622–5.
[8] *Omnis utriusque sexus*, in Mansi, xxii. 1007 ff., or Mirbt, 145.
[9] *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 255; *Blas.* 160–1.

was an obligation in conscience to confess as often as necessary, provided one could find a 'predestined' priest, not living in sin, for one might as well confess to the devil as to an 'idolatrous, leprous, simoniacal heretic', who thought only of the money gain.[1] In Wyclif's later judgement, while penitence was necessary, verbal confession was optional at the discretion of the penitent. Let the Christian guard his freedom; let him confess if it profit him; though general public confession as a rule is better than private, as private confession often leads to unchastity. But every man must judge for himself when he will confess, as he judges when he will hear a sermon or take food. The penances and absolutions that follow confession are too often a matter of sale; a 'one-eyed man' can see how wrong such conduct is, let alone that neither pope nor priest can really tell how gravely a man has sinned, and therefore cannot assign the due penance. If a priest impose unreasonable penance in order to get money, let the faithful leave him and after due contrition take the Sacrament; if excommunication follows let him rejoice and communicate spiritually, for our Great High Priest will always give us absolution if we are penitent.[2] The scandal must be stopped of rich men confessing to 'Caesar's prelates', or to their own private confessors—who are as often as not fiends of hell—laughing as they do so because they intend, as soon as 'absolved by a small sum of money from all their sins', to repeat the sin, while the poor cannot get absolution.[3] The distinction between venial and mortal sins is without warrant in Scripture.[4] That absolution—the reservation of which Wyclif denounces as a 'new trick of the Roman curia'—is only valid in so far as it is the representation of Christ's previous absolution is with Wyclif a cardinal principle; 'priests may assoil of sin if they accord with the keys of Christ'.[5] Not by the priest 'laying his hand on thine head' but 'by sorrow of heart' cometh God's assoil, and, therefore, the formal absolution might well be given by a layman.[6]

[1] *Blas.* 133–4, 144.
[2] *Ib.* 121, 136, 145, 148, 151, 159; *Trial.* 328; *Eng. Works*, 330.
[3] *Op. Min.* 318.
[4] *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 452; *Blas.* 169.
[5] *Sel. Eng. Works*, i. 18, 35, 48, 136; iii. 261.
[6] *Eng. Works*, 333; *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 252.

As regards Confirmation Wyclif took the modern Nonconformist view. 'I do not see', he writes, 'that in general this sacrament is necessary for salvation, nor specially reserved for bishops'.[1] Wyclif is equally independent in his attitude to the doctrine of the secrecy of the confessional. He holds that to reveal a confession is but to make known what will be known at the Judgement Day, and the revelation may be for the good of the penitent. Under cover of this rule of secrecy many sins go unpunished, and the Eucharist is degraded into the 'sacrament of the father of lies'. A priest should remonstrate three times with his penitent, but at the fourth relapse abandon him, and if necessary his sin should be revealed.[2]

We conclude with some account of Wyclif's writings on the Eucharist, and of his replies to antagonists, chief of whom were four men whom he nicknamed the 'Four Evangelists'.[3] The writings vary considerably in value, inversely in fact with their vehemence. In his Latin works written before his condemnation by the Oxford doctors, Wyclif exercises self-restraint; he is anxious, if possible, to justify his position and to win over his opponents. But after his condemnation at Oxford in 1381, much more after his condemnation by the Blackfriars synod in 1382, Wyclif indulges in a violence which in nowise helps his argument. His Erastianism is seen in his call to the Crown 'since the realm spends so many thousand marks a year on the administration of this sacrament' to insist on its nature being clearly explained.[4] Among the more restrained works on the subject is Wyclif's *de Apostasia*[5]—the eleventh work in Wyclif's *Summa*, written probably in the autumn of 1379, when the controversy between Wyclif and his opponents had begun, though chancellor Berton had not yet called in the authority of the theologians. In his opening chapters Wyclif is anxious to convince any wavering friars, many of whom as he owns 'have boldly stood by me in the cause of God', and have shown themselves to be 'dearest

[1] *Trial.* 294.
[2] *Blas.* 164–7.
[3] *Apos.* 193.
[4] *Op. Min.* 256.
[5] Ed. M. H. Dziewicki, 1889. The argument of Dziewicki, p. vi, for 1383 is untenable, and is abandoned by the author in his *Blas.*, p. viii. The *Apos.* seems to me to fall off very much towards the close, as if Wyclif was conscious that the question was passing into bigger issues than those to which he had tried to narrow it. Probably he had begun his *de Eucharistia.*

sons', that they may without apostasy—hence the title of his work—fling themselves in with his party, or even abandon their 'private religions'. With one eye on the support of the seculars he maintains that the status of a bishop is the most perfect of all, far higher than that of a 'private religion'. Nevertheless, the life 'which Christ instituted and lived' is 'the life without property'. To this life he would recall the friars themselves; let them abandon 'their ships on the seas, their treasure of jewels and money', their palaces and extravagant churches with their sumptuous ornaments.[1] With this preamble Wyclif passes to a careful examination of the nature of the Sacrament. But his restraint does not prevent him from calling his opponents 'wild geese', 'magpies' and 'mad dogs'.[2]

In his *de Eucharistia*[3] Wyclif repeats much of the *de Apostasia* in a more careful form. That it contains no reference to Berton's council, nor any hint that such was impending, fixes the date, while the references to the Schism point to a time before the development of bitterness, say in 1379.[4] Its more complete exposition would lead us to place it a little later than the *de Apostasia*. There are in it sections which seem aloof from all controversy, written solely to help the believer in his appropriation of the Sacramental grace.[5] The work seems to have been published before the final struggle commenced. Wyclif writes throughout as one unconscious that his opinions will be rejected as heretical. He professes himself willing to be corrected, especially by the bishops who ought surely to know the true nature of the Sacrament, though alas! they seem to know better 'the forms (*imagines*) of silver and gold'. He looks upon the matter as still at issue, and seeks to persuade rather than to abuse his opponents. But when he appeals to the 'clan (*gens*) of Robert with his cardinals' to examine the matter carefully it is difficult to decide whether he is in earnest or indulging in elephantine humour.[6]

[1] *Apos.* 11, 23, 31, 32, 42, 44. [2] *Ib.* 28, 42, 82.
[3] Ed. J. Loserth (1892) for Wyclif Society.
[4] It is difficult to read the references to Avignon in *Euch.* 106, and assign a late date when Avignon had been definitely displaced. In *ib.* 125, cf. *ib.* 127, Wyclif professes that 'our Urban' holds the true faith; 'Robert' at Avignon holding one that is false 'de transubstantiatione'. This again points to a date early in the Schism, when Wyclif still held by Urban.
[5] e. g., c. 6. [6] *Euch.* 182-3. 188.

A word may be added on Wyclif's view of the sacrament of marriage. A good specimen of Wyclif's teaching with its emphasis on ethics is found in the short tract *Of Wedded Men and Wives*.[1] Nothing could be better than his protest against the marriage of a young man and an old widow 'for love of worldly muck', and his scathing rebuke of those

'courageous men who will not take a poor gentlewoman to his wife, but live in the devil's service all their life, and defoul many temples of God to great peril of their souls,'

and end by marrying 'a rich woman for muck'. Husband and wife should exercise self-control, ever remembering 'that they be guests and pilgrims in the world, and have not here a dwelling-place for ever'. His remedy against all lechery is work, 'for idleness is the devil's panter[2] to tempt men to sin'. Wyclif leaned to a rigid doctrine of self-denial. Virginity, he claimed, was better than marriage.[3] Towards the close of life, however, he allowed that 'priests are wifeless against God's authority', though characteristically maintaining that such marriage may be consistent with virginity.[4] His puritanism is seen in his attack on fathers who 'teach their children jests of battle and false chronicles not needful to their souls', or who 'by their cursed example and teaching be Satan's procurators to lead them to hell'. Some parents, he adds, in words that are still true, 'make sorrow if their children be naked or poor', but care not if they be 'naked in soul'.[5]

[1] *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 188–201, a very sensible, eloquent tract. For the medieval view see Coulton, *Five Centuries*, i. 444–5.

[2] Panter, i. e. snare for birds or drawing net; cf. Chaucer, *Legend of Good Women*, ll. 130–1.

[3] *Dom. Div.* i. 167.

[4] *Sel. Eng. Works*, i. 364; iii. 190; *Op. Evang.* i. 169. In *Ver. Script.* ii. 263 he only hinted at the marriage of priests as a possibility.

[5] *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 196, 198.

II

WYCLIF AND THE PAPACY

§ 1

In the autumn of 1378, while Wyclif was writing his treatises on Church and State, there took place at Rome an event more disastrous to the papacy than the Captivity at Avignon. To tell in any detail the story of the Great Schism is outside our scope. Nevertheless some account of its origin is necessary if we would understand its influence upon Wyclif.

The continuance of the Captivity was impossible. Before his election Urban V had professed that if a pope were elected who should restore the papacy to Rome he would die content. On the 23rd May 1365 the emperor Charles IV of Bohemia visited Urban V at Avignon and urged his return to Rome.[1] At length Urban yielded, in spite of the appeals of a special French embassy.[2] The French orator was very bold.[3] He took as his text the legend 'Domine quo vadis'. 'You are returning to Rome', he pleaded, 'to be crucified afresh'. The illustration was scarcely happy, but Urban must needs follow his Master. No doubt the wrench was great. For years he had spent money on his palace at Avignon, part of it 'vulgarly called Rome' being his special work. But when on the 30th April 1367 Urban V departed from Avignon, amid the wailing of his cardinals, he did homage to the public opinion of Europe. Setting sail from Marseilles on the 19th May, after a last effort of the cardinals to detain him, Urban arrived at Viterbo on the 9th June and there remained for four months.[4] On the 16th

[1] The fullest account of this visit is in Reading, *Chron.* 165–6, obtained, possibly, from a Westminster monk absent on business at the curia. It is briefly mentioned in Mollat-Baluze, i. 355, 385. The narrative in E. Warunsky, *Kaiser Karl IV* (Innsbruck, 1880 f.), iii. 321, Delachenal, ii. c. 7, and Boehmer *Regesta*, viii. 338–40 should be supplemented from this new source.

[2] Leclercq-Hefele, vi. 942 *n.*; Mollat, 111; Delachenal, iii. 517 f.

[3] This discourse, usually attributed to Nicholas Oresme, was by Ancel Choquart. See Delachenal, iii. 517 f.

[4] The pope's itinerary is in Baluze, ii. 768–75. See also Mollat-Baluze, i. 361–2, 365, 387–8, 402. There is also a monograph, J. P. Kirsch, *Die Rückkehr der Päpste Urban V und Gregor XI nach Rom* (Paderborn, 1898).

October the pope entered Rome and celebrated mass in St. Peter's, which no pope had entered for sixty-three years. As the Lateran, their old abode, was in ruins, the popes henceforth took up their residence in the Vatican, whose comfortless decay was only less complete, but whose gardens Urban put in order. Moreover the Vatican was conveniently near the refuge of St. Angelo. Lateran and Vatican were characteristic of the whole city. The roofs of St. Paul's and St. John Lateran had been 'totally destroyed', cattle wandered into the buildings and grazed at the foot of the altars. A legate had sold the marble blocks of the Coliseum to be burned for lime. The population, reduced to less than 20,000,[1] dragged out amid its ruins an existence of poverty and feud. 'Rome', said a French monk, 'is fallen lower than I could have believed had I not seen her degradation with my own eyes,

Roma modo nihil est, nihil est Romae nisi signum.'[2]

Urban, whose many good qualities were spoiled by a yielding disposition, speedily wearied of his exile and of the difficulties in which he was involved. The French cardinals never ceased to urge return; the majority, in fact, had refused to quit Avignon. Urban discovered that conditions had changed since he made his pious resolve. The great Spanish cardinal Albornoz, one of the ablest statesmen who was ever a member of the College, was dead (24 August 1367).[3] His military genius alone had made Urban's return possible. The tyrants he had crushed, the democracy he had controlled, the robber bands he had kept in check, once more raised their heads. In Viterbo, on Urban's arrival, for three days a mob attacked the cardinals with the cry 'Death to the Church!', and besieged the pope.[4] In 1370 Perugia defied his rule and dispatched Hawkwood and his mercenaries to scour the country to the gates of Rome. At length Urban's fears and inclinations triumphed. On the 17th April 1370 he set off for Avignon, in spite of the warning of the Franciscan, Pedro of Aragon, that he would thereby cause a schism. 'The Holy Ghost', he

[1] Leclercq-Hefele, vi. 951 *n*. [2] Gregorovius, vi. 454.
[3] For a panegyric see Mollat-Baluze, i. 363, and for a succinct life Leclercq-Hefele, vi. 920–1 *n*. See also Mollat, 148–58 with full bibliography.
[4] Mollat-Baluze, i. 409; Gregorovius, vi. 432.

said, 'led me to Rome, and now leads me away for the honour of the Church.' He alleged the need of making peace between England and France.[1] Before he left Italy (5 Sept.) St. Bridget journeyed to Montefiascone to obtain the recognition of her order. She boldly warned him that he was leaving at the peril of his speedy death. Urban paid no heed, embarked on the 5th September at Corneto, and three weeks later arrived at Avignon.[2] Bridget's prophecy was fulfilled. Four months after his return Urban lay dead (19 Dec. 1370). His body was taken to his old convent at Marseilles. Numerous miracles witnessed to the regard in which he was held, and formed the ground for his recent beatification.[3] 'Urban', said Petrarch, when he heard the tidings of his decease,

'would have been reckoned amongst the most glorious of men, if he had caused his dying bed to be laid before the altar of St. Peter, and had there fallen asleep with a good conscience, calling God and the world to witness that if ever the pope had left this spot it was not his fault, but that of the originators of so shameful a flight.'[4]

With the accession of Gregory XI controversy over the renewed Captivity was inevitable, the more so as Gregory in his selection of twelve cardinals had shown his intention of escaping from the control of the French. Petrarch poured out for the last time before his death (1374) his invectives against 'this shameful flight' to 'the barbarous sewer of the world'. Bridget forwarded new prophecies of death, only interrupted by her own decease (23 July 1373):

'Hear O Gregory the words I say to thee, and give unto them diligent attention. . . . Why in thy court dost thou suffer unchecked the foulest pride, insatiable avarice, execrable wantonness, and all-devouring simony. Well-nigh all who go to thy court thou plungest into the fire of hell. . . . Arise and seek bravely to reform the Church which I have purchased with my blood, and it shall be restored to its former state, though now a brothel is more respected than it. If thou dost not obey, know verily every devil in hell shall have a morsel of thy soul, immortal and inconsumable.'[5]

[1] Walsingham, i. 311; Mollat-Baluze, i. 375, 381, 413; Baluze, ii. 774.
[2] Mollat-Baluze, i. 392–3, 402; Raynaldi, xxvi. 191, 374; *Revel. S. Brigit.* (ed. S. Hörmann), iv. c. 138.
[3] 10 March 1870. For his cult, encouraged by Clement VII, see *Archiv.* iv. 349 f.
[4] Pastor, i. 97; Gregorovius, vi. 451.
[5] *Revel. S. Brig.* iv. c. 142. 'This letter was carried to Gregory by a hermit who had renounced his episcopacy.' The third vision was not sent to Gregory, 'because it was not divinely given her', *ib.* iv. cc. 139–43.

The mantle of this Cassandra fell on a nobler, more potent successor. Catherine, the daughter of a dyer in Siena, is one of those characters for whom Rome always finds due scope and honour. If in her raptures she touches that undefined border-line between mysticism and dementia, in her acts, above all in her denunciation of evil, she has the directness of a prophet sent from God. In impassioned letters and interviews, unique in their kind for their combination of rapture and plain speaking, we see her pleading with Gregory to reform the Church and return to Rome. ' You are bound ', she writes,

' to win back the territory which has been lost to the Church; but you are even more bound to win back all the lambs which are the Church's real treasure. . . . It is far better therefore to part with a temporal treasure than one which is eternal. . . . You must strike with the weapons of goodness, of love, and of peace, and you will gain more than by the weapons of war. And when I inquire of God what is best for your salvation, for the restoration of the Church, and for the whole world, there is no other answer but one: Peace, Peace. For the love of the Crucified Saviour: Peace.' [1]

At last Gregory yielded to her persuasions.[2] He had issued a mandate that all prelates should reside in their dioceses.[3] His conscience was disturbed. " Lord bishop, why do you not go to your see? " he had asked an absentee prelate. " And you, holy pope," was the reply, " why do you not go to yours? " He realized that if he remained longer at Avignon, Italy would be lost to the papacy. The work of Albornoz was already undone. That great statesman had left the popular governments unchanged, and contented himself with securing allegiance. Now the civic authorities were everywhere supplanted by Provençal and French administrators or ' Pastors '—chief among these was cardinal Androin de la Roche—against whom and their foreign mercenaries the States of the Church were in open revolt. They were led by Florence, of old the unfailing ally of the papacy against the Hohenstaufen, now her most determined foe, united for the nonce with the Ghibelline

[1] Pastor, i. 105, from Tommaseo, *Lettere*, iii. 173–4. Pastor is careful to quote a letter (i. 106) in which Catherine counsels complete submission to a pope, even if he were ' an incarnate devil '.

[2] For Catherine's part see Leclercq-Hefele, vi. 948–9 *n*. According to the *Quarta Vita* (Mollat-Baluze, i. 463) Gregory had vowed to return even before his election.

[3] *Pap. Let.* iv. 110, 29 March 1375; in full in Raynaldi, xxvi. 272.

Visconti of Milan. The cardinal of Ostia attempted to crush revolt by the sack of Faenza. The horror of the massacre raised, rather than checked, rebellion. Everywhere the Italian national spirit blazed up. Tuscany armed at the unfurling of a banner upon which was inscribed in great letters 'Liberty! Liberty!' 'These wars', wrote the chronicler of Piacenza, 'have swallowed up more men than now dwell in the whole of Italy. But they will never cease so long as priests retain secular rights'. Hawkwood, who had been dispatched with his 'holy company' against Tuscany, was bought over by Florence with 130,000 gold florins. Eighty cities, including Pisa and Siena, joined the League against the men whom St. Catherine denounced as 'unrighteous pastors who poison and devastate the garden of the Church'. Bologna, in spite of the lavish gifts she had received from Albornoz, rose, on the 19th March 1376, with the cry of 'Death to the Church!'[1] In some places the clergy joined the insurrection and helped to expel the papal officials. In Florence a committee of eight—'the eight saints', as they were called—was appointed to sell the confiscated possessions of the clergy, to tear down the buildings of the Inquisition, and to stir up hesitating cities. 'Suffer not', wrote Coluccio de Salutati, the chancellor of Florence,

'your Italy, which your ancestors with their blood made mistress of the world, to be subject to barbarians and foreigners, sent by the papacy to fatten on our blood and property.'

At Viterbo the fortress built by Albornoz was stormed and captured. To the misfortune of Italian unity, Rome, in her mistrust of Florence, hesitated to join the League. To save her apostasy Gregory promised that he would return. In June 1375 he wrote to Edward that he would transfer the curia to Rome at the beginning of September. A month later he fell back on the Bruges conference as an excuse for delay until the spring of 1376. At last on the 3rd July 1376 Gregory wrote to Edward informing him of his immediate departure.[2] A few months earlier (31st March 1376) he had published against Florence the most drastic excommunication ever issued.[3] He

[1] Pastor, i. 100 *n.*; Gregorovius, vi. 460, 471; Mollat-Baluze, i. 423, 426, 461.

[2] Pastor, i. 109, 364–7; Gregorovius, vi. 465–8; *Pap. Let.* iv. 137, 139; Rymer, iii. 1056.

[3] For this bull see Raynaldi, xxvi. 278–80. Cf. Mollat-Baluze, i. 424.

declared the property and person of every Florentine to be outside the pale of the law. Wherever found, the one might be confiscated, the other seized and sold as a slave. This appeal of the Vicar of Christ to lawless cupidity found wide response. In France the needy monarch was glad to obey. But in England, some months later, Wyclif raised his voice in protest, and dared to call Gregory 'a horrible devil' and a 'lasting heretic', because of the 'many thousands' whom he had thus slain.[1] When Courtenay read the bull at St. Paul's Cross he was summoned before the chancellor and forced to recall the interdict by proxy.[2] Venice too refused to publish the bull and even protected Florentine merchants in Flanders.

On the 13th September 1376, Gregory set out for Italy[3] amid dismal omens and forebodings. Six of his cardinals refused to leave Avignon. 'If you die in Rome', said the duke of Anjou, who came to Avignon on purpose to dissuade him,

'an event very probable if all that your physicians tell me is true, the Romans will be traitors, and will make a pope by force to suit them.'

On the first day his horse refused to bear him. On leaving Marseilles (2 Oct.) some vessels of his escort were wrecked within sight of Monaco. At Genoa, where he arrived on the 18th October, renewed efforts were made to turn him back, while the Florentines tried to stir up the Romans to refuse him entrance. Should the pope overlay the walls with gold and give Rome back its ancient majesty of empire, these advantages, they pleaded, would be dearly purchased with loss of liberty. Not until the 17th January 1377 did Gregory summon courage to enter the Eternal City, protected by an escort of 2,000 soldiers. The muddy streets had been festooned; the roofs were crowded with the rejoicing citizens. To the pleadings of Catherine that he should dismiss his French guard, and enter 'with a cross only in his hand, like a lamb', Gregory paid no

[1] *Eccles.* 366.

[2] *Eulog. Cont.* iii. 335; *Chron. Ang.* 109–11. Gregorovius, vi. 472–3 is founded on a mistaken translation of 'servi regis'. See Walsingham, i. 322–3. For Venice see Pastor, i. 374–5.

[3] The return of Gregory is given in detail in Muratori, iii (2). 690–712. For modern works see L. Mirot, *La politique pontificale et le retour du Saint-Siège à Rome en 1376* (1899) and the work of Kirsch, *supra*. See also Mollat-Baluze, i. 440–1; Gregorovius, vi. 476 f.

heed. He preferred rather a crowd of mountebanks 'clothed in white, clapping their hands and dancing before him'. Gregory was wise in his generation. He had a shrewd idea of the things which would please the degenerate Romans. Late in the afternoon the exhausted pope entered St. Peter's and knelt in prayer before the shrine, the building being illuminated for the occasion with 18,000 lamps. The seventy years of exile were ended; the aftermath remained to be reaped.[1] For Gregory had scarcely entered the Vatican before the French began their plottings for return. The pope himself, who knew no Italian, was not averse to their persuasions, more especially as he heard of the determination of the Romans to detain him in the city even in the heat of summer.[2] He complained bitterly 'of the pressure of a poverty which neither tongue nor pen could unfold'. He regarded his removal from Avignon as a painful sacrifice. If peace could be made with Florence and Italy reconciled to the papacy, he would gladly return to

'his beautiful native land, to a grateful and devout people, and to the many joys that he had left behind, in spite of the pleadings of kings, princes, and cardinals.'[3]

Death alone prevented him from carrying out his intentions. In his last moments he is said to have warned the cardinals

'to beware of men or women who give out visions of their head, under the plea of religion, for he himself had been seduced by them, and so brought the Church into danger of a Schism now close at hand.'[4]

§ 2

The death of Gregory (27 March 1378) found the French party among the cardinals still unprepared.[5] According to law the election of his successor must be held at once, in the

[1] The tomb of Gregory, in the church of St. Francesca Romana, erected 1584, has a striking picture of the return, with the keys and chair in the clouds coming back, and St. Catherine looking on. See Ciaconius, ii. 595.

[2] Gayet, i. 119.

[3] Letter to Florence, Pastor, i. 369–73. For his poverty, *ib.* i. 375.

[4] Baluze, i. 1224, with Mansi's doubts. The story comes from Gerson, *de Examinatione Doctrinarum* (*Opera*, ed. Dupin), i. 16. If genuine, it must allude to Catherine and Bridget. But prophets abounded and were widely reverenced, e. g. Telesphorus in the French interest, Gamaleon in the German. See Pastor, i. 153–6; Döllinger, *Prophetic Spirit* (1873), 153–8.

[5] For the sources and authorities for this election see Appendix N.

place where he died. Gregory XI, as if to ease the way for the French, had issued a bull conferring on the College the amplest powers of choosing time and place of election.[1] But the municipal authorities of Rome were determined that the French cardinals should find no excuse of violence for postponing the election until they had left Italy. They occupied the bridges and gates, and banished the leading nobles. As 6,000 men from the hills had come to Rome ' a block and a very sharp axe were placed in the middle of St. Peter's ' as a warning against disturbers of the peace.[2] In frequent deputations the authorities urged upon the cardinals the sufferings of Italy ; only the election of a Roman or at least of an Italian could save the Church.[3]

At length, though with difficulty, the hall of conclave on the second floor of the Vatican was cleared of the rabble, seventy of whom, armed to the teeth, were searching the building to discover whether there were any hole or drain through which the cardinals could escape.[4] Contrary to rule the doors of the conclave were not walled up ; they were only locked and two timber baulks thrust across them[5]. Another circumstance, besides the location in Rome, was in favour of the Italians. For the election of a pope a two-thirds majority was necessary. The French, it is true, possessed this. Of the sixteen present eleven were French, and one a Spaniard, Peter de Luna, for ever famous for the obstinacy with which in later years he prolonged the Schism. But the Ultramontanes were divided among themselves ; the seven Limousins anxious for the elevation of another from their province, the birthplace of the last four popes ; the four other Frenchmen determined that they would not have another pontiff from Cahors or Limoges.[6]

[1] Raynaldi, xxvi. 298. On this bull see Gayet, i. 12–16. By a ' majority ' Gregory intended that they need not wait for absentees (Leclercq-Hefele, vi. 979 *n.*).

[2] Mollat-Baluze, i. 432 ; Leclercq-Hefele, vi. 998 *n.*

[3] Mollat-Baluze, i. 433, 443. For the proceedings in the ten days before the conclave see Leclercq-Hefele, vi. 980–4 *n.*

[4] Gayet, i. 40, 78 ; Mollat-Baluze, i. 443. The fullest account of the election is in Valois, *op. cit.* i. 35–55. Cf. Mollat-Baluze, i. 433 f., 443 f.

[5] Gayet, i. 40, 46 ; Leclercq-Hefele, vi. 1001 *n.*

[6] See the important statement of the bishop of Cassano, Raynaldi, xxvi. 301. A full list of the cardinals for this period, with dates of creation, is in Eubel, i. 20–32 ; for their factions see Leclercq-Hefele, vi. 978–9.

They would rather ally themselves with the Italians. The result of the political situation and of the threats of the people was the election on the second day (8 April) of an outsider—well known, however, to many of the cardinals because of his long residence at Avignon—the Neapolitan, Bartholomew of Prignano, the recently appointed archbishop of Bari. The next day was one of considerable disorder. The hall of conclave was invaded; pillage began. Six of the cardinals took refuge in St. Angelo, and the enthronization was delayed.[1] But ten days later, on Easter Sunday (18 April), the new pope was crowned as Urban VI. On his seal he engraved the words: 'Arise O Lord; plead my cause.' On the following day he wrote to Sudbury and other archbishops announcing his election and asking for their prayers.[2]

No election, whether the free choice of the conclave or the result of fear,[3] could have been more unfortunate. The character of Urban, it is true, was without blemish. He had a reputation for piety, justice, and business ability; he was also a master of the Canon Law and a diligent student of the Bible.[4] Austere and grave himself, he hated worldliness [5] and simony. Wyclif accordingly hailed his election with delight. He thanked God for 'providing our mother church with a catholic head, an evangelical man' who had already given evidence that he would live 'in conformity with the law of Christ'.[6] Even when the Schism had broken out Wyclif clung for some months to 'our Urban'. He had convinced himself, not only that Urban was validly elected, but that 'Urbanitas'—as he jokingly calls it—stood for the true view of the Eucharist, and the 'Robertines' for the false view. He even went so far as to plead that the king should suppress 'the Robertines'.[7] Nor was Wyclif alone in his belief. 'I venture

[1] Gayet, ii. 366 f.; Leclercq-Hefele, vi. 1005–8 *n.*; Valois, i. 61.
[2] Ciaconius, ii. 621; Wilkins, iii. 128.
[3] On this see Leclercq-Hefele, vi. 1002–4.
[4] Niem, *Scis.* 9. See the judicious summary of his character, Valois, i. 33–5.
[5] He had a pretty taste in beds. See the details of the 'bed of cloth of gold with leaves of gold worked in a white fret on a red ground', with 'three cushions of cloth of silk' sent over to him from England in April 1388 by 'Master Thomas Southam' (*Close Rolls*, iii. 375).
[6] *Eccles.* 37. Cf. (of even later date) *Op. Min.* 401.
[7] *Serm.* ii. 70; iv. 499–500. In calling the followers of Clement 'Robertines' Wyclif doubtless had in view the 'Roberdesmen', sturdy beggars who would not work, against whom petition was made in 1376; see *Rot. Parl.* ii. 332.

to say ', wrote an envoy to the lord of Mantua, ' that God's Holy Church has had no such pastor for a century and more.' [1] Nor did his failure lie in lack of good intentions. Urban, who, before his election, had shown his tendencies by buying a house in Rome, wisely resolved to free the papacy from its dependence on France. He told the French cardinals, to their dismay, that he had decided to remain in Rome. He prepared, on the advice of St. Catherine, to break down their predominance by a new creation of Italian cardinals.

There can be no doubt that matters would have settled down, and the election of Urban, however undesired, have been recognized by the whole College. The French cardinals wrote to their colleagues at Avignon that the choice was a divine inspiration ; they consoled themselves with attempting to obtain for themselves and their friends prebends and graces.[2] But Urban, who should rather, as a shrewd German observed, have been called Turbanus,[3] alienated even his friends by his want of tact and dignity. ' In Urban ', wrote Niem,

' was verified the proverb : None is so insolent as a low man suddenly raised to power ; as also the proverb : The poor man raised to power struts about with a swollen head.' [4]

St. Catherine, with a woman's intuition discerning his danger, wrote :

' Do what you have to do with moderation, with goodwill, and a peaceful heart ; for excess destroys rather than builds up. For the sake of your crucified Lord, keep the hasty movements of your nature somewhat in check.'

But Urban paid no heed to these wise counsels. He mistook rudeness for strength, obstinacy for resolution, and irritating restriction for reforming zeal. With the wisest of popes the crisis would have presented difficulties. The French king and his cardinals, most of whom possessed ten or twelve bishoprics or abbeys apiece,[5] would not lightly have surrendered the

[1] Pastor, i. 380, cf. 379. [2] Leclercq-Hefele, vi. 1053.
[3] Niem, *Scis.* 23, an old joke. See Erler's note.
[4] Niem, *Scis.* 19, from Claudian *In Eutrop.* i. 181.
[5] Pastor, i. 123 *n.* But Clémanges says : ' Non quidem decem vel viginti, sed centena et ducentena usque ad quadringenta . . . nec parva, vel tenuia, sed omnium pinguissima ' (*De Ruina Eccl.* c. 14, Hardt, i (3), p. 15. Cf. *ib.* cc. 13–17). Clémanges is given to declamation. But cf. Niem, *De Modis Uniendi*, Hardt, i. (5) 122–6.

traditions and control of seventy years. The tactlessness of Urban turned discontent into rebellion; his insolence gave it justification. He made the count of Fondi into an enemy by refusing to pay him a debt of 20,000 florins borrowed by the late pope.[1] He called the cardinal Orsini a blockhead. 'Hold your tongue', 'cease your foolish chatter', were his common phrases. The cardinals repaid him in kind. 'As archbishop of Bari', retorted cardinal Jean de la Grange, 'you have lied'.[2] A fortnight after his election, in a sermon which he preached on the text, 'I am the good shepherd', he openly condemned the morals of the cardinals. He followed this up by issuing ordinances against their luxury. They should have but one dish, the rule of his own life. He threatened that he would send them back to their bishoprics. The sermon over, Robert of Geneva voiced the rage of the cardinals: 'You have not treated the College with the respect they received from your predecessors. I tell you, if you diminish our honour, we shall diminish yours.'[3]

Early in July the French cardinals, 'for reasons of health', retired to Anagni, carrying with them the jewels of the papacy. Thence in a series of letters they proclaimed (20 July) that the election of Urban was invalid: it had been forced upon them by the Roman mob.[4] On the 9th August, encouraged by the support secretly assured them by Charles V of France,[5] they issued from Anagni a circular letter calling upon Christendom to reject Urban's authority as that of an intruder and deceiver. They had chosen Bari, they owned, but only as the result of the threats of the people, and because they believed that 'he was possessed of a conscience that would not hold' the papacy under such circumstances.[6] A few days later they were joined at Fondi by the remaining cardinals. Urban was left 'like a sparrow on a house-top' without the support of a single

[1] Leclercq-Hefele, vi. 1068. Walsingham, i. 382.

[3] Raynaldi, xxvi. 379; Gobelin Persona, *Cosmodromium* (in Meibom, *Script. Rer. Germ.*, 1688, i. 53–370), vi. c. 74.

[4] Details in Leclercq-Hefele, vi. 1060. This excuse is quoted by Wyclif, *Trial. Sup.* 448–9.

[5] Raynaldi, xxvi. 332–3. For the relations of Charles V to this election see Leclercq-Hefele, vi. 1070 f. and especially Valois, i. 149–58.

[6] Raynaldi, xxvi. 334–5; Walsingham, i. 382–7; Wilkins, iii. 128–9; Wyclif refers to this in *Pot. Pap.* 214.

member of his College. Except St. Catherine, he had scarcely a friend. He had succeeded in quarrelling with everybody, even with those who, like Queen Joanna of Naples, were naturally partial to him. 'He began', writes Niem, 'to repent and weep bitterly.' But on the 28th September he plucked up courage, and issued a declaration of war by the creation of twenty-four new cardinals.[1] According to the French version he shut himself up alone in his chamber, then rang a small bell. When the crowd poured in he read out the names of those he had chosen. Two days later the French at Fondi, with the tacit consent of the three Italians,[2] replied by a conclave in the house of the count of Fondi in which they elected as their pope the Savoyard, Robert of Geneva.[3] The great Schism (1378–1418) had begun. 'I have learned', wrote St. Catherine,

'that those devils in human form have made an election. They have not chosen a Vicar of Christ, but an antichrist. . . . Forward, Holy Father; go without fear into the battle; go with the armour of Divine Love to cover you, for that is your sure defence.'[4]

But the 'armour of Divine Love' was the last weapon in which Urban believed. On the 29th November 1378 he launched against the antipope a bull of excommunication.[5]

To hold Urban alone responsible for the Schism would be unjust, though the defection of all the cardinals is proof of his folly and explanation of the perplexity of Christendom. With some truth it might be urged that the Schism was inevitable. Twice before, since Clement V had moved to Avignon, had it almost broken out: once in the time of Urban V, and again in the days of Gregory XI.[6] Behind the rebel cardinals stood

[1] Date and number of the cardinals is uncertain. Eubel, i. 22 dates as 28 Sept. and gives 24 as the number: the *Sec. Vita* in Mollat-Baluze, i. 459 on 28 Sept. but gives 29. Some give 12 cardinals and date on 18 Sept. See Erler's note, Niem, *Scis.* 28 and Raynaldi's note xxvi. 361. Among the 24 enumerated in Eubel was Courtenay (Walsingham, i. 382) who refused the offer, influenced, possibly, by the appeal of the Londoners who on 4 Dec. 1378, 25 April, and 16 May 1379 wrote in protest to Urban (*Letter-Book H.* 116–17).

[2] According to Niem, *l. c.* 24 they were duped with the hope of the papacy. But see Erler's note. It is possible that some went to Fondi with the intention of re-electing Urban VI (Leclercq-Hefele, vi. 1064, 1081).

[3] Mollat-Baluze, i. 470.

[4] Pastor, i. 130.

[5] Raynaldi, xxvi. 362–6. Wyclif often alludes to these bulls, e. g. *Serm.* iii. 161.

[6] Pastor, i. 126 *n.*

the same France that had formerly led the revolt against Boniface VIII, strengthened now by seventy years of successful enthralment of the papacy, determined at all costs to maintain this control. In reality the Schism was the issue of the two contending forces of the later medieval world—the new spirit of nationalism and the spirit of international solidarity which formed the basis of old-time Catholicism. The French, Gascons, and Italians were all seeking to reduce the papacy into a national institution : the French, that it might be subordinate to their country ; the Italians, in the hope that it might be the centre of a new unity for their distracted land. On the other hand, the old international solidarity of Europe, the consciousness of continued unity in a spiritual headship which belonged to all because it belonged to none, had contributed powerfully to the bringing back of the papacy from Avignon. But for solidarity the French cardinals cared nothing. ' I am now pope ', the French king Charles V is reported to have exclaimed, when the election of the antipope was announced to him. The story is probably false, but the return of Clement to Avignon (20 June 1379) assured his control. As if to show how little he cared for Italian traditions, Clement formed the States of the Church into a kingdom of Adria and bestowed it on Louis of Anjou.[1]

The election of the antipope was the triumph for the French idea ; their choice of Robert of Geneva was sufficient proof that they were inspired merely by political motives. Few men were more devoid of all spiritual principle. The new pope had shocked even the mercenaries of Italy by his pitiless cruelty. His contemporaries called him ' a man of blood ', and spoke with sarcasm of his ' broad conscience '.[2] Antonin, the saintly bishop of Florence, compared him to Herod and Nero. History will never forgive his infamous massacre at Cesena (1 Feb. 1377). This city of the Church, goaded by the outrages of the Breton garrison, had risen against its legate. Robert summoned Hawkwood and his mercenaries. At the cardinal's[3] orders

[1] Gregorovius, vi. 520 *n.*

[2] Baluze, ii. 914 ; Niem, *Scis.* 25 ; Pastor, i. 112 *n.* ; Raynaldi, xxvi. 282 ; Walsingham, i. 393, ' non Clemens sed pene demens.'

[3] Nominated cardinal in 1371 when bishop of Cambrai. Mollat-Baluze, i. 417 ; Eubel, i. 21.

4,000 of the citizens of both sexes—8,000, says Niem, ' old men, boys, and infants at the breast '—were butchered and thrown into the wells. Hawkwood, more humane than the cardinal, disobeyed his orders and spared 1,000 of the women.[1] Such was the man whom the cardinals now elected as the Vicar of Christ. To add to the irony, Robert took the title of Clement VII.

Judged merely as a political move, the election showed the wisdom of serpents. This lame, squinting Savoyard, ' squat, fat, but eloquent ', was related to several princely houses, including the royal house of France. By the death of his brother he had become Count of Geneva in his own right, the last of his house. As such he had come into conflict with Edward III. Some of his subjects had held to ransom at 800 francs one of the king's envoys to Avignon, and Edward had seized the cardinal's goods in England.[2] Hitherto known as a leader of mercenaries, Robert now developed political ability of no mean order. His character changed. From a brigand he became a pope, dignified, astute. His previous avarice became reckless profusion. Urban on the contrary sank from a painstaking student into a reckless freebooter.[3] But Clement could not escape from his false position. Nicholas Clémanges tells us of his miserable life, of his pride fretting in vain against the insults to which he had exposed himself as the dependant of France, and of the constant shifts to which he was driven.[4]

The nations of Europe at once ranged themselves into opposing camps, adopting and publishing the rival excommunications. National jealousies took control of all ecclesiastical questions. France, on the instructions of her king, decided for Clement at an assembly held at Vincennes (16 Nov. 1378), and wherever French influence prevailed, even in the East—Corfu, Albania, Cyprus—the Clementines held the field, as in

[1] For the expenses of this massacre (11,700 florins) due to Thornbury (*supra*, i. 206, 226) see *Pap. Let.* iv. 158–9.

[2] *Close Rolls*, xiv. 173–4; Rymer, iii. 1042 (Oct. 1375).

[3] Niem, *Scis.* 127; cf. Creighton, ii. 106, 144–5, who calls Clement " tall, handsome " (i. 73), following, I imagine, Muratori, xv. 920. I have followed Niem, *Scis.* 124.

[4] *de Ruina Eccl.* c. 42, an important work, printed in Hardt, i. (3) 1–52; by J. M. Lydius at Leyden in 1513; also in Brown, *Fascic.* ii. 555–69. It has been translated into French by E. Aignan, *Bibl. Étrangère d'histoire* (1823), iii. 1–89.

the Latin nations in general, except Portugal.[1] England and England's possessions in France identified themselves with Urban as part of the Hundred Years' War. On the 30th March 1379 Sudbury published to all his suffragans the excommunication of Robert of Geneva, issued by Urban in the previous November, in which the pope urged all the faithful 'to gird themselves for a crusade against the damned schismatics'.[2] Germany adopted Urban's cause at a diet held in Frankfort in February 1379. So when John of Gaunt invaded Castile, he could plead that he was acting in the interests of Holy Church, as the soldier of the true pope against the antipope, as much as to secure the rights of his wife. As Spain, after some hesitation, was thus allied to the wrong pope, a stop was put to the pilgrimage to Santiago, always popular with English people.[3] Scotland, the ally of France, espoused, of course, a French pope. That Joanna of Naples had taken up Clement was sufficient reason for her enemy, Louis of Hungary and Poland, to throw himself into the cause of Urban, to whose side also the most part of Italy rallied, stirred by hatred of the butcher of Cesena and fired with the enthusiasm of a new national consciousness. By an exception the Schism dissolved the traditional alliance of the houses of Luxembourg and Valois, Wenzel and Sigismund adhering to Urban and carrying their Czech subjects with them. One result was the penetration of Bohemia by the doctrines of Wyclif, an event that would not have happened if England and Bohemia had been ranged in opposite camps. To add to the complication, in all countries there were individuals who attached themselves to the pope "from whom", as Pastor remarks, "they expected to gain most". But in England this became treason; for here, as Selden pointed out, "Urban was made pope by Act of Parliament against pope Clement".[4] Selden was referring to

[1] For these national decisions see Valois, i. 159, 178, 198–225, 231 f.; ii. Leclercq-Hefele, vi. 1086, 1089 *n.*, 1129–32. For French Urbanists see Valois, i. 117–44.

[2] Wilkins, iii. 138–41; *Reg. Wykeham*, ii. 305–6. For England and Urban see Leclercq-Hefele, vi. 1087 *n.* There is an extraordinary forgery (cf. Valois, i. 243 *n.*) purporting to be from Edward III, in Mollat-Baluze, i. 526 f., written in Clement's interests.

[3] June 1389; *Close Rolls*, iii. 592; Rymer, vii. 622.

[4] Selden, *Table Talk* (ed. Arber), 87.

a decision made by the Parliament at Gloucester, where the envoys of pope and antipope appeared in person. In this it was expressly stated that the pope for England was ' per viam statuti firmata ' ; so orders were given for the confiscation of the benefices of all cardinals and others who should side with Clement.[1] In consequence of this decision, when ' a certain clerk brought bulls from Aquitaine to England ', in other words acknowledged Clement, he was accused of ' antipopery ' and imprisoned, first in Gloucester, then in Windsor.[2] Another Englishman, a Dominican friar, William Buxton, titular bishop of Maragha in Persia, who professed allegiance to the antipope, was sent on the 20th June 1384 as nuncio to England by Clement VII. But on his arrival he was accused of attempting to render void the decisions at Gloucester and imprisoned in the Blackfriars until Urban should decide his fate.[3] How far England was departing from the fundamental ideas which underlay the papacy was seen also in the advice of the earl of Northumberland to Richard II on the death of Urban, not to obey any new pope until he had conferred with the lords and people. But Richard, acting through the lollard, Sir Louis Clifford, agreed on the 22nd November 1389 to abstain for a time from all correspondence with Rome.[4]

The religious orders also lost their international character, yielded to local passions, and were split, as Wyclif notes, into hostile camps. The Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem were divided in their allegiance—there was a Grandmaster and an anti-Grandmaster. The Dominicans had two heads—the one at Nuremberg, the other at Bergerac. The abbot of Prémontré adhered to Clement, so the abbot of Welbeck was given all

[1] *Rot. Parl.* iii. 46 ; *Statutes*, ii. 11, and cf. *Cal. Pat.* ii. 417 ; Wilkins, iii. 1916 ; Rymer, iv. 56, 62, 66, 114, 115, 117, 140. On 20 Feb. 1379 the benefices of certain cardinals were restored, as their allegiance to Urban VI was now ascertained (*Cal. Pat.* i. 342). On 3 June 1379 the possessions of Aymar de la Roche, archdeacon of Canterbury, were confiscated and handed to Sudbury for Canterbury cathedral. On 18 Sept. 1380 the benefices of Clementine cardinals were granted to Urban VI (Rymer, iv. 98). The list of those so granted for six months on 8 May 1381 is in *Cal. Pat.* ii. 16.

[2] Devon, *Issues*, 209, 25 Feb. 1379.

[3] Wilkins, iii. 191–2 (19 Nov. 1384) ; Eubel, i. 339. On 15 May 1382 Urban ordered Clement's adherents in England to be deprived and sent to Rome (*Reg. Wykeham*, ii. 209–11).

[4] *Privy Counc.* i. 14 ; cf. Rymer, vii. 686. Stubbs, ii. 512 *n.* suggests the object was to close the Schism.

rights over English foundations.[1] The Franciscans were similarly torn by strife.[2] The French Carthusians declared for Avignon, so the others chose a prior-general at Zeitz in Saxony. For the Cistercians in England, Scotland, and Ireland special arrangements were made under the lead of the abbot of Rievaulx, inasmuch as Citeaux had adhered to the antipope. Nor did the Benedictines escape, in spite of their individualist constitution. The priories dependent on Bec Herlouin in Normandy—the home of Lanfranc and Anselm—were handed over to the jurisdiction of the bishop of London. All this was the beginning of other disorders. At Coldingham, near St. Abb's Head, the monks threw off their allegiance to the king of Scotland, affirming that one who recognized an antipope was *ipso facto* excommunicated. At St. Omer, for a similar reason, an Englishman ran off with the property of his schismatic brethren. In England, at Montacute in Somerset, tenants tried to cheat the prior of his rents on the pretext that he was an adherent of Robert of Geneva. And everywhere the monasteries sought from rival popes 'exaggerated grants and privileges', freely given in dread of a possible change of obedience.[3] In many dioceses, for instance Liége and Mainz, two bishops were struggling for the same see—one bishop in actual possession, another appointed by the rival pope to oust, if he could, 'this son of damnation'. At Chur the bishop leaned one way, the chapter another.[4] In some places, e. g. Forli and Bologna, the people took matters into their own hands, and decided, as Hus wanted to decide at a later time,[5] for strict neutrality. The confusion was indescribable. In Rome itself a party of soldiers held out for some time for Clement, and drove Urban from the Leonine city.[6] We read:

'Kingdom rose against kingdom, province against province, cleric

[1] *Pap. Let.* vi. 76–7.

[2] See O. Hüttebränker, *Die Minoritenorden zur Zeit des Schismas* (Berlin, 1893). For references by Wyclif see *Sel. Eng. Works*, ii. 182; iii. 351.

[3] Wylie, *Hen. IV*, ii. 368; *Pat. Ric.* ii. 35, 285; iv. 509; *Pap. Let.* vii. 85; *Close Rolls*, ii. 271.

[4] Eubel, i. 314 *n.*; Valois, i. 274, 289, 293 f.; Fr. Kummer, *Die Bischofswahlen in Deutschland zur Zeit des Schismas* (Jena, 1892).

[5] Workman, *Letters of Hus*, 21.

[6] Leclercq-Hefele, vi. 1098.

against cleric, doctors against doctors, parents against their sons, and sons against their parents.'[1]

'In Rome itself we have a Pope; In Avignon another,
And each one claims to be alone, The true and lawful ruler.
The world is troubled and perplexed; 'Twere better we had none
Than two to rule o'er Christendom, Where God would have but one.
Christ gave St. Peter power to bind, And also power to loose;
Now men are binding here and there; Lord! loose our bonds, we pray.'[2]

In April 1382 Urban wrote to Wenzel of Bohemia annulling all treaties made with schismatic nations. They were to be deemed mere "scraps of paper" under warning of 'the wrath of God and of St. Peter and St. Paul'.[3]

Everybody was for pitching everybody else into the sea, as a heretic dog beyond hope of salvation. At Oxford the Scots, as adherents of the antipope, would have been driven out, had not Richard interposed to save those who were willing to acknowledge Urban.[4] In Danzig in August 1391 a Scot, Sir William Douglas of Nithsdale, was ejected from St. Mary's church, the priest refusing to proceed with the mass while one of that schismatic race was present.[5] In consequence, after mass was over there was a free fight in the streets in which Douglas was killed. Naples, especially, suffered as the battle-ground of the contending factions. Each pope armed pretenders and counter-pretenders, Charles of Durazzo and Louis of Anjou,[6] whom we see struggling for its crown, strangling the unfortunate Joanna, torturing and deposing the prelates of the rival obediences. In one day, so Niem tells us, Urban appointed thirty-two archbishops and bishops for this unhappy kingdom. 'So general strife', wrote Wyclif, 'as now is among

[1] Ludolf of Sagan, *Tractatus de Longevo Schismate* [ed. J. Loserth in *Archiv oester. Gesch.* (Vienna, 1880), vol. lx. 345–561, and in *Beiträge z. Gesch. d. Husitischen Bewegung*, vol. iii. (Vienna, 1880). I have used this last. For this reference see p. 62 of this ed.] Cf. also Niem, *Scis.* 37.

[2] Pastor, i. 140, from the contemporary poem of Peter Suchenwirt.

[3] Rymer, iv. 144 where it is dated March 30. In *Close Rolls*, ii. 148 it is dated March 20.

[4] Rymer, iv. 157, 5 Dec. 1382. The one good result of the Schism was the founding of the first Scots university at St. Andrews in 1411 by Henry Wardlaw, the champion of the antipope of Peniscola, Benedict XIII (Rashdall, ii. 297).

[5] Higden, ix. 258–9, who gives the town as Königsburg. But see Wylie, *op. cit.*, iii. 4.

[6] For Louis see Leclercq-Hefele, vi. 1099–1100; Valois, i. 160–72.

many realms was never heard of before from the beginning of the world.' 'Many thousand marks were spent and many thousand men slain', 'to venge him on the tother pope'. The Schism, it was calculated, caused in all the death of at least 200,000 people, an estimate, whether exaggerated or not, which shows the carnage into which it plunged Europe.[1] If rival popes could have had their way, 'the fiend's servants', as Wyclif bitterly calls the opposing parties, 'would have tried, for love of two false priests that be open antichrist', to slay their neighbours' 'persons, their wives and their children', and 'reeve (rob) them their goods'.[2]

§ 3

For English students the most remarkable incident in this civil war was the Crusade of Bishop Spenser of Norwich, a matter of great importance for all students of Wyclif's writings. Henry Despenser or Spenser[3] was a grandson of Hugh le Despenser the younger, a great grandson of Hugh le Despenser the elder, the favourite of Edward II. By his mother he claimed descent from Edward I. In his desires and education, Spenser, who was born in 1344,[4] was a soldier rather than an ecclesiastic. When serving under his brother Edward le Despenser[5] it was to his generalship as well as to that of Hawkwood that pope Urban V owed the possibility of his return to Rome in 1367.[6] Spenser was rewarded with the provision to the see of Norwich (3 Apr. 1370).[7] It is characteristic of the man that he was the first bishop of Norwich to impale his own arms as well as the arms of his see upon his seal.[8] On taking possession of his see he found that the doors and windows of his manors had been carried off during the

[1] For a judicial summary see Valois, iv. 479 f., or Leclercq-Hefele vii. 572 ff.

[2] *Sel. Eng. Works*, i. 115; ii. 314, 319, 401; iii. 329. For Naples see Niem, *Scis.* 55 f.

[3] *D. N. B.*; also Capgrave's panegyric, *de Illust. Hen.* 170–4 (Rolls).

[4] In Aug. 1354 'Henry de Spenser aged 10' was provided to a canonry in Salisbury (*Pap. Let.* iii. 520; *Pap. Pet.* i. 261) thus correcting *D. N. B.* 1342.

[5] For whom see G.E.C. iv. 274 f.

[6] *Chron. Ang.* 64; Walsingham, i. 309; Capgrave, *op. cit.* 170; *Pap. Let.* iv. 28.

[7] *Ang. Sac.* i. 415; *Pap. Let.* iv. 83; Eubel, i. 389. Consecrated Rome, 21 April (Stubbs, *Ang. Sac.* 79), temporalities restored 14 Aug. (Rymer, iii. 900).

[8] Blomefield, *Norfolk*, iii. 525.

vacancy.[1] As bishop his fighting spirit—'vir nec literis nec discretione preditus, juvenis effrenis et insolens' as the chronicler bluntly puts it[2]—soon showed itself. At that time Lynn was a manor of Norwich, at constant feud with its episcopal lord.[3] A visitation of Spenser in 1376 passed off smoothly, possibly because of the £1 6*s.* 10*d.* which the town spent on wine for his benefit.[4] But on a visit in 1377 Spenser attempted to enforce the carrying of the mace before him, an honour reserved for the mayor. His procession was attacked with stones and arrows, 'twenty of his horses killed', and the bishop driven to take refuge in the priory of St. Margaret. Spenser retorted by obtaining from Sudbury an interdict on the town (18 June). Not until the 12th July was the quarrel settled by the mediation of the sheriffs of Norfolk and Cambridge.[5] When the Peasants' Revolt broke out Spenser was at Burley in Rutlandshire, the manor of his young nephew.[6] 'Like a pious shepherd grieving over his flock torn by wolves' he donned his coat of mail, and at the head of a few men made short work of the rioters who had retired to North Walsham. Their leader, Geoffrey le Litester of Felmingham, was seized and beheaded and his four quarters sent to Norwich, Lynn, Yarmouth,

'and to the site of his mansion, that rebels might learn by what end they will finish their career'.

Other peasants 'this most excellent man, having the zeal of Phineas in his breast', took to Wymondham 'where, after they had been confessed, he caused them to be beheaded'. Such was his severity that in the fall of 1382 a plot was organized to murder him; but the scheme was betrayed and the plotters hanged.[7]

[1] *Close Ed.* xiii. 136.

[2] *Chron. Ang.* 258. But St. Albans was then at war with Spenser, and the chronicler chooses paint accordingly.

[3] Flenley, 86–91; Harrod, 64; *Hist. MSS. Com.* XI, App. iii. The bishop's rights were acquired by the Crown in 1536 and its name changed from Bishop's Lynn on 2 July 1537.

[4] Harrod, 83.

[5] Rymer, iv. 4; *Pat. Ed.* xvi. 502; Wilkins, iii. 118–19. The struggle cost the town £515 5*s.* 5*d.* (Harrod, 64; *Hist. MSS. Com.* XI, App. iii. 222).

[6] Not Spenser's own manor as *D. N. B.* It belonged to Sir Thomas le Despenser (*Pat. Ric.* i. 395, 452), b. 1373, afterwards, 29 Sept. 1397, earl of Gloucester. See G.E.C. iv. 278 f. and *infra*, p. 70 *n.*

[7] *Chron. Ang.* 306–8, 354; Walsingham, ii. 6–8, 70; Knighton, ii. 140–1 Capgrave, *op. cit.* 170–2.

In Spenser's Crusade there was the usual medieval mixture of political and religious motives. Philip van Artevalde's republic of Ghent had sworn allegiance to the pope of her ally England,[1] but Bruges and Flanders had adopted Clement.[2] By the great French victory over Ghent at Roosebeke there arose the danger lest Flanders should be lost to English traders in wool, for they were promptly expelled along with all Urbanist priests.[3] So when on the 22nd March 1381 Urban launched a crusade against the schismatics,[4] entrusting its execution to Spenser, the English heartily adopted the idea. On the 6th December 1382, within seven days of Roosebeke, Richard authorized Spenser to proclaim the crusade, with penalties against all opponents.[5] A week later the sheriffs were instructed to provide a stock of bows and arrows, whose collection, however, was a slow business.[6] On the Sunday before Christmas Day (Dec. 21) Spenser formally opened his crusade in a sermon at St. Paul's.[7] On the 9th February 1383 Spenser, as papal nuncio, published Urban's bull from his palace ' at Charing near Westminster ',[8] and on the 10th April Courtenay issued a general appeal to his suffragans.[9] The friars, the ' pope's whelps ' as Wyclif called them, went everywhere preaching a new crusade. They were specially privileged to hear confessions in every parish and to commute a desire to visit the Holy Sepulchre or the tombs of the Apostles into a payment for the war against the antipope.[10] With this was

[1] See *Pat. Ric.* ii. 185, 9 Nov. 1382, grant for life of 100 marks a year to ' Philip de Artfeld '. For the two ostriches presented to Richard II by ' the good men of Ghent ' in 1384 see *ib.* ii. 441.

[2] Valois, i. 253 f. for details.

[3] Leclercq-Hefele, vi. 1135.

[4] Walsingham, ii. 72–6, where the editor's date, 1382, is wrong. The bull is given in full in *Reg. Wykeham*, ii. 198–206. Urban's bull of 3 June 1382, preaching a crusade against Clement VII, is printed by H. Simonsfeld, *Bayerische Akad. der Wissenschaften* (Hist. Klasse), xxi.

[5] Wyclif, *Pol. Works*, ii. 600 ; Rymer, iv. 157 ; cf. Knighton, ii. 201–3.

[6] Rymer, iv. 158 : on 20 March 1383 they were still undelivered. See *Close Rolls*, ii. 284–5 for an interesting list of the numbers expected from different counties.

[7] W. S. Simpson, *Docs. Illust. Hist. St. Pauls*, 60.

[8] Walsingham, ii. 78–9. For the Norwich house, afterwards called York house, close to the present Adelphi, see Stow, *Survey*, ii. 100.

[9] Wilkins, iii. 176–8 from Otford. Given in full also in *Reg. Gilbert.* 27–30.

[10] *Reg. Brant.* ii. 600–1. Wyclif singles out the activity of the friars. See *Pol. Works*, ii. 575, 593, 603 ; i. 281 ; *Serm.* iv. 59 ; and cf. Walsingham, ii. 95.

granted a plenary remission of sins which stirred Wyclif into indignant protest.[1] As a result

> ' the bishops collected an incredible sum of money, gold and silver, jewels and necklaces, mugs, spoons and ornaments, especially from ladies and other women. . . . Men and women, rich and poor, gave according to their estate and beyond it, that both their dead friends and themselves also might be absolved from their sins. For absolution was refused unless they gave according to their ability and estate. Many found men of arms and archers at their own expense, or went themselves on the crusade. For the bishop had wonderful indulgences, with absolution from punishment and guilt, conceded to him for the crusade by pope Urban ; by whose authority the bishop, in his own person or by his commissioners, absolved both the living and the dead on whose behalf sufficient contribution was made.' [2]

In St. Albans and some of its cells several of the younger monks, whether inspired by martial ardour or in a spirit of restlessness, seized the opportunity to join the Crusade.[3]

Some dispute arose as to who should lead the army. One party, anxious for the safety of Calais, favoured the command by Richard in person. Difficulties arose over the choice of a regent, so Parliament was summoned to decide, and met on the 22nd February at Westminster.[4] As Richard was not anxious to go, the question was dropped and a committee of the Commons appointed to confer with a committee of the Lords. Before this committee Spenser flourished his bulls and claimed the command, bitterly opposed by Lancaster, who looked on the crusade as competing with his Spanish schemes. After a fortnight's struggle Spenser won, chiefly by the help of the Commons ' whose hearts God had touched '—they were thinking of their wool—and who voted a fifteenth and a tenth as well as tunnage ' for the comfort and succour of Ghent '. On the 17th March orders were issued that ' all lieges about to sail upon a crusade for defence of holy Church and the realm of England ' should assemble with all speed, and on the 8th

[1] For the form of absolution see Walsingham, ii. 76 f., and cf. Wilkins, iii. 178. For Wyclif's protest see *Pol. Works*, ii. 592, 595, 603, 610 f., 624 ; *Op. Min.* 368.

[2] Knighton, ii. 198–9.

[3] Walsingham, *Gesta*, ii. 416 gives their names. They never recovered from the heat and bad water.

[4] Writs with emphasis of king's intent ' to sail in person ' issued 7 Jan. *Close Ric.* ii. 195, 246 ; *Letter-Book H.* 211 ; *Rep. Dig. Peer*, iv. 700–3.

April the collectors of the subsidies were instructed to deliver the same within ten days to Spenser at Sandwich. On the day appointed the money was not forthcoming, so fresh steps were taken to proclaim the indulgences. In part the delay was due to the theft by clever rogues of large sums on the pretence that they were Spenser's agents. In other instances papal collectors —for example, John Karlel, chancellor of Dublin, agent for the crusade in Ireland—kept the money and refused to give an account. At last, on the 17th April, Spenser assumed the Cross at St. Paul's. Ten days later orders were given for immediate embarkation.[1] Preparations for the passage had been made by seizing all ships of between sixteen and one hundred tons 'from the mouth of the Thames to Lynn', small vessels called 'doggers', of less than sixteen tons, being exempted. The ships were ordered to assemble at Sandwich on the 8th April,[2] but it was some weeks after that date before sufficient shipping was assembled for Spenser to lead his van across the Channel on Trinity Sunday, the 17th May.

We need not follow Spenser's campaign in detail:[3] how at Dunkirk, as Wyclif tells us, the bishop 'killed them by many thousands';[4] how at Gravelines he pillaged a monastery and spared not a soul in the town; how on the first news of success and pillage London apprentices, donning the red cross, set out with their bows and arrows under Sir John Philipot; how ungraciously the unarmed rabble was welcomed by Spenser—'Why have you come', he cried, 'to consume the victuals that scarce suffice for the fighting men'[5]—how at Ypres, name now ever illustrious in the annals of England, instead of finding 'three barrels full of gold',[6] he was driven to the coast, there to lose town after town without a struggle. He had undertaken the crusade with inadequate numbers. He had received

[1] *Close Rolls*, ii. 260; Rymer, iv. 163–4, 168–9; *Cal. Pat.* ii. 290, 350, 365; *Pap. Let.* iv. 284.

[2] *Close Rolls*, ii. 261; Rymer, iv. 165, 168.

[3] G. M. Wrong, *The Crusade of 1383*. For the Flemish account, J. Meyer, *Annales Flandriae* (1561), 193 f.

[4] *Eng. Works*, 152. Walsingham, ii. 93 '12,000, of our side only seven'; Capgrave, *Chron.* 239 '7000'; Knighton, ii. 199, '3000'.

[5] Walsingham, ii. 95–6 (read 'ad quid' for 'ut quid'); Wyclif alludes to these recruits, *Pol. Works*, i. 281.

[6] Rumour spread by an impostor, July 1383 (Riley, *Mem. Lond.* 479).

payment of £6,266 13*s.* 4*d.* for 2,500 men at arms and 2,500 archers, but of these, if Froissart may be trusted, only 600 lances and 1,500 others had actually joined.[1] The lack of warriors had not been made up by the friars, priests, and monks that swelled his train, to say nothing of the felons and debtors who joined the crusade, at any rate nominally, to postpone their obligations or escape the penalty of their crimes.[2] As for the monks, what with the heat, the fatigues of the march, the putrid water, they soon found reasons for returning home. Some of the knights, in disgust at Spenser's leadership, made terms of their own with the enemy, receiving large sums in gold for which they were afterwards called to account by parliament, as were also Spenser's clerks who had embezzled the funds intended for the war.[3]

On his return in disgrace to England,[4] Spenser was impeached and deprived by parliament of his temporalities. In spite of the appeal of Convocation the temporalities were not restored until the 24th October 1385, and then chiefly through the intercession of Arundel of Ely.[5] It would appear also that the bishop lost for some time the right to his "spiritualities"; at any rate it was not until May 1390 that he received a papal dispensation 'to exercise his office of bishop, notwithstanding' the slaughters in the Flemish campaigns. In the meantime he betook himself to crenellating his manor houses, hunting lollards, quarrelling with the chapter of his cathedral and with the burghers of Lynn, and collecting versions of metrical prophecies. In 1386–7 he once more found a chance of taking up arms by joining the naval expedition against the Flemish coast under the earl of Arundel.[6] In 1397–8 he visited Norwich and the city spent 12*s.* 4*d.* on 'one jar of green ginger bought and given to the same lord bishop'.[7] When Richard

[1] Devon, 222–3 on 9 May 1383. Walsingham, ii. 96, exaggerates into '60,000'.

[2] *Cal. Pat.* ii. 240, 292, 297, 300, 306; *Close Rolls*, ii. 280.

[3] *Close Rolls*, ii. 368; Rymer, vii. 424; *Rot. Parl.* iii. 156, 397–8; *Cal. Pat.* ii. 405, 476; iii. 414.

[4] Before 23 Oct. 1383 (*Cal. Pat.* ii. 319).

[5] Wilkins, iii. 185 (19 Dec. 1384); Higden, ix. 69; Walsingham, ii. 141 Rymer, vii. 479; the temporalities had been farmed out for 500 marks a year (*Cal. Pat.* iii. 34).

[6] *Pap. Let.* iv. 325; v. 11, 273, 586; *Cal. Pat.* iii. 381; v. 712; Wilkins, iii. 195; *Pat. Hen.* ii. 67, 274.

[7] W. Hudson and R. C. Tingey, *Records of Norwich* (1906), ii. 41.

fell he was one of the few to be faithful and to oppose Henry with force of arms. Arrested for complicity in Montague's plot, ' he was not delivered to a temporal prison, but to the keeping of my lord of Canterbury, though afterwards the king frankly restored him to his church and dignity '.[1] In July 1402 his warlike heart was once more gladdened by being ordered to array the clergy of his diocese for defence of the realm. In the last year of his life he hired rooms at Queen's College, Oxford. This ' Pugil ecclesiae ', as his admirers called him in his epitaph, died on the 23rd August 1406 in the early morning, murmuring that ' the earth is the Lord's '.[2]

The crusade of Spenser was but an incident in a long struggle between the rival popes, on whose fortunes we shall briefly touch. The cause of Urban opened auspiciously. By the victory at Marino of the Italian company of St. George over the foreign mercenaries (29 April 1379), Urban was delivered from his fears in Rome. The French, who had held for Clement the castle of St. Angelo, were forced, in spite of their newly-invented guns and their galleys on the Tiber, to surrender to the Romans, who had savagely cut off the hands of all captured Clementines. In their hatred of the fortress the mob tore off its marble coverings, but ' the castle itself they were unable to destroy '. As one result of this victory Clement was driven to retreat from Naples (May 13) and take refuge at Avignon.[3]

On the 29th April 1380 Catherine of Siena passed away, at the age of thirty-three. This maiden of the people had stood beside the pope like a guardian angel, throwing his coarseness into greater prominence by the radiance of her gentleness. She died of a broken heart, happy in that she did not witness the new excesses, ' like those of a madman and a fury ', into which Urban plunged. Hatred and ambition became the passions of his life. He subordinated everything to his dream of placing the crown of Italy on the head of his worthless nephew Butillo, who abused his position to break into a convent

[1] Usk, *Chron.* 43 ; Stubbs, iii. 32. His nephew Thomas Despenser (*supra*) was in the plot and was beheaded by the mob at Bristol.

[2] *Pat. Hen.* ii. 109 ; Magrath, i. 131 ; for his epitaph, Capgrave, *Ill. Hen.* 174, or Blomefield, *Norfolk*, iii. 524–5.

[3] Leclercq-Hefele, vi. 1101 *n.* ; Valois, i. 160–73 ; Niem, *Scis.* 38 ; Walsingham, i. 396 ; and for the medieval St. Angelo, Gregorovius, vi. 515–17.

and ravish one of its nuns.[1] To further this scheme, he broke with his ally, Charles of Durazzo, who had seized Naples with Urban's assistance, and plunged into a savage war. When six of his new cardinals opposed him, and toyed with the question whether it were competent for the College to appoint a guardian for an incompetent pope, Urban, whom the contemporary writer Philippe de Mézières calls ' more cruel than a serpent, Herod, or Antiochus ',[2] flung them into an old cistern, ' so narrow that they could not even stretch their limbs.' Lest the torturers at work on the pulleys, ' from morning until dinner ', should relax their efforts, the pope paced the terrace of his castle ' reading his breviary in a high voice, that we might hear that he was there '.[3] To take the places of these cardinals he nominated a number of Germans and Neapolitans. The Germans refused; the Neapolitans, who were men of scandalous life, accepted.

If the chronicles may be trusted, there are few stories in history more revolting than the records of Urban's later years. We see him besieged by the mercenaries of Charles of Durazzo in his nephew's castle of Nocera, coming to the window three or four times a day to curse his enemies, a bell in one hand, a torch in the other, offering in his bulls the blessing of the Church to all who should kill or mutilate his enemies. Charles retorted by hurling one of the pope's messengers from a catapult against the castle walls, and by the promise of ' ten thousand florins for the pope, alive or dead '.[4] On his deliverance by a company of French and German mercenaries he hurried across Italy at the head of a savage band only less savage than himself. When the bishop of Aquila, ' on account of his poor horse and his previous tortures, could no longer ride quick enough ', Urban handed him over to the butchers, who, as Niem grimly remarks, ' belonged to the obedience of Clement '. His body was left lying by the roadside like that of a dog.

[1] Niem, *Scis.* 42, 63, with Erler's doubts, 64, *n.* 1, cf. 97, *n.* 1.

[2] Leclercq-Hefele, vi. 112 *n.*

[3] Niem, *Scis.* 82–94 (21 Jan. 1385). Niem states that they were innocent, and puts in on their behalf a protest too eloquent to be real (p. 84) for one whose legs trembled in Urban's presence. Gobelin, *Persona Cosm.* vi. 78, believes in their conspiracy. But he was not there. See also Valois, ii. 113. A defence of Urban has been attempted by Salembier, *Le grand Schisme*, 110.

[4] Niem, *Scis.* 97–8, 101, with Erler's notes. Date 1385.

Historians would have had few regrets if the French among the mercenaries had carried out their intention of taking Urban captive to Avignon. From this he delivered himself by the payment of 35,000 florins.

Arriving at length at Genoa, but dismissed thence in the course of a year, Urban put an end to the sufferings of his captive cardinals. Only one was spared, the English cardinal, Adam Easton, whose offence was that he had said that 'the pope was too proud'.[1] Of the others, some were tied in sacks and flung into the sea, others were strangled and 'buried in a stable filled with quicklime'.[2] After four years of further wanderings and excesses, loathed and rejected by all, yet too indispensable to diverse political needs to be put out of the way, Urban was violently pitched from his mule. Two months later (15 Oct. 1389) he was dead, mourned by none save his nephew Butillo, whose fortunes were now ruined. Even to the last he dreamed of securing Naples for his family, and, that money might not be lacking, ordered the Jubilee to be held in 1390. Over his tomb, relegated on the 12th September 1606 to the crypt of the new St. Peter's, we can read the 'barbarous epitaph':

Here lies the just, wise, and noble prince.
Great was the Schism, but great was his courage in opposing it.
And in the presence of this mighty pope simony sat dumb.
But it is needless to reiterate his praises on earth
While heaven is shining with his immortal glory.[3]

The verdict of history is otherwise. He was one to whom Tacitus' sarcasm would apply: 'He would have seemed to all men suitable to rule had he not ruled.' Austere, energetic, simple, pious, absolutely without sense of fear,[4] Urban, 'in spite of his constant wars and vast expenses, never committed simony' or abused his patronage, while 'he left more money in the Papal treasury than he found'.[5] Urban was

[1] Walsingham, ii. 123. For Easton see *supra*, i. 101.

[2] The end of the cardinals is uncertain. The accounts vary and lead to doubt (see Niem, *Scis.* 110, Erler's note; Gobelin Persona, *Cosm.* i. 310). The accounts witness to the terror and hatred of Urban, and to some atrocity or other. The church which was the scene of their tortures, S. Giovanni, near the railway station at Genoa, is still standing.

[3] Hare, *Walks in Rome*, ii. 285; Gregorovius, vi. 540, *n.* 1; Gobelin Persona, *Cosm.* i. 312; or Ciaconius, ii. 633, with picture.

[4] Cf. the memorable scene in the Vatican; Walsingham, ii. 67.

[5] Niem, *Scis.* 122. A passage not in most editions of Niem; cf. Pastor, i. 383–4.

one whom power and opposition corrupted from an upright priest into a cruel tyrant. Even his virtues but threw into more hideous light his excesses. His pontificate is, perhaps, the most disastrous in the history of the papacy.

§ 4

In our account of Urban's career, as well as in the story of Spenser's crusade, we have travelled considerably beyond the present chronological limit of our story. But the development of Wyclif's break with the papacy cannot be understood without a clear vision of its background. The Schism and Spenser's crusade both form stages in Wyclif's revolt. Before the Schism Wyclif had not disputed the spiritual primacy of the papacy, though ready to lead the crusade against papal pretensions, and even to speak ill of individual popes. Wyclif's position hitherto would seem to have been this: we must obey the pope as the vicar of Christ, only the vicar of Christ must be the poorest, the holiest, the most God-enlightened man in Christendom, who more than all others obeys God's law. His 'prerogative' or 'cunning was not speculative, of geometry or other science, but practical, in deed, how men should live by God's law'. Unless he has 'Peter's life' the pope with his keys becomes merely a 'porter of hell gates'.[1] During the time of his later residence at Oxford Wyclif had seen no reason to depart from this attitude. Urban V (1362–70) was a saintly man who would commend himself to Wyclif by the vigour with which he attacked idle monks and pluralism, especially in England.[2] The early years of Gregory XI, who was distinguished for piety, learning, and purity of life, would also commend themselves to Wyclif. But in all this, as in so much else in Wyclif's thinking, the main factor is the individual equation; there is no recognition of the medieval concept of Rome. As we see in his *de Dominio*, obedience to the papacy was rather a matter of the order and convenience of the Church than of principle.

[1] *Sel. Eng. Works*, i. 40, 241; ii. 394; iii. 342, 505; *Eng Works*, 342; *Trial.* 186.

[2] Wilkins, iii. 62, 63, 65. See also *supra*, i. 164.

The first shock to Wyclif's belief came from the Conference at Bruges and the excommunication by Gregory XI of the Florentines. This led him to examine more closely the papal position. The publication by Gregory of the bulls against Wyclif drove him into fierce denunciation. He did not scruple to call Gregory ' a horrible fiend ' and to thank God for the death of ' such a heretic '.[1] Nevertheless he still maintained the value of the Roman primacy, though emphatic that popes and prelates must be obeyed only in so far as they follow Christ, and act in accordance with Scripture. The dogma that all things decreed by the Roman pontiff are right he judged to be sheer blasphemy. ' No pope is to be believed unless he is teaching by the inspiration of God, or founding his utterances on Scripture ' ; a pope may fall into heresy.[2] As the Schism advanced Wyclif became more and more opposed to the authors of the mischief, both Urban and Clement, and to the institution itself. Wyclif had already questioned whether one day ' the ship of Peter may not exist exclusively of laymen ', and whether, when that day comes, ' Christ will not be *per se* sufficient for the rule of His own spouse '.[3] He was driven to the conclusion that just as the ' virtue of a king is stretched over all his realm ', so every Christian has Christ to help him, ' and needs neither pope nor bishop for his salvation '. The temporal power in all its forms he looked on as simony.[4] Finally Urban's excesses, the struggle of pope and antipope, and Spenser's crusade [5] worked Wyclif into a fierceness of wrath and indignation which blazed out in violent attacks upon the papacy and the whole theory underlying it.

Wyclif's intermediate position is best studied in his *de Potestate Papae*.[6] This book, a work of unusual unity of

[1] *Eccles.* 358 ; *Serm.* iii. 59.

[2] *Apos.* 65, 69, 173 ; *Serm.* ii. 157, 177 ; iv. 66 (from the reference to the ' Robertines ' written about 1379) ; *Sel. Eng. Works*, i. 153, 225 ; *Eng. Works*, 461 ; *Pot. Pap.* 360 ; *Off. Reg.* 223 f. ; *Civ. Dom.* iii. 44.

[3] *Civ. Dom.* i. 392 ; *Pol. Works*, i. 257.

[4] *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 342 ; *Off. Reg.* 226 ; *Pol. Works*, i. 257 ; *Apos.* 176.

[5] Wyclif's protests against Spenser's crusade abound ; e.g. *Sel. Eng. Works*, i. 115 ; ii. 41, 43, 314, 319, 401 ; iii. 329 ; *Serm.* iv. 135 ; *Op. Min.* 119, 123 ; *Pol. Works*, ii. 396–7, 575, 593 ; and in special works, e.g. *Cruciata* (*Pol. Works*, ii. 613). This is one of the chronological notes enabling us to date Wyclif's later works.

[6] Ed. J. Loserth for Wyclif Soc. in 1907.

content and logical development from certain fundamental notions, formed the ninth volume of his *Summa* and was probably finished in 1379, shortly after the publication of his *de Ecclesia*, his *de Veritate Sacrae Scripturae*, and his *de Officio Regis*.[1] Throughout the work Wyclif assumes that the reader is familiar with his previous exposition of the nature of the Church. Wyclif's relation to Urban VI is not altogether consistent. He considers him to be 'our pope', established by national recognition,[2] and still expresses his hope that he will justify his election. He praises him for his insistence on evangelical poverty in the cardinals, and is contemptuous of Avignon and the revolting cardinals.[3] But throughout the work we detect a growing undercurrent of doubt. In one place he urges that, since we cannot tell from their acts which of the two is the true pope, both should hold their peace till the Church should decide—the policy, in fact, of D'Ailli and Gerson, the outcome of which we see in the council of Constance. Meanwhile 'we English cannot accept either', for their rivalry marks out both as antichrists.[4] In fact the whole tendency of the work, though not its object, is to show that the Church does not need the papacy; it would be better if it were governed by a council, for an endowed pope is antichrist.[5] The importance of the work is also seen in the extensive use made of it by Hus in his *de Ecclesia*. Whole passages were lifted out of it word for word and adopted by Hus, though without any acknowledgement of their source.[6]

We proceed to the detailed examination of this important book. Wyclif begins with an investigation of the nature of power, and sharply distinguishes between spiritual and secular power. Both, however, are of two kinds. Of spiritual power one kind, belonging to the clergy, dispenses the sacraments, the other is shared by all alike. So also secular power is both political, belonging to temporal rulers and masters, and

[1] Loserth in *Pot. Pap.*, p. li f. That it preceded the *de Simonia* is evident from *Sim.* 40, 59. In *Pot. Pap.* 254 there is a reference to the Shakyl and Haulay matter.

[2] *Pot. Pap.* 247, 255. In a later work, *de Blas.* 7, 8, 162, Wyclif writes as if committed to Urban for life.

[3] *Pot. Pap.* 233.

[4] *Ib.* 149, 186, 212.

[5] *Ib.* 111, 321.

[6] Loserth, *Pot. Pap.*, p. xlii f.

general, belonging to the community at large. Spiritual power is the superior, but the idea that it gives rights to temporal possessions is the vain imagination of priestly greed. Both spiritual and civil power are the gift of God, and neither apostles nor popes have any power save such as God imparts by His Holy Spirit, without regard to external signs and rites. Of all power righteousness is the sign. Concerning nothing has there been such 'a cataclysm of lying as about the grant, withdrawal and restriction' of spiritual power. We hear a familiar doctrine in his assertion that those who fall into mortal sin lose their power.

After this general introduction and a short investigation of the powers of priest and bishop—between whom, following Jerome and Fitzralph, Wyclif sees no essential difference—Wyclif considers the powers of the first of all bishops, the pope, a title which Wyclif states was originally applied to other bishops.[1] Fitzralph in his *de Questionibus Armenorum* had laid down twenty reasons for the primacy of Peter. These Wyclif quotes at length and examines, passing thence to the questions[2] whether Peter's successors—with whom Wyclif owns the primacy must still lie, since Christ cannot abandon His Church—are necessarily the bishops of Rome, what qualities Peter's successors must have, and by what means they obtain the succession. Wyclif falls back upon grace and character. As Peter became Christ's vicar through his great love, his humility, his resemblance to His Master in life and doctrine, even so must it be with his successors;[3] while to find out whether the election was of God's will and predestination, the best mode would be by the drawing of lots.[4] Peter, it is true, instituted St. Clement in Rome and St. Mark in Alexandria, but such method has now been corrupted by heathen traditions. The system of election by cardinals, a sect unknown to Scripture, most of whom are not even priests, is a scandal. But, however elected, the successors of St. Peter have no juridical rights over the Church Militant, for Peter himself had no rights

[1] *Pot. Pap.*, c. 3, p. 165, 201. [2] *Ib.*, c. 4.

[3] *Ib.* 97, 101, 160; *Ver. Script.* iii. 73; *Op. Min.* 135 f.; *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 250–1.

[4] *Pot. Pap.* 68 f.; *Sel. Eng. Works*, i. 395; ii. 413; *Blas.* 43; *Op. Min.* 283. Cf. *infra*, p. 79.

over the other apostles,[1] and the extension of papal jurisdiction over Christendom is of pagan origin. The primacy of the pope is a primacy in character, the living like Christ without possessions and free from all worldly interests, the fulfilment of the thirty-four points which St. Bernard enumerated as the qualities of a true pope.[2] Wyclif then turns to the argument that popes, bishops, and abbots require temporal power in order to support their spiritual position.[3] If the pope would embrace the poverty of Christ and renounce interference in all temporal matters, then God would bestow upon him more perfect gifts and the power of working miracles. Wyclif strikes even more at the heart of the Medieval Church when he asserts, as in his *de Ecclesia*, that we cannot tell whether any pope is a predestined member of holy Church. Only through deeds of holiness can we believe in his predestination, and by the conformity of his acts and writings with Scripture. In a word sanctity is the sign of authority,[4] the true papacy consists in service,[5] and a pope who departs from the ways of the apostles is antichrist, upon whose characteristics Wyclif dwells.[6] Who then is Christ's true vicar? he who imitates Christ in His poverty, who chooses poor simple men for his disciples, who grasps not at jurisdiction, who dwells not in a rich palace but preaches the Gospel where Christ's name is unknown, who protects the privilege of the clergy to live the higher life, who abstains from "provisions", who gives his life for the fallen ones, and who leads his flock into a fold built up with strong stones.[7]

Wyclif's investigation of the question how the Romans acquired the right of election of the successor of St. Peter is of interest. Fitzralph in his *Summa in Questionibus Armenorum* had answered: because Rome is the capital of Christendom.[8] Wyclif retorts that this is the condemnation of the popes' sojourn at Avignon; moreover Rome was the capital rather of heathendom than of Christendom. Wyclif also examines the

[1] *Pot. Pap.* 98 f., 113, 157, 195–6; cf. *Op. Min.* 130 f.; *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 354.
[2] *Pot. Pap.* 94, 101, 135 f.; *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 434.
[3] *Pot. Pap.* 162 f., 222.
[4] *Ib.* 360; *Blas.* 44.
[5] *Pot. Pap.* 365.
[6] *Ib.* 118 f., 186 f., 327.
[7] *Ib.* 120 f., 135 f., 156 f., 163.
[8] *Ib.* 166 f.

whole theory of the Holy Roman Empire, that emperor and pope work together at Rome for the good of the Church. The facts are just the opposite. At all events England is no part of the Empire whose institution has brought Germany into chaos.[1] Nor can we plead that no other place has so many martyrs.[2] The place does not sanctify the man, and many bishops of Rome have been wicked antichrists. His conclusion is that the bishop of Rome is not necessarily St. Peter's successor, and vice versa. The identification of the two is purely of human origin, in part the result of secular law and the power of the emperors,[3] in part arising from the 'poison' of Constantine's endowment. This is just as if the Tartar Khan were now converted, and made the church of Kambalek in Cathay the first of all churches.[4] In proof thereof Wyclif falls back upon his favourite historian, Ralph Higden. From Ralph de Diceto Wyclif also quotes a list of antipopes and depositions which had called for the interference of the secular judges.[5] Every century has witnessed some quarrel at Rome caused by the greed of temporal dignities. In consequence :

> If therefore any one saith : Lo here at Avignon is the Christ ; believe them not, for the deeds shall show who is the antichrist.

Until this is clear, obedience should be withdrawn ; 'I should be ashamed to show myself in Oxford if I publicly upheld in the schools any other doctrine '.[6] The work closes with a list of twelve abuses of which the papacy and its 'satraps' have been persistently guilty.

We have noticed Wyclif's habit of publishing his views in two forms, a larger for the schools, a smaller for a wider appeal. So with the *de Potestate Papae*. After his quarrel with the friars had begun,[7] Wyclif compressed the main arguments of his larger work into a short tract, mistakenly entitled *de Ordine Christiano*,[8] in reality a closely reasoned inquiry whether the papacy is necessary for the Church. Wyclif formulates every possible objection to the papacy ; " modern learning has only added a critical examination of his Gospel texts ".[9] The tract

[1] *Pot. Pap.* 227.
[2] *Ib.* 171.
[3] *Ib.* 175, 232, 259 ; cf. *Ver. Script.* iii. 72.
[4] *Pot. Pap.* 215.
[5] *Ib.* 177, 181 f., 198.
[6] *Ib.* 249.
[7] *Op. Min.* 137.
[8] In *Op. Min.* 129–39.
[9] Loserth in *Op. Min.*, p. xxiv.

may be commended to those who desire a brief summary of Wyclif's position.

There are advantages in bringing before the reader at this stage Wyclif's later views on the papacy. From his earlier contradictory positions Wyclif was driven by the logic of events into violent antagonism to the whole system. His spiritual earnestness was shocked, his theory destroyed, by the spectacle of two popes, possessing all the notes of the 'wolf', each claiming to be the sole head of the Church, each labelling the other as antichrist, 'like dogs quarrelling for a bone', 'like crows resting on their carrion', each seeking to bring about a general Armageddon for the destruction of his rival, each confiscating for his own purposes benefices held by the adherents of the other,[1] each offering indulgences for 'many thousand year after domesday, so that a man may get in half a day an hundred thousand year and more'. To call such a man 'most holy father' is but 'gabbing'. 'Men that know the worldly state say that popes and cardinals, bishops and religious be most far from Christ's life'.[2] The difficulty that arose from Wyclif's earlier commitment to Urban's election was met, as he thought, by a denial that the cardinals had a right to choose one who proved contrary to God's will. As such a doctrine would have thrown all government into confusion, inasmuch as eligibility would be determined by deeds after election, Wyclif threw the burden on God Himself by falling back on choice by lot. At first also he tried to save 'Our Urban' by maintaining that he was innocent of 'crime' which was really the work of the friars.[3] When this argument was cut away by Urban's deeds Wyclif claimed that neither pope was God's choice. So both should be set aside as 'devils' condemned for their pride, whose advent Christ had prophesied when He spake of the signs of judgement.[4]

In pamphlets both in English and Latin Wyclif and his assistants pour scorn on the idea that because Peter died at Rome therefore every Roman bishop is to be set above all

[1] *Pol. Works*, i. 350–1; ii. 591; *Op. Evang.* i. 433.
[2] *Sel. Eng. Works*, ii. 28, 30, 36, 229, 302.
[3] *Pol. Works*, ii. 574, 593, 613; *Serm.* iv. 193–4.
[4] *Op. Evang.* i. 99; *Op. Min.* 366; *Pol. Works*, i. 129–30; *Serm.* iv. 156–7, 163–4.

Christendom. The antiquity of a see is no proof of either it holiness or its wisdom. By the same reasoning the Muslim—whom Wyclif by a curious piece of reasoning regards as entitled to claim greater antiquity than 'antichrist's supporters'—might conclude that 'their prelate at Jerusalem', where Christ died, is greater than the pope.[1] Appealing to the medieval belief in the story of pope Joanna,[2] Wyclif brings her in as a tale 'narrated in apocryphal chronicles' to show how fallible the choice of the cardinals might be. With the same object he points out that Judas was elected by Christ himself. Christ alone is the head of the Church, the primacy of Peter not proven, the infallibility of his successors a heresy—'Lord! where each pope be more and better with God than was Peter, who erred oft and sinned much'—their canonizations no proof that a saint is in heaven, their claim to 'assoil and curse' without warrant, their grants of privileges, 'but if Christ confirm them first, be not worth a fly's foot', and their dispensing the Church's treasury of grace, more especially in indulgences for waging unnatural conflicts, 'the lewdest heresy'.[3] He acknowledges, it is true, even in his latest pamphlets that Rome fulfils certain necessary functions of government, but he arraigns her method as not by the love and patience of Jesus but by haughtiness, pride and ambition. Only by laying these aside can she become of real service. From this conclusion it was an easy step to the proclamation that the Church would do better to go back to the sole headship of Christ, and give up the gentile rite of choosing a pope.[4] 'In a word', as Wyclif proclaims, 'the papal institution is full of poison', 'antichrist itself', 'Gog, the head of the Caesarean clergy', 'the man of sin' who 'exalted himself above God'. So far from the pope being necessary for the Church, the Church without popes and cardinals would enjoy a greater peace. The pope 'is not the head, life or root except perchance of evil doers in the Church'; rather indeed he is a 'poisonous weed'. He is not 'a God on earth'—'a mixed God' as Wyclif sneers—

[1] *Serm.* ii. 296–7, 433; *Apos.* 80.
[2] *Pol. Works*, ii. 619. Wyclif, who doubts the story, calls her 'Anna'.
[3] *Pol. Works*, ii. 559, 594, 667–8; *Serm.* iv. 184; *Sel. Eng. Works*, ii. 281, 415; iii. 244, 256, 345.
[4] *Pol. Works*, ii. 560–1; *Apos.* 202.

but ' the leader of the army of the devil ', ' a limb of Lucifer ', ' the head vicar of the fiend ', ' a simple idiot who might be a damned devil in hell ', ' a detestable fugitive ', ' an apostate from the rule of Christ ', ' a more horrible idol than a painted log ', to whom it were ' detestable and blasphemous idolatry ' to pay veneration.[1] Rome, ' that holy place ! ' is more cursed than Sodom or Gomorrah.[2] More than once Wyclif works out in detail an elaborate contrast in twelve particulars between Christ and His so-called vicar,[3] a contrast that amounts to an antagonism so complete that the pope thereby becomes antichrist.[4] ' Christ is truth ', the ' pope is the principle of falsehood ' ; Christ lived in poverty, He had not where to lay His head, the pope labours for worldly magnificence ; ' Christ refused temporal dominion, the pope seeks it ' ; Christ came to minister to others, the pope exacts ministrations from others ; Christ obeyed the temporal power and, to show His approval, was born under it, the pope strives to weaken it, and demands homage even from the emperor himself ; ' Christ chose as His apostles twelve simple men ', the ' pope chooses as cardinals many more than twelve, crafty, ambitious and worldly ' ; Christ despised gold, with the pope everything is marketable ; Christ sent His disciples out into the world as lambs among wolves, antichrist lives ' in a superb castle,[5] built with the money of the poor ', and gives ' his disciples ' comfortable dwellings in the ' patrimony of the Crucified '.

In his later treatises Wyclif even welcomes the Schism. ' Christ ', he exclaims, ' hath begun already to help us graciously,

[1] *Serm.* ii. 66, 158, 201 f. ; iv. 190 ; *Pol. Works*, ii. 396, 559, 564, 608, 619–21, 671–6, 691.

[2] *Pol. Works*, ii. 552.

[3] *Ib.*, ii. 614–17 (*Cruciata*) and especially *de Christo et suo Adversario*, cc. 11–15 (*ib.* ii. 680–91), where the sketch of *Cruciata* is worked out in detail. Cf. *Op. Min.* 340–2, and the short English tract *de Papa*, which seems to me genuine (*Eng. Works*, 457, 462 f.).

[4] *Pol. Works*, ii. 680 ; *Blas.* 31. Buddensieg, *Pol. Works*, i. p. xxi, following Lechler, fails to convince me that the identification with antichrist is conditional only, as in *Eng. Works*, 89, except in so far as all identifications are conditional. In *Serm.* iv. 173 he calls both popes, ' procuratores antichristi ' and in *Op. Evang.* i. 383 definitely identifies the two. Cf. *Eng. Works*, 446 ' the proper nest of antichrist ' ; *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 341.

[5] In *Pol. Works*, ii. 617 this becomes ' inclusus in proprio castro ', a reference to the powerlessness of the ' refuga ', Urban VI. In *Pol. Works*, ii. 683 Wyclif compares Clement at Avignon to Chosroes II the Nestorian.

in that he hath cloven the head of antichrist, and made the two parts fight against each other!'[1] Even Spenser's crusade, which drew from Wyclif his most savage attacks, was not without its advantages. Though originated by the arch-enemy of God, acting through the friars, it had exposed for ever the pope's hypocrisy and worldliness, and demonstrated the need 'in conformity with the law of Christ' of dispensing with him altogether, and recognizing that there is but 'one living head of the Church militant, Jesus Christ the bishop of souls'. The Schism had shown that the papacy was not the shepherd of the Church but her betrayer, a foe against which all the true soldiers of Christ must unite.[2] The violence of Wyclif's language did his cause injury; to some extent it was an echo of the violence wherewith the rival popes cursed each other. Wyclif would have claimed that his violence was fully justified and needed no excuse. All wars were evil, but a war caused by a pope for his own advancement stood condemned as the work of antichrist, and all the pleadings in its favour were but the lies of Satan. The pope had rejected Christ, so Christendom, especially the secular lords, must reject the pope, and by an alliance of English and Germans restore the Church to its primitive poverty.[3]

[1] *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 247; *Eng. Works*, 463; *Pol. Works*, i. 243; ii. 604; *Trial.* 424; *Op. Evang.* i. 75.

[2] *Pol. Works*, ii. 467, 589, 593–4, 597.

[3] *Ib.*, ii. 509, 592–3, 596, 608; *Serm.* i. 132 (evidently written after Anne's marriage to Richard in 1382).

III

ABUSES IN THE CHURCH

§ 1

In the following chapter we shall deal with Wyclif's attack upon the main abuses in the life of the Church. The bitterness of Wyclif's attack cannot be gainsaid; it is another question whether it was fully justified. An impartial decision would demand a fuller examination than we can give of the inner life of the Church in the fourteenth century. We must content ourselves with stating Wyclif's charges, with some note here and there of facts upon which they were based. But we must warn our readers not only that the chapter must of necessity be a partial survey, but that all reformers by their very calling are inclined to exaggerate. Their business is to strike hard at abuse; they have neither time nor inclination for the impartial survey of the onlooker. In consequence they fail to see, or at any rate to point out, existing good. Equally important is the caveat that iniquity is more trumpet-tongued than righteousness. History records the vices of hypocrites, but only the Great Assize can reveal the multitude who in the night, amid

> God's hail
> Of blinding fireballs, sleet or stifling snow,

pursued

> as birds their trackless way.

With this warning, we follow Wyclif's attack.

With Wyclif's examination of the papacy as an institution we have already dealt. We would add that until the Schism Wyclif does not seem to have realized what we should call to-day the scandal of Avignon. Historians of every school now deplore the Babylonish Captivity. They see clearly its character as a mortal sin against the past. But it is doubtful whether this appealed to Wyclif. On the continent Dante voiced the universal feeling of Italy in demanding the return

of the papacy.[1] But England, then as now, was insular. Her main fear was the degradation of the papacy into a creature of France, her anxiety lest the stream of gold to Avignon should assist her enemies.[2] To Wyclif, Avignon in itself is of no consequence. What mattered were the financial extortions, which were not the incidence of Avignon but of the papacy itself. Nor will the reader find in Wyclif's writings that abuse of the popes of Avignon which finds so large a place in modern historians. Possibly this may be attributed to his ignorance of the facts. But Wyclif's silence should teach us caution. The historian's survey of Avignon has been too coloured by his consciousness of the evil of its existence, as treason against the genius of the papacy itself. In consequence there has been a tendency to class all the popes of Avignon as wicked or corrupt.[3] As a result scanty justice has been done to the amazing industry of John XXII—70,000 documents in the papal archives bear witness to his labours—the reforming zeal of Benedict XII, the efforts of the austere, though weak, Innocent VI to stem the corruption of the age, and the high character and ceaseless toils of Urban V. That so good a man was pope during Wyclif's middle years at Oxford may account for the late date at which Wyclif began his attack on the papacy. But of Clement V, the author of the mischief,—

> After Boniface
> One yet of deeds more ugly
> From forth the West, a shepherd without law [4],

and of Clement VI nothing can be said that is too hard. Over all their acts there is the same smirch of the unspiritual.

If injustice has been done to the personal character of the

[1] *Opere* ed. E. Moore 1894, 411–13, a fragment only.

[2] *Rot. Parl.* ii. 338–9 ; *Pap. Let.* iii. 37 ; *Eng. Works*, 23.

[3] The student should reject calumnies still too often repeated, e. g. among many others (1) the 'bibamus papaliter' of Benedict XII (Mollat-Baluze, i. 236) and a worse charge in *ib.* i. 234 of passion for the sister of Petrarch. Compare with these Grandisson's enthusiastic praises, *Reg.* i. 110–11 ; (2) For Urban V the scandal in *Chron. Melsa*, iii. 155 ; (3) the oft repeated tale of Villani *re* Clement VI's fortune, for which see *Archiv*, v. 159–66. For the period the best work is Mollat, which should be read with Mollat-Baluze. Their French leanings, on which see Leclercq-Hefele, vi. 827–8 ; Mollat-Baluze, i. 358, have been exaggerated (see *Eng. Hist. Rev.* xix. 348). Prior to election both Clement V and Urban V had been English subjects.

[4] Dante, *Inf.* xix. 85.

popes of the Captivity, no condemnation can be too severe of the corruption of Avignon itself.[1] This last is easily explained. At Rome there had been a turbulent city ever girding at the popes, driving them to Viterbo, Anagni, and a dozen other cities, making their life in the Lateran a constant vigilance. But Avignon belonged to the popes; it had been bought by them with money; it became their settled abode in a way that Rome had not been. Hence to Avignon as the centre of the Catholic world there poured an extraordinary crowd of strangers, conspicuous among whom were the Germans—so numerous that a whole street was named after them,—the Italian bankers, and the ecclesiastical proctors of all nations. Even after the departure of Gregory XI for Rome a census revealed that 3,830 dependents on the papal court still sojourned in Avignon. Hither also came adventurers of all sorts, whom the sixty police of the town found it difficult to keep in order, as well as the army of suppliants for papal bounty. To these we must add a vast number of diplomatists, papal officials, secretaries, lawyers, couriers and the like. As is usual in such cosmopolitan gatherings, prices were excessive and luxury reigned.[2] The provisions consumed at the papal table were "prodigious". At one feast under John XXII 8 oxen, 55 sheep, 8 pigs, 4 boars, 690 fowls, 580 partridges, 3,000 eggs, besides vegetables, bread, and fruit, were provided. When in 1354–5 Henry of Lancaster visited the city, 100 tuns of wine were bought for his cellars.

We cannot place Wyclif aright unless we remember that with the fall of the Hohenstaufen, and the transfer of the papacy to Avignon, Europe became conscious of something missing, she scarcely knew what. In reality Europe had lost her centre of balance and was groping for a substitute. But in the attempts of its thinkers we see hopeless divergence. Dante in his *de Monarchia* pleads for the restoration of vanished ideas, and the reconstruction of ruins:[3] that Empire and Papacy should once more be the joint lights to rule the day

[1] See especially Alvaro Pelayo, *de Planctu Ecclesiae* (Venice 1560), ii. cc. 7, 8, 28, 48, and 49; Petrarch, *Lib. sine Titulo Epist.* (Lyons 1601), vii, viii, ix, xii, xvi.

[2] Mollat, 305 ff., 349, 350, 356.

[3] The main positions will be found in *Opere* I, c. v. 65–71, c. vii. 15–18, c. xi, 55–60; II, c. vii. 86–90; III, cc. xiii–xvi, and cf. *Ep.* vi.

and night.[1] That Christ was born under the empire was proof that He was persuaded of its eternal fitness and justice.[2] Like Wyclif his hope for the future was in the emphasis of secular rule, an ideal temporal monarch 'rex mundi et Dei minister', Hildebrand's ideal pope but in the secular sphere. Gerson, on the contrary, repudiated the ideas of the Florentine. He had drunk too deeply of the new national spirit to be deceived by the imperial ideal. For the two great lights he cared little. Following Marsiglio, he would have cured the evils of the Church by reducing an autocratic papacy into a constitutional monarchy, in which the ultimate power should lie in a council; the old imperial idea to give place to a new grouping by nations. Others, for instance St. Catherine, more conservative than Gerson, considered such revolution needless; all would be well if the papacy could be brought back to Rome, and the Schism ended. To Marsiglio, Wyclif, and Hus such reforms seemed a mere tinkering with evils, for the cure of which they turned to more revolutionary methods. They called upon the new nationalism to examine all ecclesiastical pretensions. Nor must we overlook the school which would have nothing to do with any of these proposals. Of this one of the most important writers was Aegidius Romanus. His *de Regimine Principum* is well known, but his *de Ecclesiastica sive de summi Pontificis Potestate* is of equal interest because of its advocacy of the extreme theory of papal authority even in purely secular matters.

Though Wyclif has nothing to say on the Captivity, he is unsparing in his condemnation of Avignon finance. With Avignon, 'the Church became drunk with simony and avarice, like a crow resting on its carrion'. England—'a garden of delights, a well that never failed'[3]—groaned under the papal extortions of annates or first-fruits, provisions and reservations, and absentee aliens. Against first-fruits Wyclif, with a personal interest in the matter, protested as 'an unheard of thing, a damnable custom newly introduced', as he rightly affirmed, by John XXII. He maintained that

[1] Wyclif repudiated this idea, *Serm.* iii. 216.
[2] *de Mon.* ii. 12, and cf. 4, 13; also Wyclif, *Pol. Wks.* ii. 686 for same idea.
[3] Innocent IV in *Hist. Maj.* iv. 547. Cf. Wyclif, *Op. Min.* 172.

' it was simony to give the pope gold for his lead, and first-fruits for gift of a church. When a lord hath the gold for presenting, the gold dwelleth still in the land, but when the pope hath the first-fruits the gold goeth out and cometh never again '.[1]

In its opposition to the more grievous burden of provisions and reservations the nation was one, though the Crown, for purposes of paying its civil servants or rewarding its courtiers,[2] played in and out. The successive attempts of Parliament to deal with the evil appealed to all. Strong as were Wyclif's denunciations of the system whereby ' for praying and money the pope advanceth limbs of the fiend ',[3] his language was not more fierce than that of writers of unchallenged orthodoxy, for instance Grosseteste in his ' sharp epistle ' to ' Master Innocent ' the representative in England of Innocent IV, which Wyclif quoted.[4] His invective was not more passionate than that of the monkish annalist :

' It were better for rectors not to have a pope than to submit daily to so many exactions. Of all the lands of the earth it is England alone that feels most the burden of its papal lord. His legates come and strip us bare. Others armed with his credentials demand our prebends. Our deaneries are granted to aliens. Rules of residence are abolished for them. Canons are rarely to be seen. Lord Jesus remove the pope from our back or curb his power '.

At Avignon, we are told, it was a common proverb ' that the English are good asses, for they carry well all the loads laid on them '.[5] The extent of the ' loads ' borne by the ' asses ' it is impossible to estimate. Wyclif reckoned it at £100,000 a year. Another lollard reckoned it as the equivalent of a grant of three-fifteenths, most of which ' goeth into enemies ' hands and for all this cometh a little dead lead and strife and God's curse '. In one of the most powerful of his writings Purvey maintained :

' Certes though our realm had an huge hill of gold and never another

[1] *Euch.*, 223 ; *Pol. Wks.* i. 311 ; *Pot. Pap.*, 125, 141 ; *Off. Reg.* 182 ; *Sel. Eng. Works*, i. 282, ii. 395, iii. 281 ; *Eng. Works*, 277 ; and for the origins of first-fruits, *Pap. Let.* ii. 414, 495 ; Mollat–Baluze, i. 157 ; *Reg. Wykeham*, ii. 167–9 ; *Reg. Grand.* i. 543 f.

[2] For a striking instance in 1363 see *Pap. Let.* iv. 5 ; and cf. *ib.* ii. 11, 45, 146, 149.

[3] *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 357 ; *Op. Min.* 86.

[4] *Civ. Dom.* i. c. 43 ; *Pot. Pap.* 190, from Higden. Thence incorporated in Hus, *Eccles.* (*Mon. Hus*, i. 236). For the original see *Hist. Maj.* v. 389–92 ; *Ep. Grosseteste*, 432–7 ; *Ann. Mon.* i. 311–13, 436–8.

[5] *Chron. Ed. I and II*, ii. 197–8 ; Murimuth, *Cont. Chron.* 175.

man took thereof but only this proud worldly priest's collector in process of time this hill must be spended for he taketh ever money out of our land and sendeth nought again but God's curse for his simony '.

It was an added grievance that the pope ' by his bulls of gold ' appointed as ' curates of many thousand souls ' men, who as Purvey sneered, were only fit for ' keeping of hogs ' and who ' bought and sold men's souls as men buy or sell oxen or beasts '.[1]

Provisions and first-fruits were the outstanding evils in a bad system. But there were other exactions. The procurations levied for all papal envoys were a constant source of trouble and were only collected with difficulty.[2] Avignon also claimed, though not always with success, the revenues of vacant sees.[3] Every transaction which required papal sanction was taxed to its maximum, in addition to office charges fixed at so much a line of 150 letters. Nor was there any means of overcoming delay except a judicious use of refreshers for the officials, briefers, abbreviators, bull-writers, engrossers, examiners and the like.[4] If the beneficee died before the debt was paid it was transferred to his successor, who was thus doubly saddled with his own and another's dues, as Simon Islip found to his cost.[5] Another evil was the venality and interference of papal

[1] *Blas.* 274 ; *Eng. Works*, 66 and (Purvey) *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 307 f., 318. Cf. Good Parliament, *supra*, i. 270, '20,000 marks'. We lack accurate figures. From 18 Feb. 1368–1 Nov. 1370, the pope's collector received, apart from first-fruits and other charges, £2,053, less expenses of collection £34 (*Pap. Let.* iv. 981). This omits the alien absentees, who according to Paris, *Hist. Maj.* v. 355, received 70,000 marks, a sum which Innocent IV confessed to be 50,000 (*Pap. Let.* i. 286).

[2] See *Pap. Let.* iv. 42 ; *Reg. Gilbert*, 87 (long list of defaulters) ; *Reg. Wykeham*, ii. 191 (ditto) ; *Reg. Grand.* iii. 1228 ; Wilkins, iii. 375–6, 496 ; *Sed. Vac. Worc.* ii. 37.

[3] For illustrations, Mollat, 394 ; *Eng. Hist. Rev.* iii. 365.

[4] For organization of papal courts see Mollat 311–25 with sources ; *Pap. Pet.* i. pp. vi–x ; *Eng. Hist. Rev.* viii. 431–7 ; Poole, *Papal Chancery* (1915) ; and for refreshers *Reg. Gifford*, ii. 301–3 ; *Chron. Ed. I and II*, ii. 197 ; *Pol. Songs*, 324, 344 ; and cf. *Carm. Burana*, 22–3. Trefnant (*Reg.* 8–9) tells us that when appointed to Hereford in addition to the 1,800 florins divided among the cardinals he had to find 300 for officials.

[5] Islip had to pay 16,000 gold florins contracted as fees by his two predecessors who died in 1348 and 1349. He finally paid 14,000 in 1359 by a ' charitable subsidy ' wrung from his clergy (*Pap. Let.* iii. 39, 457, 632, 634 ; *Pap. Pet.* i. 222). So Grandisson with 11,800 florins due to the curia from his predecessors (*Reg. Grand.* i. 323, 325, 355, 358, 362, 382, 489). Cf. Mollat, 383, and *Pap. Let.* ii. 306, Cashel, a very bad case. The student will find the

courts Christian, in spite of the *Statute of Praemunire*. There was nothing too small to escape the notice of this appellative jurisdiction; squabbles over a tithe of fish worth 10s., wounding at football, 'a fight with sticks about victuals', and the 'neglect of a physician' may serve as samples.[1] The King's courts, where nothing was done 'for love of our Lord', but jurors 'sell Christ for a little money', were bad enough;[2] 'citation to remote places for purposes of extortion' was worse, for 'Meed', the bastard maid whose father was 'False', reigned 'in the pope's palace', and made the courts Christian, 'so clept in name', to be in truth 'Satan's throne'.[3]

§ 2

Wyclif's attack on the papacy was followed by an attack on the characteristic feature of the medieval Church, its monastic life. For the monks, as distinct from friars, Wyclif felt aversion, even in his earlier days, and this would be strengthened by his experiences at Canterbury hall. He realized how little they contributed to the life of the university. They had their colleges, Gloucester—if indeed this collection of *camerae* can be called a college—for the Benedictines of both provinces,[4]

fees set forth in Eubel for every see under the see itself, but without explanation. We extract the English sees, all given in florins: Canterbury and York, 10,000; Winchester, 12,000; Durham, 9,000; Ely, 7,500; Exeter, 6,000; Lincoln and Norwich, 5,000; Salisbury, 4,500; Bath, 4,300; Lichfield, 3,500; Worcester, 2,000; Chichester, 1,333; Rochester, 1,300; Carlisle, 1,000; St. Davids, 1,500; Llandaff, 700; St. Asaph and Bangor, 470.

[1] *Pap. Let.* ii. 214, 239; vii. 502; *Reg. Stafford*, 231.

[2] In *Op. Evang.* i. 363, Wyclif speaks of the legal decision often won by false witnesses.

[3] *P. Plow.* prol. 213–15; ii. 20–6; *Off. Reg* 204; *Eng. Works*, 182 f.; *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 296. Cf. Gascoigne, 32, and for ordinary courts Christian *Reg. Grand.* ii. 807–9.

[4] i. e. after 1338. For Gloucester see Reyner, *Apost. Ben.*, App. ii. 53 f.; iii. 134–6, 162–3; and C. H. Daniel and W. R. Barker, *Hist. Worc. Coll.* 1–88; Wood, *City*, ii. 248 f.; *Vict. Co. Glos.* ii. 337–42, and *Vict. Co. Ox.* ii. 70–1, and the valuable "New Documents" in Salter, *Snappe*, 337 f. with plan. The numbers are usually exaggerated under the idea that the *Constitutions* of Benedict XII which imposed the duty of sending 5 per cent. of their numbers to Oxford (Wilkins, ii. 595) were carried out. But in 1343 fifteen abbeys were reported as sending none at all (Wilkins, ii. 714), and the Chapel, still unfinished in 1426, could not have held more than sixty. To these add eight monks at Durham, and the few, if any, Cistercian students at Rewley, for whom see *Eng. Hist. Rev.* viii. 83–5; xxiii. 84.

Durham, close to Balliol, for the northern cathedral.[1] But their students were few in number, sixty or so at the outside, for the most part undistinguished. Moreover at Oxford Wyclif would see on all sides evidence of the wealth of the monks, and how unconnected they were with the general life of the nation. The Benedictine foundations at Abingdon and Eynsham, both near at hand, were among the largest abbeys in the kingdom. Osney, an abbey of Austin canons, the third in England for splendour and size, with its lofty tower [2] and its peal of seven melodious bells—"Tom" of Christ Church, of the same metal, is a link with Wyclif's day—lay outside the walls, as also the small Cistercian abbey of Rewley. Osney possessed property in more than 120 manors, as well as large rents in Oxford from the schools and other property. Its abbot was commonly one of the peers of parliament. Owing to its wealth the abbey acted as a sort of banker for the county, receiving sums on deposit without interest. Osney was one of the best conducted houses in England,[3] and Wyclif's objection would be to its wealth, £750 a year for twenty-six canons. But Rewley, with its fifteen monks and its annual income of £174, with its freedom from all visitation, its exemption from taxation and subsidies, and its constant struggles with Oxford over the water supply for the city's mill, would rouse him to anger. Wyclif would side with John Uhtred in his attack upon these privileges,[4] and a few years later made the same charges.

Wyclif would learn the seamy side of monasticism from the scandals that took place at St. Frideswyde's.[5] The Austin canons of this ancient Saxon house were wealthy; their estates

[1] For Durham see especially *Collect.* iii. 1–76; Wood, *City*, ii. 263–74.

[2] For plate see Dugdale, *Mon.* ii. 136 (1st ed.) or Skelton, 115. See also Hurst, 92–4; *Vict. Co. Ox.* ii. 90–3; *Valor Eccl.* ii. 215–23.

[3] In May 1375 there was friction between city and abbey, *Close Rolls*, xiv. 232.

[4] Bale, i. 470, who dates in 1368. For another work of its abbot, Adam de Stanlegh, still existing, see Tanner, 7. For plate of Rewley in 1720, see Skelton and cf. *Collect.* iv. 120.

[5] For the details that follow see *Pap. Let.* i. 163; *Pat. Ed.* iii. 296, iv. 359, vi. 423, xvi. 452; *Close Ed.* xiv. 150, 270, 304; *Vict. Co. Ox.* ii. 98–9; Wilkins, iii. 51–2; *Pat. Ric.* i. 122, 302, 304; ii. 148, 194, 196, 306; iii. 228, 318, 403; iv. 145, 387; *Collect.* ii. 192; iii. 143; *Cart. Frid.* i. 39, 44, 79–80, 477–80, 490–2; ii. 373–4.

RUINS OF OSNEY ABBEY

From the engraving by W. Hollar

alone brought in a net annual income of over £300, to say nothing of the offerings of pilgrims, especially the lame, blind, and dumb, to the splendid shrine of the saint. Nor would Wyclif fail to note the number of chantries in its church founded by devout townsmen.[1] But the bad administration of its priors had saddled the house with debts so large 'that if they were paid the possessions would not suffice for the sustenance of the canons'. So in 1368 the King was driven to take over the administration. On the 17th April 1377 the management was given to John of Gaunt, and the canons protected for three years from suits for debt. In other respects also the priory had but a poor repute. Its fifth prior had been deposed by Grosseteste for incontinence. In 1318 there was trouble over a corrody sold for £100 to one Henry de Creton and his groom. The prior broke into Creton's chamber and took the title-deeds. In 1336 and 1344 open conflict broke out with the citizens, the prior claiming £1,000 damages for alleged loss of profits at his fair. In 1352 bishop Gynwell complained of the laxity of discipline, and in 1354 inquired into the conduct of the prior who, when the canons were chanting at midnight, with the help of armed laymen broke open the door and dragged them out. In 1362 Islip complained that 'religion was at a low ebb'. In 1365 Buckingham interfered: the canons were absent night and day without permission, drank heavily, and came to blows. In March 1374 John Dodford made himself prior, not securing legal election until the following November, when he purchased for £20 his pardon from the king. A year later he was a prisoner in the Tower. Released thence he was accused in February 1378 of felony and thrown into the Marshalsea. When he came out in the following July the ex-prior, John of Wallingford, and three canons 'held the priory by main force like a castle with a posse of armed men and archers against Dodford and his men'. Reinstated by the help of the Crown, the rebel canons in June 1382 tried to murder him as he was 'attending to his cure of souls and saying his canonical hours'. He recovered from his wounds, and while still prior, entered the king's service as a surveyor, and supervisor of works at Wallingford castle. Nor did matters improve

[1] Wood, *City*, ii. 60–3.

after Dodford's death in March 1391. 'Voluptuous' expenses, sporting dogs, drinking, all continued. In addition the canons were adepts in forgery. All this, which took place under Wyclif's eyes, must be borne in mind when we read his bitter attacks.

But in the Oxford friaries matters were very different. There Wyclif would find every order represented by its picked men, many of them from overseas.[1] From their ranks had come the pride of Oxford scholarship, especially in theology. With their lectors or readers, each assisted by a *socius*, with their Long Vacation restricted 'to three weeks or a month at most' and often filled 'with some useful lectures', they possessed a system of education superior to anything the seculars could show. They provided also a sort of university extension course in the way of special schools at selected friaries with itinerant lectors. There for three years promising candidates were trained at home, then designated by the provincial chapters for Oxford or Paris.[2] The friars thus came to the university with much of the work already done. All friars, except the weak, must tramp to the university on foot. The expenses fell on their friaries; their books upon the province.[3] Before the Black Death they formed a compact body of at least 120 men,[4] for the most part in earnest, though for many the time of residence was too short to admit of a degree. But what would please Wyclif most was their insistence upon six years' study of the bible before being admitted to 'opponency' in theology.[5] So Wyclif, as we are expressly told, 'commended much the religion of the Franciscans, and stated that they were very dear to God'[6] But the attack of the friars on Wyclif's doctrine of transubstantiation led to a violent struggle in which both sides lost their temper. So anxious became

[1] 5 or 6 Dominicans in 1370 (*Vict. Co. Ox.* ii. 116).

[2] *Chart. Par.* ii. 11, 57, 500, 526, 550, 659; iii. 311; *Pap. Let.* iv. 37; Little, 35, 313; and *Eng. Hist. Rev.* xxxiv. 205 f.

[3] *Chart. Par.* ii. 173, 658. To meet expenses much begging was done (Little, 91 *n.*). But the Carmelites had been granted by Edward II 120 marks each annually, a sum challenged in 1330 by parliament, *Pat. Ed. II*, iii. 103; *Rot. Parl.* ii. 35.

[4] 70 Franciscans (Little, 44 *n.*); 24 Carmelites (Wood, *City*, ii. 421); Austins at least 15 (*ib.* ii. 463); Dominicans at least 20 (*Vict. Co. Ox.* ii 111, 115). Cf. *supra*, i. 89.

[5] *Mun. Ac.* 388–9. Cf. *supra*, i. 96.

[6] *Eulog. Cont.* iii. 345.

Wyclif to bring evidence against the friars that he accepts Hildegard of Bingen (1098–1179) as a prophetess and cites her writings against them though quite aware that she died ' before the friars were introduced '.[1]

When we try to disentangle Wyclif's main argument against monasticism from the mass of his polemics we find that it lies in Wyclif's conception of the Church as one body—' the order of Christ '—without hierarchy, and without divisions. Distinctions of a sort there must be, but such distinctions should not be of spiritual status ; they are, as we should now express it, distinctions of convenience or function. Essentially all are one, just as presbyter and bishop originally were one. Against this unity the monks and friars were at war by their proclamation of a religion founded upon a law superior to the law of the Gospel. Hence his usual nickname is that of ' Sects '. They profess a ' private religion ' as distinct from the religion laid down for all. The rules of this ' private religion '—' ordinances of Benett, or Domynik or Fraunces '—Wyclif rejects because they are neither founded on Scripture nor contained in the Gospels. ' Lord ', he exclaims, ' since Paul presumed not to found such sects why should fools and idiots take this upon them ? ' Moreover so far from the life of the cloister being the more perfect, as the regulars claimed, in reality it is inferior to that of a devout secular.[2] In place of an exalted ideal we have self interest and greed, the struggle for ' fat bishoprics ' and rich benefices. Instead of the complete rule of religion as given in the Scripture we have endless additions, like a heap of rubbish round the walls of a perfect building. These take away all freedom, and place upon men heavier responsibilities than God has designed. ' If only ' he cries :

' all the care given now to private sects could be gathered for

[1] Her prophecies are cited in *Pol. Wks.* i. 67 ; *Trial*, 338 ; *Op. Min.* 169 ; *Eng. Works*, 11 ; *Sel. Eng. Wks.* iii. 413, 421. The lollards followed his lead, see Pecock's *Repressor*, ii. 483, 495. In *Apos.* 19, Wyclif speaks more slightingly.

[2] *Off. Reg.* 112, 116 ; *Apos.* 9 f. ; *Op. Min.* 219 ; *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 417–19 ; *Pol. Works*, i. 100–1 ; also the important *de Perfectione Statuum*, written in 1383, *ib.* ii. 443–82 ; and his *de Quattuor Sectis Novellis*, *ib.* i. 234–90 written Aug. 1384. (The date in *ib.* i. 236 is a mistake, for the eclipse to which Wyclif refers took place on 17 Aug. 1384 ; see *Chron. Ang.* 360).

driving Peter's bark through the waves she would hold her own against the storms more successfully than now.' [1]

Moreover Wyclif regarded all perpetual vows as unlawful; 'Christ himself cannot compel any one to enter religion except voluntarily'. Upon one cause of weakness in such vows Wyclif put his finger:

'Many gentlemen's sons and daughters be made religious against their will, when they be children without discretion, for to have the heritage wholly to one child that is most loved. And when they come of age, what for dread of their friends, what for dread of poverty in case that they go out, and for dread of taking of their body to prison they dare not show their heart nor leave this state.'

If perpetual vows are unlawful so also is the idea that a man can control his property for ever by donation or secure a perpetual succession of persons worthy to receive his gift.[2]

The attacks of Wyclif upon the 'possessioners', as he called the monks—the name is itself proof of his early sympathy with the Spiritual Franciscans—were unceasing. The lollards pointed out that monasteries 'be grounded upon labour of their hand by their own rule', but now the work was done by others. For manual work their clothes were altogether unsuitable: 'four or five needy men might well be clothed with one cope and hood of a monk, and that large cloth serveth to gird wind and let (prevent) him to go and do his deeds'.[3] He pointed to their vast wealth and asked whether the monks were faithful stewards. Did they show in religious deeds or social usefulness any adequate return for this expenditure of national resources? With characteristic exaggeration he stated that the whole population of England could be maintained out of their income, which, instead, was wasted on gluttony, gay clothes, hounds, hawks, minstrels, and other luxuries.[4] The lollards protested that though the monasteries had 'almost all lordship amortized to them yet they will not pay

[1] *Pol. Works*, i. 303; *Apos.* 13, 61, 244; *Serm.* ii. 100, 102; *Civ. Dom.* iii. 1, 4, 12, 18, 21, 32, 35 f., 307; iv. 505.

[2] *Apos.* 238; *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 190; *Serm.* iv. 23; E. Power, *Eng. Med. Nunneries*, 31 f.

[3] *Eng. Works*, 128, 136 (not Wyclif's).

[4] *Blas.* 188; *Eng. Works*, 121. For their gluttony, *ib.* 316; *Sel. Eng. Works*, ii. 257, iii. 157; *Blas.* 85. For the daily allowances of food and wine (half gallon) of the abbot of St. Albans see Amundesham, ii. 316–17. For the financial position of the monasteries see the study of A. Savine, *English Monasteries on the Eve of the Dissolution* (1909); Power, *op. cit.* c. 5.

tax nor tribute to the king for maintenance of the realm '.[1] They claimed that charity funds were diverted into monastic coffers.[2] But it should be noted that Wyclif brings no special charge of immorality against the monks.[3] Their crime was the self-satisfied unspirituality which he dubbed as ' the religion of fat cows ', with nothing in it that helped to subdue the flesh.[4]

In common with Gascoigne [5] and others Wyclif protested against the appropriation by monasteries and collegiate churches of rectories and livings, and the institution in place of the parson of a vicar at five, six, or ten marks a year.[6] He maintained that by such appropriations the regulars inflicted a lasting injury on Christ and His Church, using the Church property for their own interests and, unlike the Apostles, neglecting the cure of souls. He charged the regulars with such indifference to the care of the impropriated Church fabrics that in many places roofs and walls were falling into decay. In other places ' they put in an idiot and give him little livelihood and take all the profit to themselves ', and provide no books even for the services. Perhaps these would have been useless for ' the idiot can (knows) not and may not do the office of a good curate '. But Wyclif does not make so much of the matter as we might have expected. The lowering in the status of the priesthood effected by the system would not appeal to the founder of the Poor Priests. For vicars, as Gascoigne protested, often had scarcely the means of life. Entering appropriation under the significant heading of *furtum* or theft, Gascoigne tells us that for the monastery

' what the system really means is more servants, more idlers, more luxuries, more dishes. Directly the monks get one church they work for another, pretending poverty, and thus abyss calls to abyss.'

[1] *Eng. Works*, 139. For illustrations see *Charter Rolls*, v. 129, 136, 162–4, 225–7, 309; *Pap. Let.* v. 333.

[2] *Eng. Works*, 116, 121. For illustration see *Reg. Giffard*, ii. 104.

[3] In *Sel. Eng. Works*, ii. 288, there is a hint of sodomy, which sounds like Purvey's. See *infra*, p. 326. For further on morality see Coulton, *Five Centuries of Religion*, i. c. 27; Power, c. 11. Both deal mainly with the fifteenth century.

[4] *Pol. Works*, ii. 531, 536. For monks objecting to daily services see Amundesham, *Ann.* ii. 203–12.

[5] *Lib. Ver.* 21, 106–15, 198, and for iniquitous instances, *ib.* 5 (cf. *Vict. Co. Yorks N. R.* i. 213), 130.

[6] For Wyclif's strictures, and for vicars see Appendix O.

Another evil result of the system, in Wyclif's judgement, was its tendency to drive the parish priest in his poverty into exactions from his parishioners. For marriage 'sixpence on the book, and sometimes a penny for the clerk', as well as 'pay for a morrow mass' were claimed. In all probability little objection would be taken to this, if we may judge from the charges to-day, though Wyclif hints the contrary. But mortuaries,[1] a kind of ecclesiastical heriot claimed by and due to the priest on the death of a parishioner, were another matter, as also were the fees for baptism, confirmation, and other spiritual acts, as well as the charges for trentals, masses and the like. To offer 'a penny for a mass' brought a curse on both the giver and the priest, for 'all these sell Christ as Judas did'. The effect was to make the priest 'say the mass more for love of the penny than for devotion or charity to Christ'. Such masses were gabbled and irreverent.[2]

There were other abuses in Monasticism to which Wyclif drew attention. Wyclif resented the exemption of so many monasteries from the control of the bishop. Even more serious was the claim of the friars that they were a state within a state, responsible only to the pope. But to the frequent debts and their general financial incompetence, as shown especially in their sale of corrodies, Wyclif makes little reference,[3] though he might have made much of the disastrous effects of these sales on discipline. Nor has he anything to say of their lack of interest in education, or of the fact that they had ceased to copy manuscripts.[4] But he accused the monasteries of restricting their hospitality to the rich to the neglect of the poor:

'where in many abbeys should be and sometime were great houses to harbour poor men therein now they be fallen down or made swine-cotes, stables, or bark-houses.'[5]

[1] In theory mortuaries were payments made by the deceased for tithes due at death. This is expressly stated in *Test. Vet.* i. 79, 136. For instances see Sharpe *Wills* passim; Gibbons, 28, 61, 116, &c.; Furnivall, 57; and for Wyclif's protests *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 285; *Eng. Works*, 224.

[2] *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 284–5, 473; *Eng. Works*, 116, 167.

[3] He protests against corrodies in *Civ. Dom.* iii. 311; *Off. Reg.* 162. For the effect of corrodies on discipline two illustrations must suffice. In Bristol in 1382 a married couple were foisted on the abbey, and Bury had two women in succession (*Close Ric.* ii. 231, 248, iii. 276, 485).

[4] Gascoigne 73 deplores this.

[5] *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 276–7 (Purvey's); *Eng. Works*, 14 *Pol. Works*,i

Wyclif's invective spared none; he discriminated between the orders only to condemn more effectively. Monks with their 'red and fat cheeks and great bellies', who 'do not the office of curates, neither in teaching nor preaching nor giving of sacraments, but set an idiot for vicar', are but squanderers of national wealth better bestowed on the poor. 'Instead of desert places they have chosen cities' where they live 'a lustful life to feed the flesh', 'eat up what would keep many families' and boast of the thousands of marks they will spend on going to law. In their libraries they lock up from curates and clerks 'noble books of holy writ and holy doctors'.[1] Another 'sect' was the Austin canons, with their lies and deceits, their sinful endowments, their saints, and their myth of foundation by St. Augustine. The endowment of these men Wyclif regarded as a sin and as a national disaster. Gifts to monasteries, in fact, were attempts to bargain with God, or to thwart the preordination of God. As such Wyclif demanded the destruction of all 'chantries, abbeys and houses of prayer', and the restoration to the 'poor men and blind, poor men and lame, poor men and feeble' and to the State of the goods that were really theirs. The abler monks and friars should be installed in parishes; others made into teachers or artisans.[2]

§ 3

Wyclif claimed that in his struggle with the friars he was but following in the steps and 'entering into the labours' of William of St. Amour, of Ockham, of Grosseteste, and of Fitzralph.[3] There is here a confusion of thought from which Wyclif never freed himself, the result of two opposite policies in his own mind. He has fused together into one supposed party of antagonism those who like William of St. Amour

54–5, 69, 103; *Apos.* 243. In 1251 Gloucester handed over the care of strangers to hostelries (*Ann. Mon.* i. 146). For attempt of Malvern to appropriate a church for the purpose, see *Pap. Let.* v. 198, 201.

[1] *Pol. Works*, i. 248–51, 351; *Serm.* ii. 356–7, iii. 238; *Op. Min.* 337; *Sel. Eng. Works*, ii. 159–60, iii. 156, 171, 215; *Eng Works*, 123, 139, 221.

[2] *Serm.* iv. 20, 32; *Off. Reg.* 180; *Pol. Works*, i. 244–7, 285; *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 170; *Blas.* 188–9.

[3] *Pol. Wks*, i. 92; *Apos.* 36; *Sel. Eng. Wks.* iii. 412, 416.

were the uncompromising opponents of the friars, maintaining that their rules were fitted only to lead souls to perdition, and those who like Ockham were leaders of the Spiritual Franciscans, and whose quarrel was not with the Order but with its departure from the vision of its founder. There can be little doubt that in his earlier life this last was Wyclif's own attitude. His sympathies were all with the Spiritual Franciscans. The doctrine of evangelical poverty had a fascination for him. He maintained that 'Christ made his Spouse fair by the bright clothes of wilful poverty'. We see this sympathy in the dress he wore when he was warden of Canterbury hall, in his early alliance with the friars, and in his brotherhood of Poor Priests. In his translation of *The Rule and Testament of St. Francis* he maintained that the Rule was still binding.[1] Wyclif had also read—at any rate he quotes an illustration from it—the *Vade mecum in Tribulatione* of the Spiritual Franciscan, Juan de Pera-Tallada.[2] In this work, written in 1356, Juan foretold that the vices of the clergy would lead to the spoliation of the Church, that in 1362 it would be reduced to Apostolic poverty, and that in 1370, after horrible apostasy, there would commence the process of recuperation. Wyclif's sympathy with the Spirituals is seen also in his thesis that all 'possession' not only by monks and friars but also by the Church at large was an evil. Poverty was a necessary note of the true Church and most like the state of innocence. He pleaded that 'Christ our abbot' was Himself poor and needy and lived with His disciples a life of poverty, though He 'never begged from town to town and from house to house with open crying'. 'St. Peter was so poor that he had neither silver nor gold', and St. Paul 'travailed with his hands for his liflode'.[3] 'It is no wonder', he writes, quoting from Odo of Cheriton, 'possession slay full many, since it is venom'. From the

[1] *Eng. Works*, 39–51; an early document.

[2] See *supra*, p. i. 211. In Brown, *Fascic.* ii. 496–508.

[3] *Eng. Works*, 19 (not W.'s) and cf. *Serm.* iii. 108–9, 152; iv. 110. For Wyclif on apostolic poverty, see *Civ. Dom.* iii. 10, 51, 53, 60 *et passim*; *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 212, 275, 304 (Purvey); that Christ had no possessions, *Civ. Dom.* iii. 54, 100 f.; *Op. Min.* 158; *Pol. Works*, ii. 431 (with this short work cf. *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 211–12 which should be dated later than Arnold). In *Pol. Works*, i. 94 he spoke approvingly of Bonaventura's defence of poverty. In *Off. Reg.* 62–3 he defended the friars living on charity.

same source Wyclif obtained the notion, so prevalent in the middle ages

'that the same day that the Church was endowed by Constantine there was heard a voice in the air: to-day is venom shed into the Church. For the Church was made more in dignity but less in religion'.[1]

Into the history of the long struggle of the Spiritual Franciscans [2] for the literal observance of the *Rule* we cannot enter. But there are matters in connexion with it that are of importance for the student of Wyclif. In the first place it should be noted that the work of the learned enthusiast Gherardo da Borgo San Donnino, *The Introduction to the Eternal Gospel*, which played so great a part in the struggle on the Continent, had little or no influence in England. In this revolutionary work which revived the speculations and prophecies of Joachim di Fiori,[3] Gherardo swept away the whole sacerdotal system. To this William of St. Amour replied that it would be a reign of antichrist, whom he identified with the friars. Of the work of Gherardo Wyclif would have no direct knowledge, though one tenet 'that the Greeks walk more according to the Holy Spirit than the Latins' was adopted by Wyclit.[4] But in this work, or rather in the general atmosphere which it created, we can see the source from which Wyclif picked up many of his ideas and much of his phraseology. For Gherardo had promulgated the doctrine that the Roman Church was 'the carnal Church', the 'whore of Babylon', 'the synagogue of Satan'; that the pope was 'a mystic antichrist and fore-

[1] *Eng. Works*, 374, possibly one of Wyclif's earliest writings (*ib.* 359). The passage is from Odo of Cheriton's *Flores Sermonum* (1219), one of the earliest writers to popularize this story, a favourite with the lollards (*Apology for the Lollards*, 56; *Lantern*, 35; *Trial.* 408).

[2] The prime authority is the series of articles by Ehrle on *Die Spiritualen* in *Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters*, vols. i–iv (1885–8), especially iii. 552 ff. and for their sources iv. 64. For other literature see Mollat 39 *n.* There is a good account extracted from Ehrle in Lea, iii. 1–180.

[3] The only MS. of Joachim in England is at Balliol, Cod. 296 *Contra Lombardum* on which see *Archiv.* i. 96. In this Joachim attacked Peter Lombard for asserting a quaternity of God. In 1215 Innocent defended Peter and Joachim was condemned. Wyclif alludes to this in *Apos.* 69; *Dom. Div.* 94. He picked up his knowledge from Higden, viii. 162 (*Euch.* 278). Wyclif's other references to Joachim (*Trial.* 453; *Ente Praed.* 278) show no knowledge of his works. In *Op. Min.* 375 he speaks of his 'false prophecies'.

[4] See the xxiv Conclusions, *infra*, p. 268.

runner of the true antichrist', and that the sacraments were no longer needful for salvation, for in six years the Holy Ghost would usher in a new age when the world should be ruled by poverty and love. When Wyclif was a student these ideas were in the air, if only by the tradition of Ockham's teaching.

In the struggle of the Spiritual Franciscans two questions were involved. The first was the absolute poverty of Christ and His disciples, and in consequence of the friars. In a series of bulls John XXII condemned this doctrine as heresy, annulling the evasion sanctioned in 1279 by Nicholas III in his bull *Exiit qui seminat.* In this bull ownership was denied but use was allowed; all the property of the friars was considered to be in the trusteeship of Rome.[1] John would have none of it. It was absurd, he said, to speak of Rome as owning the eggs and cheese the friars ate. The pope maintained, as Wyclif pointed out, that use was inseparable from ownership. Hitherto also it had been a commonplace of the schools that the pope had no power to dispense with the vows of poverty and chastity, for such dispensation would be 'against the counsel of Christ'.[2] Now John laid it down that it was a heresy to be punished by burning to deny his rights of binding and loosing at will. This papal claim was at once challenged by two of the leaders of the Spiritual Franciscans, Michael of Cesena (†1342) and Ockham. Hundreds went to the stake at Carcassonne, Narbonne, Marseilles, and Venice, rather than acknowledge John's decrees. Rumours of these burnings reached England, and are accountable, perhaps, for the frequent but misleading references in Wyclif's works to possible death for his opinions.[3] The dispute about poverty passed into an examination of the claims of the papacy. In his *Contra Errores*

[1] In *Civ. Dom.* iii. cc. 17 and 18 Wyclif gives a careful examination of the legislation of both Nicholas III and John XXII and decides against John; cf. *ib.* iii. 115, 133; *Pot. Pap.* 81. But in *Pol. Works*, i. 42 he points out that the bull of Nicholas breaks the law of mortmain. For Peckham's similar defence of use as distinct from ownership see *de Paupertate Evangelica* and *Tractatus contra Kilwardby*, published in 1910 by British Franciscan Soc.

[2] *Chart. Par.* ii. 215–17.

[3] e. g. *Serm.* iii. 520; cf. *infra*, p. 308. For these executions see Mollat-Baluze, i. 202, 389; Lea, iii. 77. That they were known at Oxford see Knighton, ii. 82; Higden, viii. 348; Reading, *Chron.* 119; Walsingham, i. 278; *Cont. Murimuth*, 184.

Papae Michael denounced the utterances of John as heresies, and appealed

' to the universal Church and a General Council, which in faith and morals is superior to the pope, since a pope can err in faith and morals, as many Roman popes have fallen from the faith, but the universal Church cannot err, and a council representing the universal Church is also free from error '.

In a flood of scholastic subtleties, especially in his *Nonaginta Dierum*, Ockham pursued the same theme to further conclusions. The pope may err, a General Council may err, the doctors of the Church may err ; only Holy Scripture and the beliefs of the Church are of universal validity, and with these to guide him the meanest peasant may know the truth. Thus Wyclif's sympathies could not fail to be on the side of the Spiritual Franciscans.[1] For in his revolt, as in much else, he was the heir of a previous age, and Robert of Leicester, who was the visitor of Balliol, had written a book *de Paupertate Christi*, which would be brought under Wyclif's notice.[2]

Among other offences of the friars the lollards charged them with ' drawing ' men to church by ' gay windows and colours and paintings and baboonery '. The thoroughness with which Wyclif repudiated all costly churches, especially friars' churches —his favourite adjective for these is ' monstruous '—was another of the points of agreement between himself and the Spiritual Franciscans. ' Christ ' he argues

' condemned such buildings both by deed and word. They are neither virtuous in themselves nor do they incite to virtue, nor is there any reason to believe that their beauty augments devotion. Did not the martyrs pray more devoutly in a dungeon ? Did not John the Baptist reach loftier heights of contemplation in the desert ? Did not Christ, as well as the father of the Old and New Testament (Jerome), pray in the open air ? The building of Churches often leads to the contrary of what is intended, swallows the wealth of the Church, and produces manifold errors because of human inventions and innovations . . . Not these outward signs but the pure mind of the man who meditates on Christ's sufferings, and the soul raised to God in humble reverence, make the place holy.'

But we forbear to quote more of this undiscriminating

[1] In March 1330 John's condemnation of Ockham had been published at Oxford (*Pap. Let.* ii. 497 ; cf. ii. 473). Wyclif maintained that Ockham was not a heretic (*Ver. Script.* i. 348, 350).

[2] Leland, *Comment.* 304. For Robert see Little, 10, 168.

criticism. The only apology we can give is to remind the reader that Wyclif held that singing hindered men from attending to God's law and gave them headaches.[1] Forgetting his appeal for all things to the authority of the Bible, Wyclif insinuates that Solomon was perhaps wrong in giving such splendour to worship.[2] In part the fervour of the lollards' attack was due to their belief that the fall of many parish churches, 'for default', was due to the great churches of the friars and their costly upkeep absorbing money that would have prevented the ruin.

Towards the close of his life Wyclif swung round from the position of Ockham to that of St. Amour. In his *de Potestate Papae* (1379) he took the middle position that evangelical poverty does not consist in having no wealth, but in the spirit with which wealth is used. After his breach with the friars he poured ridicule both on the Dominicans who 'say that Christ had high shoes as they have; for else would not Baptist mean that Christ had thongs of such shoon', and on the Franciscans who maintained 'that Christ went barefoot or else was shod as they be; for else Magdalene should not have found to thus have washed Christ's feet'. 'Peter', he argues, 'was not a barefooted friar', for when he was in prison the angel told him to put on his shoes. He condemned the puerility which led certain friars to count money with a stick and refuse to touch a coin without a glove.[3] In another sermon he puts 'the begging of Christ' among the 'false lores' brought in by the friars, and states that Christ had '200 pence in the hands of Iscariot'. According to Wyclif the friars begged in French either 'because they were ashamed to beg in English or to show that for the most part they were Robertines', i. e. adherents of the antipope. He tells us that 'English friars in the schools are hinting that Clement will win'.[4]

[1] *Eng. Works*, 191–2, which is, we think, by Wyclif. Cf. *ib.* 77, 169 (neither by Wyclif), with their attack on 'counternote and organ'. The lollards were not alone. See Coulton, *Five Centuries*, i. 530.

[2] *Serm.* ii. 328–9; *Ver. Script.* iii. 84; *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 380; *Eng. Works*, 8, 14; *Apos.* 250; *Civ. Dom.* ii. 102.

[3] *Pot. Pap.* 85; *Pol. Works*, i. 42; *Apos.* 40; *Blas.* 281; *Serm.* ii. 119, iii. 108–9, 152, iv. 110, 139; *Sel. Eng. Works*, i. 20, 76; *Eng. Works*, 49 where we are told that it was a common device to have a 'chamber' in the friary for a lord, to whom 'the precious jewels' were said to belong.

[4] *Serm.* iii. 222, iv. 61; *Blas.* 216. Friars lived in towns where French was still spoken (*infra*, p. 182 *n.*).

As so often happens when alliance gives place to antagonism, hatred of the friars became with Wyclif, in his last years, a passion. He exaggerated their numbers into 4,000, in one sermon even 20,000, each of whom cost the country £5 a year for personal support and £5 extra for the upkeep of their churches, or £40,000 a year obtained by continual begging, a sum which would 'suffice for the redemption of a captive king'.[1] He openly charged the friars with treason, asserting that they boasted that

'if the kings and lords stand against their false begging, and will not suffer friars to rob their tenants but give their alms to their poor neighbours, then they will go out of the land and come again with bright heads'.[2]

Of all the orders the friars are the most difficult to lead back to the simplicity of Christ. In bitter jest he calls them 'the order of Caim',—an acrostic from Carmelites, Austins, Jacobites or Dominicans, and Minorites or Franciscans. As such their friaries were 'Caymes Castles', habitations of thieves:

'that caitiff, cursed Caym
First this order founded.'[3]

Wyclif enumerates the

'many harms the friars do in the Church; they spoil the people many ways by hypocrisies and leasings, and by spoiling they build Caymes castles; they steal poor men's children[4] that is worse than stealing an ox, and gladly steal heirs[5] (I leave to speak of their stealing of women[6]), and thus they make lands barren by with-

[1] *Pol. Works*, i. 28, 193, 253; *Trial.* 369; *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 384, 400; *Blas.* 214–16, and for exaggerated numbers *Serm.* ii. 435; *Pol. Works*, i. 368; *Sel. Eng. Works*, ii. 269. In judging these figures readers should remember that friars only existed in the larger towns.

[2] i. e. men with helmets; *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 388. For similar charges see *Close Ed.* xiv. 64; *Close Ric.* ii. 65.

[3] *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 368, 369, 399; *Eng. Works*, 129, 211, 420, 448, 508; *Pol. Works*, i. 40; *Trial.* 362, 444; *Serm.* ii. 85, 120; *Lantern*, 16; *Pol. Poems*, i. 266. The idea may be derived from Odo of Sheriton (*supra*, ii. 99) who identified 'Caim' with 'possession' (*Eng. Works*, 374, 527). Woodford pointed out that Wyclif was wrong in writing 'Caim' as 'in all correct books' it is 'Cain'. 'Caim' also might just as well stand for 'canons, apostles, justices, and monks' (Brown, *Fascic.* i. 264–5).

[4] Cf. *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 373; *Eng. Works*, 8, 51, 68 'by apples, purses and other japes'. Cf. *supra*, i. 93.

[5] Cf. *Blas.* 212–13 where Wyclif suggests that a father thus robbed should have the right to force a friar into his service until his son is returned.

[6] Cf. *Sel. Eng. Works*, i. 293; *Eng. Works*, 309; *Blas.* 236. For their stealing of women Wyclif gives an Oxford story, *Serm.* iii. 219.

drawing of workmen, not only in default of corn, but in beasts and other good '.[1]

Wyclif does not charge them as a body with immorality; 'bodily chastity' he owns 'is often broken, but oftener chastity of souls'. But Purvey did not hesitate to impute the grossest sins, of which the going to dances 'to get the stinking love of damysels and steer them to worldly vanity and sins' was almost the least.[2] In the friars Wyclif sees the outcome of the loosing of Satan and the thousand years of his rule.[3] They were founded by the arch-enemy of God for the disturbance of the Western Church, just as the monk Sergius assisted Muhammad to found 'the Saracen sect'. Why God permitted them to exist is difficult to answer; the entire extirpation of sects so harmful to Church and State would be a gain.[4] Monks and friars in fact are the two wings of the army of antichrist, the friars in special, whom he compared to 'ravishing wolves', being 'members of the devil'. Their pretended poverty and affected begging are diabolical lies, devised for 'the hypocritical spoliation of the poor'. A good friar is as rare as the phoenix.[5] All friars who favoured his doctrine should openly abandon their 'rotten habit' and join 'Christ's order'. Against the punishment of such as apostates he protested as an encroachment on the king's prerogative.[6]

Wyclif charges the friars with possessing all the faults of the possessioners and 'hypocrisy' in addition.[7] By 'hypocrisy' Wyclif understood the neglect of the ideal for the advancement of which they had been founded. In 1381 it was a common

[1] *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 348.

[2] *Eng. Works*, 305 (Wyclif's), 9 (Purvey's). Purvey charges them with being 'hucksters of cakes' (*ib.* 12, cf. Chaucer *Prol.* 233; *Pol. Poems*, i. 264–6).

[3] See *Pol. Works*, ii. 387–400, especially ii. 393 *n.*; written at the close of 1383 (*ib.* ii. 388).

[4] *Pol. Works*, i. 80, 91, ii. 597–601; *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 99, 245. Sergius named Bahira, a Nestorian monk from Bussorah, instructed Muhammad. Cf. *Pot. Pap.* 374.

[5] *Pol. Works*, i. 324, 371, ii. 700; *Op. Min.* 16; *Sel. Eng. Works*, i. 139. The student should note the very bitter *de Diabolo et Membris eius* in *Pol. Works*, i. 357–74, three extracts from which are given in Wilkins, iii. 348 f. The origin of the tract was the contention of 'a certain friar' that 'no one is damned unless he is a devil'. Wyclif replied that the friars are 'devils incarnate'.

[6] *Apos.* 9, 44; *Sel. Eng. Works*, i. 296, iii. 369, 389.

[7] *Sel. Eng. Works*, i. 58, 76, ii. 264, iii. 374; *Trial.* 361, 363.

proverb: 'this is a friar and therefore a liar'. They were nicknamed the 'creepers into houses'.[1] Good men, Wyclif owns, may exist among them, but such are rare.[2] Even St. Francis, though 'he taught much meekness, poverty and penance', fails to win unqualified praise: 'he began his order out of blind devotion, but the prudence of the serpent was lacking'.[3] Scorning their primitive poverty, friars 'beg for a community whose members have ships on the sea and a store of jewels and money'. Though 'Christ had not to rest in his head, feigned beggars' intercept in alms 60,000 marks a year which belong to the suffering. So they own palaces with great kitchens and gate-houses and guest-chambers fit for 'an earl or a duke or a king'. So many are their halls 'that almost through England they may each night lie in their own'. 'Though it rain on the altar of the parish-church' they build splendid churches with belfries that soar like the tower of Babel, often, as Wyclif pointed out, with insufficient foundations.[4] They visit the homes of lords and ladies 'but deign not to come in poor men's houses for stink and filth', nor to visit poor men in prison.[5] A wise burgher will not let them enter his cellars 'lest in blessing the wine they turn the cask into mere accidents'—it is not often that Wyclif thus grimly jests.[6] They break all the sixteen conditions essential to true charity, and are guilty of twice as many heresies as their charges against Wyclif at the Blackfriars.[7] Through the friars the lords are impoverished and the clergy robbed; there is not a village in England which gives not more to their collections than to its lord or parish priest. For the goods of the dead they have an insatiable appetite and look sharp after gold and silver plate.[8] Manual labour they shun like poison.[9] They

[1] Walsingham, ii. 13; *Eulog. Cont.* iii. 355. This was an old charge, see Wyclif, *Apos.* 24.
[2] *Serm.* ii. 359; cf. *Blas.* 223.
[3] *Sel. Eng. Works*, i. 58, 76, ii. 264, iii. 374; *Trial.* 361, 363.
[4] *Apos.* 31–2; *Serm.* ii. 51, 123; *Pol. Works*, i. 47, 93, 143, 193; *Op. Min.* 347; *Sel. Eng. Works*, ii. 290, 299, iii. 372, 380, 383, 397; *Eng. Works*, 5, 15, 49.
[5] *Eng. Works*, 15, 17; *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 374.
[6] *Serm.* iii. 194.
[7] *Sel. Eng. Works*, ii. 266, 366 (Purvey).
[8] *Serm.* iii. 112; *Blas.* 213; *Op. Min.* 346, 348.
[9] *Pol. Works*, i. 20; *Serm.* iii. 110, 163, iv. 51; *Blas.* 211; *Sel. Eng. Works*, i. 178, ii. 320.

readily accept fat bishoprics but not poor priesthoods. ' They made their last refuge in the nest of the Church at Rome ' or fled from their friary to take service under secular lords ' as stewards of halls, kitchen clerks, and also chamberlains ', thus escaping the hardships of the cloister, the rising at midnight, the fasting and the like. Instead of the service of the poor they struggle to become the confessors of kings and lords. In consequence no private person can stand against them, be his cause never so just.[1] He accused them even of using experimental science for the purposes of sorcery, the old charge which rumour had attached to Bacon.[2] Wyclif pictures the better disposed bringing forward their excuses, but he will have none of it. Recruiters for the order are the devil's procurers. ' Let a Christian excuse himself how he will, before Him that shall try the hearts at the Last Judgement this negligence and idleness will find no excuse.' In a word ' it were more sufferable to dwell among Saracens or other paynim sects than to dwell among these new religions '.[3] For ' new ' they are in spite of the plea of the Carmes that they were founded by Elijah or the tracing by the Austins of their origin to St. Augustine. Wyclif's anger against their ' great feasts ' we can understand, but when in the same sentence he complains of their ' costly libraries ' we feel that his anger has run away with his judgement, though of course he could have pleaded the more emphatic decision of St. Francis.[4]

The friars sinned also by reducing confession to a farce. That the friars heard confessions at all in the judgement of the seculars was not for the good of the Church. The right had not been obtained without long struggle. The popes chopped about in their policy but finally granted it, with consequences that were often disastrous. Sins that a man would not confess with a light heart to his parish priest he would readily acknowledge to a strolling friar whose face he would see no more. Men fled to the friar, as Langland complains, like debtors to

[1] *Serm.* ii. 144–5 ; *Sel. Eng. Works*, i. 292, iii. 511 ; *Eng. Works*, 13 ; *Pol. Works*, i. 94 ; *Apos.* 41, 60.
[2] *Apos.* 41–2 ; *Pol. Works*, ii. 700.
[3] *Sel. Eng. Works*, i. 28 ; *Apos.* 22 ; *Serm.* iii. 232.
[4] *Serm.* i. 56, iii. 126 ; *Trial.* 436 ; *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 353, 397.

Westminster, for, as Chaucer puts it, ' pleasant was his absolution '. Said Wyclif :

' any cursed swearer, extortioner, or adulterer will not be shriven by his own curate but go to a flattering friar that will assoil him falsely for a little money by the year, though he be not in will to make restitution or to leave his cursed sin.'

' I have ' said Fitzralph ' in my diocese two thousand persons a year who are excommunicate for wilful robbery, arson and similar acts of whom scarcely forty a year come to me or my parish priests for confession '. The friars, like thimbleriggers in a country fair, seemed anxious to sell their gold for a farthing. There was no crime so foul which the friars would not absolve on easy terms,

For had a man slain all his kin
Go shrive him to a friar,
And for less than a pair of shoon
He will assoil him clean and soon.

But friars were not alone in this huckstering. Priests also, said the lollards, ' for a drink or twelve pence will sell the blessings of heaven with charter warranted and sealed '.[1]

There was another evil connected with the friars on which Wyclif fastened : ' they make wives and other women their sisters by letters of fraternity ', a custom by no means confined to women. The person presented with these letters was entitled ' to have part of all the friars' good deeds both in life and in death '. Such letters, which were not granted except for money, seemed to Wyclif ' the chaffer of Lucifer ', more foolish for the purchaser than the buying ' a cat in the sack ', for the friars would have difficulty enough in saving themselves from being ' destroyed and damned in hell '. ' A thousand of these letters will not save a man but if he keep God's word ' ; they are only ' good for to cover mustard pots '. In spite of this outcry the traffic continued. For the friars were not moved by the logic of ' Jack Upland ' :

If your letters be good
Why grant ye not them generally
To all manner of men
For the more charity ?

[1] *Mon. Franc.* i. 604 ; *Pol. Poems*, i. 266, cf. i. 270, ii. 87 ; *Ziz.* 366 ; Chaucer, *Prol.* 218 f. ; *Somnour's Tale*, 7–17 ; Brown, *Fascic.* ii. 468 ; *P. Plow.* (B) v. 140–2, xx. 277–91 ; *P. Crede.* 468. For Wyclif, *Serm.* iv. 56 ; *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 299, 394, 424 ; *Eng. Works*, 9.

But there is no proof that bundles of these letters were carried about with a blank for the insertion of the name of the purchaser.[1]

We conclude with the custom of burying people in the friar's dress; 'they put' said Wyclif 'more holiness in their rotten robes than ever did Christ or his apostles in their clothes'. For Clement V had remitted one quarter of their sins to those thus buried. In consequence there were many

> who to be sure of Paradise
> Dying put on the weeds of Dominic,
> Or in Franciscan think to pass disguised.

To meet this many 'simple people' kept a friar's robe handy. Burial in the ground of friaries became exceedingly popular, especially with wealthy citizens,[2] in spite of the opposition of parish church and cathedral.[3] Against all this 'spoil of men's bodies', chiefly restricted to the rich, Wyclif protested. 'Dying even in Christ's clothes' would not have saved Pilate from damnation.[4]

§ 4

We turn to the chief evils in the secular church. We begin with Wyclif's invectives against the bishops.[5] The measure of his wrath was the measure of his ideal. He urged that the bishop bore the image of Christ's manhood, and was the guardian or 'proctor of the poor', following Christ in humility and sacrifice. He pleaded that a bishop

> 'should watch continually, and be crucified to the flesh and world. He should have a thousand eyes, and if he sleeps with one should watch with the others over his flock.'[6]

[1] For these letters see *Pol. Poems*, ii. 21, 29, 33; for specimens, *Archaeol.* xi. 85 (with seal); *Mon. Franc.* ii. 263. For lollard strictures see *Apos.* 36; *Trial.* 349, 367; *Pol. Works*, i. 193, 222; *Serm.* iii. 425, 503; *Sel. Eng. Works*, i. 20, 67, 380–2; iii. 299, 337, 420–4; *Eng. Works*, 8, 12; *Lantern*, 61.

[2] See list of persons buried in the London Greyfriars in Kingsford, *Greyfriars*, 70–144.

[3] For instances of this struggle see *Vict. Co. Worc.* ii. 17, 170; *Vict. Co. Norf.* ii. 236; Capes, *Charters*, p. xxxi. 197.

[4] *Sel. Eng. Works*, ii. 62, 215; iii. 266, 350, 382; *Eng. Works*, 15, 316; *Pol. Works*, i. 35, 143, 306, 381; *Blas.* 209; *Op. Min.* 322; *Lay Folks' Cat.* 82–3.

[5] Compare Gascoigne 22, 53–9, 197, 202.

[6] *Off. Reg.* 13, 37, 224; *Ver. Script.* ii. 258.

Very different, as he deemed, were the facts. The bishops had become the 'devil's proctors for dispersing the flock of God'; they had crept into the fold by simony, gifts, promises, running to Rome or civil service. They were imperialized or popish doctors who no longer stay with Christ on the mountain, but come down to the level of the mob on the plain, who 'worship false gods', and who by their neglect of preaching—in Wyclif's judgement the bishop's first duty—had become 'ghostly sodomites', 'dumb fools in the realm of hell', 'dumb hounds that may not bark in time of need'.[1] Such men 'say in their hearts that Christ dwelleth long before He come to the doom'.[2] In the purchase of their sees they are worse than Simon Magus, for Simon proposed a fair bargain. A bishop without wealth regarded himself as 'episcopus Nullatensis'—the bishop of Nowhere. Wyclif also protested against the advancement which so many obtained through wealthy women about court, whom they had pleased as 'dancers or trippers on carpets'.[3] Such 'mercenaries and wolves' are 'devils incarnate' and 'little antichrists', who, as Purvey puts it, 'falsely rob men of their goods for spiritual things, and keep much of this muck for themselves, and waste it in gay mitres and rings'. Bishops of this sort, like bad physicians, ought to be hanged for the harm they do to souls.[4]

Wyclif and his followers were insistent in their protest against the employment of bishops as civil servants, or the paying for services to the Crown by the gift of a see. These 'Caesarean clergy' 'must needs be traitors to God and His people in the sovereign medicine of souls' health the while they be busy about worldly occupation', 'as rich clerks of the Chancery, of the Common Bench, or of King's Bench'. The Church was founded by holy apostles, not by smart men of business—'not a clerk of learning or of good life, but a kitchen clerk, or a penny clerk or one wise in building castles'. Bishops of this sort—our pages abound with examples, from Wykeham

[1] *Serm.* ii. 196; iv. 502–3; *Sel. Eng. Works*, i. 288; iii. 37; *Eng. Works*, 66.
[2] *Ver. Script.* ii. 138; *Eng. Works*, 55, 57, 104, 445; *Sel. Eng. Works*, ii. 409.
[3] *Serm.* ii. 65, 141; *Pol. Pap.* 313; *Eng. Works*, 246.
[4] *Op. Evang.* i. 95; *Pol. Works*, ii. 574, 618, 672; *Blas* 120; *Serm.* ii. 40; iii. 454; *Trial.* 187; *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 300.

downwards who began his priestly life as the keeper of the royal dogs [1]—would be better if ' they were married or were civil governors or warriors, or in other lay office ' inasmuch as they would then incur a lesser damnation.[2] ' In the Church of God ' said Bacon ' a man acquainted with the civil law but ignorant of canon law and theology is more praised and promoted to ecclesiastical dignities than a master in theology '.[3] Bacon might have added that the wealthier sees were too often filled by the younger sons of the greater nobles. These were the men of whom there ran the proverb ' that a bishop hath a thousand eyes to noye (injure) but not half an eye to profit after God's law ', who had numerous ' great horses ' yet made ' poor vicars run two or three thousand miles ' to find them.[4] These court bishops performed their duties by suffragans, often bishops *in partibus*—' made bishops of heathen men and sworn to go thither and convert them ', but who ' are maintained to be suffragans and sell sacraments and rob people '. Such suffragans generally worked under an indenture that specified the exact fee they should receive for their various duties.[5] Helped by these suffragans many bishops were habitual absentees. Gascoigne tells us of one ' who never said mass in his cathedral for nine years, save on the day of his installation, nor ever visited his diocese save to collect money '.[6]

Two curses of the English Church in Wyclif's day were the pluralist and the absentee. Some livings rarely saw a resident rector,[7] in spite of threats of excommunication against those who ' let their churches to farm and do not return to them again '. The degree of absenteeism varied with the zeal of the

[1] Devon, 163. Cf. *Pat. Ric.* ii. 519.

[2] *Ver. Script.* iii. 83 ; *Serm.* ii. 194, 373 ; *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 215, also the following, few of which are Wyclif's, *ib.* iii. 300, 335 (both Purvey's) ; *Eng. Works*, 13, 65, 66, 78, 149, 161, 168, 195, 213, 242, 246. Cf. *Piers Plow. Prol.* 90–99 ; Gascoigne, 14 f., 22, 52, 197, 202 ; Reading, *Chron.* 178 ; Higden, viii. 359–60 for similar protests.

[3] *Op. Ined.* 84.

[4] *Sel. Eng. Works*, i. 402 ; *Eng. Works*, 30.

[5] *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 300 and the identical passage *Eng. Works*, 225. For an indenture see *Sed. Vac. Worc.* 356–7 For an extraordinary story of skylarking by a suffragan in the ' many inns ' of Dartmouth see *Reg. Grand.* ii. 1027–31. For a list of suffragans see Eubel, ii. App. i.

[6] Gascoigne, 15. Cf. *infra*, p. 368, for Richard Courtenay.

[7] e. g. Gt. Bawden (J. E. Stocks, *Market Harborough Parish Records*, 77). Between 1355 and 1381 the rector of Manchester was absent for 11 years (*Vict. Co. Lanc.* ii. 31).

bishop. In Gloucestershire in 1300 there was practically none. In Winchester in 1383 Wykeham summoned over forty non-residents to appear before him, and did not hesitate to sequestrate the livings of those absent ' without leave or reasonable cause ', a proceeding which would meet with Wyclif's approval. Brantingham also was specially diligent in the matter.[1] Unfortunately all bishops were prone to grant exemptions on easy terms, especially when they could oblige some noble lord, forgetting, as bishop Rede put it, that ' when a butler who keeps the key of the food absents himself, the household runs the danger of starvation '. All bishops also failed to deal with the higher-placed ecclesiastics, especially when protected by the Court or by Rome. In 1352 there was complaint that the dean of Salisbury had been absent for forty years, nor was this a solitary case. Walter Powell, dean of Norwich, even leased his deanery.[2]

Absenteeism was largely the result of pluralism, and in this bishops and cardinals were among the chief offenders.[3] So serious was the offence in England, in spite of official edicts,[4] that on the 24th September 1364 Urban V wrote to the archbishops of Canterbury and York bidding them ' summon a synod within a month each in his cathedral church ' that a return might be prepared of all benefices of every kind, even when held by papal dispensation, ' their qualities and taxations, so that a stop might be put to pluralities and other scandals '. For this return six months were allowed. As nothing was done—perhaps the bishops feared that the estimate of ' taxations ' might lead to a revision of the *Taxatio* of 1291 to the

[1] *Off. Reg.* 165 ; *Reg. Wykeham*, ii. 144, 237, 308–9, 350–1, 411, 424, 497 ; *Sede Vac. Worc.* 303, 306, 320 ; *Reg. Brant.* i. 145, 321, 413, 419, 437, 508, 562, 570 ; ii. 583, 610, &c. Cf. Wilkins, iii. 120, 148–9, 216.

[2] *Reg. Wykeham*, ii. 323, 324 and Grandisson's protest *Reg.* ii. 1174 ; *Reg. Rede.* 82 ; *Pap. Pet.* i. 235 ; *P. Plow.* Prol. 85–7 ; *Reg. Stafford*, 248 ; *Vict. Co., Norf.* ii. 245 *n.* For papal encouragement see *Pap. Let.* iv. 317 ; v. 24, *et passim.*

[3] It is amusing to read the holy horror of Godfrey Giffard, himself a noted pluralist, at this vice (*Reg. Giffard*, i. 41).

[4] See Wilkins, ii. 12, 33. Urban V's bull, *Horribilis* (1363), is given at length in *Ann. Mon.* iii. 413–14. Cf. Wilkins, iii. 62–3. But Urban V himself freely bestowed dispensations (*Pap. Let.* iv. 57, 62, 63). On 1 Dec. 1366 Urban issued a bull forbidding for ten years the union of benefices (*Reg. Wykeham*, ii. 182).

detriment of the clergy—Urban repeated his command on the 3rd May 1366. Each bishop was to make a return. This was to be dispatched to his metropolitan, ' who was to send the same to the pope together with the return of his own district '. The returns were dispatched from Lambeth on the 12th June 1367,[1] but were probably pigeon-holed by Urban's secretaries, anxious lest their fees should be diminished.

Most mischievous of all were the instances of pluralism where the offender was a mere boy, an abuse which roused the wrath of Wyclif who erroneously dated its growth from the time of Islip. We give illustrations. In 1306 two sons of Sir William Grandisson, aged thirteen and fourteen, were granted dispensations to hold benefices of 300 marks each, in addition to sundry canonries. In 1344, at the request of queen Philippa, Philip Beauchamp ' who is nearly six ' had a dispensation from Clement VI for a canonry at Southwell, and by the time he was fourteen Philippa had procured for him fourteen preferments.[2]

In Wyclif's oft-expressed judgement the number of the clergy of all sorts was out of all proportion to the number of the laity, and in consequence a source of national impoverishment.[3] We are able to check his strictures by statistics. In 1377 the total population of the country, if we may trust the returns of the poll-tax, was between two and two and a half millions. The number of the clergy is given in the poll-tax of 1381 as 25,883 regular and secular clergy, and 1,952 deacons, acolytes and inferior clergy over the age of 16, including the counties of Cheshire and Durham but omitting Carlisle. In Wales there were 775 regular and secular clergy, and 25 deacons, acolytes, &c., though this return is incomplete owing to the omission of Llandaff. The total clerical population of

[1] See *Reg. Grand.* iii. 1248, and cf. *supra*, i. 159–60.

[2] Wyclif, *Off. Reg.* 75 ; *Eng. Works*, 166 ; *Pap. Let.* ii. 5 ; iii. 151 ; *Pap. Pet.* i. 239 ; *Reg. Giffard*, ii. 442. For other instances see *Pap. Let.* v. 91, 92 (aged six and nine), 208 (six) ; iv. 394 (eleven ; Arundel's brother) ; v. 308, 341 (twelve) ; v. 589 (fourteen) ; vi. 461 (eight), 462 (ten) ; vii. 497 (ten) ; *Eng. Hist. Rev.* xix. 96–7 (Henry IV's illegitimate son, Edmund Laboside, aged twelve). For an amusing skit on these ' infant ' rectors in the *Exempla* of Jacques de Vitrey see Pitra, *Analecta*, ii. 352 ; Crane, *Exempla* 1.

[3] *Off. Reg.* 158 ; *Serm.* ii. 337 ; *Eng. Works*, 173 ; *Civ. Dom.* iv. 485 ; *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 217, 346, 384, 418 ; *Op. Min* 293.

England and Wales is given as 30,350, leaving out the diocese of Durham. We shall not be far wrong therefore if we count the clerical population as at least 31,000, and this figure is borne out by the vast lists of ordinands still extant in the bishops' registers, averaging about 700 annually.[1] Before the Black Death, no doubt, the total population of the country was considerably higher, and the clergy, though their mortality in the plague was great, had recovered their numbers in all probability, monastic houses apart, quicker than the people at large. In 1377 the average works out at about one cleric for every sixty-five of the people, children included. Before 1349 the average was not so excessive. Moreover, inasmuch as the total number of parish churches did not exceed 8,500, at least 10,000 of this clerical population were unbeneficed [2]—chantry priests,[3] stipendiaries, morrow mass priests, curates and the like, who eked out a living on small pensions and saying masses for the dead. Apart from all other considerations Wyclif was right that there could be no defence economically for this host of ill-paid underlings without cure of souls,[4] whose discipline also was often extremely bad.

The protest of the lollards against the excessive wealth of the Church was unwearied. Wyclif claimed that one-third of the realm was held ' in the dead hand ', and that there was ' no realm in Christendom in which the clergy were more amply endowed '.[5] ' This amortising ' said Purvey ' will never cease

[1] Stubbs, iii. 378 *n.*; Deanesly, 159.

[2] i. e. deducting from the 31,000, 8,000 rectors of whom half had vicars, i. e. 12,000, plus 7,000 for monks, friars, &c., and, say 500 for students, civil servants, &c.

[3] For their excess numbers in London see *Piers Plow.* 83–6. On an average in the fourteenth century 2·8 new chantries were founded in London every year (*Vict. Co. Lond.* i. 205). For Bucks see *Vict. Co. Bucks*, i. 294–5. At Cirencester parish church there were 14 (Rudder, *Hist. Cirenc.* 261), Southwell 13 (Leach, *Eng. Schools at Ref.* i. 49); Newark 15 (*Arch. Jour.* lxxi. 124; *Trans. Thoroton Soc.*, 1913, pp. 67–88); Beverley minster 15 (Leach, *Bev. Min.* i. p. lxxiv f), &c., &c. For chantry chapels with illustrations see *Arch. Jour.* lxvi. 1–32.

[4] In Wyclif's diocese in 1381 there were 6,742 clergy in about 1,800 parishes. Norwich 3,211, London 2,276 (St. Paul's 122), Salisbury 2,064, Worcester 1,383, Exeter 1,360, Winchester 1,287, Canterbury 937, Bath and Wells 1,038, Ely 759, Hereford 680, Chichester 718, Durham 603. York with 2,858 was relatively understaffed, as also Lichfield with 1,744. Note, Methodism arose largely because of paucity of clergy; Wyclif's reform the other way.

[5] *Civ. Dom.* ii. 6; *Ver. Script.* iii. 88; *Op. Min.* 172. Cf. *Rot. Parl.* iii. 90

till all the secular lordship of our land be in their hands.' Another lollard writer tells how a certain

'gentleman asked a great bishop of this land: In case that the clergy had all the temporal possessions, as they now have the more part, how shall the secular lords and knights live and wherewith? And then he answered and said that they should be clerks, soldiers, and live by their wages.'[1]

If we take income rather than land as the basis of calculation we can obtain a rough estimate of wealth by laboriously adding up the columns of the *Taxatio* of 1291.[2] But we must remember that the *Taxatio* is an understatement. We possess the list of the revenues for 1293 of certain churches in Durham. They were assessed at £512; the actual receipts were £1,153, and this is no isolated case. Nor does the *Taxatio* take any account of fees or casual income,[3] or of the profits, for instance, that the Cistercians must have made from the sale of wool.[4] But using the *Taxatio* as our guide, such as it is, we find that according to David Anselm a tenth for Canterbury brought in £16,287 18*s.* 3*d.* and for York £4,160 10*s.* 7*d.*, a total of £20,414 8*s.* 11*d.* or, making the necessary deductions, £18,395 7*s.* 11*d.*, which tallies fairly with the £191,903 credited as the income of the Church in the *Nova Taxatio*, or the £210,644 9*s.* 9*d.* in the old *Taxatio*.[5] We must further add the values of all property acquired after 1291, which was taxed with that of the laity,[6] and of which we have no means of making any estimate. As the bulk of the

(1380). In *Eccles.* 338 'one fourth'. *Rot. Parl.* i. 219 (1307) absurdly puts it at two-thirds.

[1] *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 302; *Eng. Works*, 368.

[2] See *supra*, i. 34 *n.* and add for its origin *Eng. Hist. Rev.* xxx. 398–417; also for the diocese of Exeter the more accurate copy by David Anselm in Hingeston-Randolph, *Registers of Bronescombe*, &c. (1891).

[3] e. g. for dedicating a church 5 marks, an altar 40*s.*, a churchyard £5 (*Sed. Vac. Worc.* 348; *Reg. Grand.* ii. 835. See protest *Eng. Works*, 69, 97, 393; *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 300). For protest against induction fees (11*s.* plus 6*s.* 8*d.* for the seal) see *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 282; *Eng. Works*, 248. According to Wyclif, at ordination bishops charged 'for writing and sealing of a little scrow, (letters of orders) twelve pence or two shillings'. The legal charge was 6*d.* (Leclercq-Hefele, vi. 792). Wyclif also complained that the bishop's barber who made the tonsure charged what would have enabled a priest 'to be shaven at a common barber and clipped all a year'.

[4] *Hist. Dunelm. Script. Tres* (Surtees, 1839), App. p. ccxlviii.

[5] Anselm in *op. cit.* 480; Stubbs, ii. 580; Ramsay, *Gen. Lanc.* i. 175–6. Benefices below 6 marks do not always appear in the *Taxatio*, unless appropriated.

[6] So expressly, *Rot. Parl.* iii. 645 b.

chantries, i.e. of the lower paid clergy, would be established on these later endowments, we must considerably raise the average of the others. We shall not err greatly if we take this to be about £10 a year, a sum about a third in excess of the pay in Wyclif's day of the better vicars.

To this income it is not likely that Wyclif would object as excessive. Its inequality of distribution was another matter. It is always glaring inequality that makes revolution—Wykeham with £2,000 a year, to say nothing of fees and casual income, and a host of starvelings at four, five, or six marks whose poverty was made worse by absentees and pluralists, the appropriation of rectors' houses and the like. Dioceses also differed widely, Hampshire with £19,345,[1] the vast diocese of Exeter not one-third (£5,999). Salisbury with its £14,224 was distinctly wealthy as compared with York with £20,183, for York included all Nottingham and parts of Lancashire, Westmorland, and Cumberland. The wealth of Norfolk and Suffolk is reflected in the £23,512 of Norwich. Yet even here fat livings and poverty were side by side. In Norwich city there were twenty churches which escaped taxation as below the minimum ; of the 176 rural vicarages, 142 were exempt as not worth six marks a year. In Exeter there was a lower depth ; in 1291 there were 78 benefices in the diocese not worth two marks.[2]

Many of the collegiate churches and cathedrals showed sad need of reform. At Wells, for instance, new canons were expected to entertain the bishops, dean, and chapter at an expense of 150 or 200 marks.[3] In some places peculation was rife, and here and there grave immorality.[4] Even when there was no positive vice there was often slackness. At Exeter, in 1328, Grandisson found that the residence of the canons was a farce, and that when at rare intervals and reluctantly they took their place in the choir they showed neither reverence nor devotion. The ' thieves ', as Grandisson calls them, were more intent on hunting than on worship. In the same cathedral the

[1] So *Reg. Wykeham*, ii. 228 ; Stubbs, *l.c.* computes it at £12,275.
[2] *Reg. Bronescombe*, &c. 451 f. ; *Taxatio*, 78, 154–7 ; *Vict. Co. Norf.* ii. 236.
[3] *Pap. Let.* v. 400 and cf. *ib.* vii. 231. So at St. Paul's.
[4] See A. F. Leach, *Visitations of Southwell* (1891), pp. lix, lxxv, lxxxi, or his *Beverley Min.* ii. pp. lix, lxvii, lxxi ; *Pat. Ed.* xv. 125.

vicars in 1330 indulged in loud and indecent laughter during service and deliberately dropped the melted grease of candles on the heads of those below. On the feast of Holy Innocents they indulged in vulgar revels and obscene gestures before the people. At Crantock the vicars of the absentee canons could neither sing nor read properly, owing to their ignorance ; some of them, in fact, were not in priests' orders.[1] Similar stories could be told of Lincoln, Southwell, and other foundations.

There were other abuses on which we cannot linger, e. g. the frequent exchange of benefices (' vulgarly called choppe-churches ').[2] Wyclif himself is specially bitter against the hunting parsons ' unable of life and cunning ' (knowledge) who ride about with ' fat horses and gay saddles ', clad in ' pelure ', bridle ringing with bells, and carrying a civilian sword. Such be ' full damnable before God ' ; the King of kings ' never mounted other than a rude ass '.[3] Others again haunted taverns.[4] Two matters demand some attention. Wyclif does not make many references to immorality. This is the more remarkable inasmuch as he maintained that

' if all the bishops in England to-day and the seculars and regulars who agree with them were branded on the forehead with the mark of the beast they would be more numerous than those on the side of Christ.' [5]

We believe that the silence of Wyclif must be interpreted as a testimonial, and this is borne out by the evidence of the best kept bishops' registers, and for London by the *Letter-Books*. The worst instances of immorality were in out-of-the-way places, away from the bishop's eye, and among the low-paid unbeneficed clerks.[6] Moreover the keeping of concubines was

[1] *Reg. Grand.* i. 435, 586–7 ; ii. 723, 828.

[2] Wilkins, iii. 215–17. There were 15 different vicars at St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate, between 1362 and 1404 (*Vict. Co. Lon.* i. 217). See also illustrations in *Reg. Trefnant*, 187–91.

[3] *Eng. Works*, 149, 151, 212–3, 434 ; *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 519–20 ; *Chaucer, Prol.* 168.

[4] *Eng. Works*, 23, 168 ; *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 286. [5] *Pot. Pap.* 218.

[6] I refer for the basis on which I have formed this conclusion to the Registers of Wykeham, Grandisson, Brantingham, Trefnant, and for London to *Letter-Book I*, xiii, xliii, 273–87, 340 *n.* ; Riley, *Mem. Lond.* 484–6, 566 *n.* ; *Liber Albus* i. 457–60. The worst cases are in W. H. Hale, *Series of Precedents in Criminal Causes* (1847), 9, 22, 33, 75–6. See also Bund, *Sed. Vac. Worc.* pp. xciii–v, xcvii and Jessopp, *Norw. Dioc. Hist.* 156.

probably more common than the registers reveal.[1] But Wyclif protested against the system of long standing whereby immorality, both clerical and lay, was often punished by a mere fine. This, as the lollards maintained, came perilously near to condonation of incontinence for fixed money payments—'rent by year'—a charge made against archdeacons by others than Wyclif:

> For a simple fornication
> Twenty shillings he shall pay,
> And then have an absolution
> And all the year usen it forth he may.[2]

The crimes of the clergy were by no means confined to sexual misconduct. In an age of violence they were too often the ring-leaders in violence.[3] Between 1378 and 1403 three London priests received pardon for murder or manslaughter; while others were found guilty of clipping coin, of highway robbery, and of other acts of violence. Of the causes which led John Paxton, parson of St. Martin, Ludgate, to kill John Uffington, fishmonger, or John Boreham, chaplain, to kill in Wood Street Peter Grace of Cornwall, chaplain, we know nothing. Very instructive is the story of John Colshill, chaplain, 'who being pursued by enemies bent on killing him fled to the Church of St. Andrew, Holborn, in the suburbs of London, to save his life'. There, before the coroner and sheriffs, he confessed 'that he stole at Chipstead in Kent, on the 10th December 1392, a gown furred with rabbit, value 6*s.* 8*d.* belonging to Margery Peek'. Equally clear is the record of John Pykeworth who had killed Gilbert Tailor of Bristol 'at Avonmarsh by Bristol'. This crime was undetected; so

[1] As late as 1221 sons regularly succeeded their fathers in Yorkshire (*Pap. Let.* i. 84, 90; Wilkins, i. 653). Note the remarkable decision of a synod at Ely in 1364, that no one give hospitality to concubines of clerics 'except on a journey' (Wilkins, iii. 61 and cf. *Reg. Wykeham*, ii. 222; *Sed. Vac. Worc.* 143). The synod of London in 1330 forbade the clergy to acquire houses for their children or concubines from Church revenues (Leclercq–Hefele, vi. 816).

[2] *Pol. Poems*, i. 324; *Blas.* 173; *Ver. Script.* iii. 305; *Civ. Dom.* iv. 386; *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 87, 288; *Eng. Works*, 35, 80, 97, 213, 237, 249 (mostly not Wyclif's). In *ib.* 62, 100 we have an absurd lollard exaggeration that 'sin rents' brought some prelates £2,000 a year.

[3] For instances see *Pat. Ric.* i. 282; ii. 533; v. 228, 533; *Pat. Hen.* ii. 221; *Pap. Let.* v. 204, 303; Sharpe, *Cal. Coroners Rolls*, p. xxii. 28–30; *Vict. Co. Lond.* i. 198, 381; Wilkins, iii. 385–8; *Reg. Grand.* ii. 893–4, 979 f.; iii. 1024, 1040, 1052–5, 1059–62; *Reg. Gilbert*, 24.

a few years later, drifting to London, ' he stole a gradual worth 6*s.* 8*d.*' from the royal chapel at Westminster, and three days later ' a manual worth 7*s.*' from an Essex church. Such crimes, of which we only hear because their perpetrators were pardoned, throw a grim light on the bequest by a priest in 1382 of a breviary for the use of priests imprisoned in Newgate.[1] Stories of this kind could be multiplied. We conclude with one of late date of some interest to our readers because of its associations. In 1482 Roland Mewburn, parson of the church of Wycliffe, ' waylaid Robert Manfield with a knife and pierced his heart so that he died '. For some reason the parson was pardoned, whereupon in February 1485 a kinsman of the murdered man waylaid the parson near Ovington, struck him ' with a wallych (foreign) bill ' so that ' he incontinently died ', and then took sanctuary in Durham.[2]

[1] Sharpe, *Letter-Book H*, 185 ; Riley, *Mem. Lond.* 466.
[2] *Vict. Co. Yorks N. R.* i. 138 ; *Pat. Ed. IV*, s.a. 324.

IV

FRIENDS AND FOES AT OXFORD

§ 1

Wyclif's break with the Medieval Church put an end to his employment in the service of the Crown. His attack upon the papacy might have been passed by for political reasons, especially during the Schism. But his attitude to the Eucharist brought him into conflict with a host of foes. The friars especially, hitherto in a way his allies, now turned against him; and the friars possessed then as always, through their confessors, the ear of the Court. Moreover, Wyclif's new themes did not appeal to the politicians so much as his theories of dominion, or his emphasis of the need of disendowment. With the publication of his *de Officio Regis* we mark the commencement of differences that were soon to develop into antagonism. Conscious of the growing breach, Wyclif seems to have returned once more to Oxford. Certain it is that from the 2nd August 1380 to the 1st August 1381 among the 'pensiones' or payments for rooms at Queen's there occurs the sum of 20*s*. 'pro pensione Wiclif'.[1] But it is probable that Wyclif was at Oxford some months earlier than this, and that the struggle which took place in the university in the autumn of 1379 and the early months of 1380 was not waged with Hamlet himself out of the play. We must remember that the distance of Lutterworth from Oxford is not great, and that the date of his residence at Queen's may only show that a room fell vacant whose tenancy he secured; on no account can it prove that Wyclif was not in Oxford at an earlier period. The fact that he then entered into residence is almost certain proof to the contrary in an age when no advertisement of any sort existed. But the chief proof is found in the number of Oxford opponents who now entered the lists against him. Throughout his career Wyclif had delighted in controversy. For many years men of

[1] Magrath, 112. Cf. *supra*, i. 65.

distinction in the world of thought had published replies to his various positions. They were conscious that they were dealing with no mere fanatic, but with the leader of a powerful school in the foremost university of Europe. So long as Wyclif confined himself to logic and politics their tone had been respectful. But on his breach with the Medieval Church all this was changed; they became embittered, bent only now on his downfall. In the present chapter we shall give some account of these controversialists, of the men who attacked him as also of those who came to his support, and of the struggle into which Oxford was plunged by the attempt to secure his formal condemnation. One thing the reader should bear in mind; the controversial brochures that have survived are but a small part of the output. Of some lost tracts the names have been handed down to us by Leland and Bale; others have not lived even in this shadowy form. For Oxford in the closing years of Wyclif's life was full of tracts and pamphlets in defence or attack, whose transcription and loan must have given employment to the city's stationers,[1] and caused no small stir and talk in their shops.

One of Wyclif's earliest opponents was an Ipswich Carmelite, variously called John Cunningham, Kenningham, or Killingham,[2] 'who by reason of his rare erudition had obtained the first place among the masters of Oxford'. Before 1372 Cunningham[3] became a doctor of divinity and a confessor to John of Gaunt,[4] and in 1393 the twenty-first provincial of his Order. As the duke's confessor[5] he must have repented of his former uncourtly

[1] The 'stationer' was responsible for all copies and their correctness according to the 'exemplar', and for this was sworn afresh each year (*Mun. Ac.* 387; *Chart. Par.* ii. 97). It is important to remember that students, unless in a college with a library, did not possess books as a rule; the stationers, who must be distinguished from the *librarii* or booksellers, loaned books, in fact were a sort of lending library. In 1374 the sale of books worth more than 6*s.* 8*d.* was confined to stationers (*Mun. Ac.* 233; Wood, *Univ.* i. 487). Every stationer was forced to exhibit a list of his copies and their taxed price (*Chart. Par.* ii. 531). At Paris in 1323 and 1342 there were twenty-eight sworn booksellers and stationers (*ib.* ii. 532), and about that number would be probable at Oxford.

[2] Wood, *Univ.* i. 490; James, *MSS. Corp.* i. 200; *Ziz.* 3, 453.

[3] Leland, *Comment.* 386 and fuller in Bale, i. 457–8; Tanner, 213; nothing in *D. N. B.* Dempster, after his usual fashion, calls him a Scot of noble family who studied at Paris and refused the bishopric of Paderborn.

[4] As such he was one of the witnesses to the duke's will on 3 Feb. 1398 (Nicolas, *Test. Vet.* i. 140–5).

[5] He succeeded Diss in 1386 (Armitage-Smith, 172).

sneer at Wyclif's royal supporter—'the house of Herod'—with which he began his third polemic in days before he expected to be part of 'the house' himself. A long list of his writings has come down to us, comprising, in addition to the inevitable lectures on the *Sentences* and other scholastic works, sundry commentaries and theological works. Of his polemics against Wyclif four books are still in existence,[1] but some have been lost. After sustaining what Netter calls 'the corrosive language and biting speech of the heretic for many years', Cunningham had his revenge in 1382 at the Blackfriars Council, and in the official sermon that he delivered after its close at St. Paul's Cross, on the 30th May, against Wyclif's heretical conclusions. Cunningham also signed at the council of Stamford the condemnation of Crump. In 1398 he was one of the committee that recommended the calling of a General Council to end the Schism. He died at York on the 12th May 1399 in the fratry of his order, where also he was buried.

The polemics of Cunningham against Wyclif as well as Wyclif's *Determinatio* in reply [2] may be dated as written about the year 1372.[3] The controversy does not turn on the great themes of later issue, but upon the lesser heresies which Wyclif's opponents already detected in him. From an interesting side-remark we learn that Wyclif was already contemplating a work on the nature of Dominion,[4] but that subject itself does not enter into the argument. Cunningham's tone is full of respect. He calls Wyclif 'profundus clericus' and owns that his reasoning is 'pulchre dictum et egregie'. He professes that for him to argue with a 'doctor tam solemnis in scientia et sermone' is like 'little boys throwing stones at the Pleiades'. Nevertheless he is confident that he has 'Aristotle and the great Augustine' on his side in the charges that he makes against 'so great a doctor'.[5] Cunningham accuses Wyclif of holding

[1] *Ziz.* 4–103. Leland gives '*contra Vicoclivum*, 3 lib.'. This is the same as Bale's '*contra Prepositiones Vuiclivi* 1 l.'. Both Bale and Leland add *de Esse Intelligibili*, really Cunningham's third determination (*Ziz.* 73–103); Bale's *pro Primo suo Ingressu* is in *Ziz.* 4–13, his *de Temporis Ampliatione* in *ib.* 43–72, and his *super Ideis eiusdem* in *ib.* 14–43.

[2] *Ib.* 4–103, 453–76; James, *MSS. Corpus*, i. 200.

[3] In the first two tracts Wyclif is always called 'Master'; in the third 'doctor'. Bale's date, 1376 (*Ziz.* 3), is too late.

[4] *Ib.* 456.

[5] *Ib.* 12, 14, 19, 67.

that 'the antiquity of Scripture gave to it its greatest authority', and attributes to him an extreme belief in its literal truth.[1] Cunningham also fastened upon Wyclif's realist doctrine that 'whatever has been, or will be, is',[2] and protests against Wyclif's attack on the (nominalist) 'doctors of signs', and against Wyclif's distinction between the 'sign' and 'the thing signified'[3]—positions of great import in the later Eucharist controversy. He detected also, with some justice, Wyclif's tendency to pantheism. 'I know', he argues, 'that I am not more really in God than the spire of St. Mary's is in my soul'.[4] The whole controversy is ontological, the result of Wyclif's lectures on Being. Wyclif's reply need not detain us, for it adds nothing to his more systematic treatises. It seems to have been originally an oral determination[5]; possibly in connexion with his doctorate. This may account for the oratorical reference to the

'three nests in which I have been nourished with the other chickens of Christ who know not yet how to fly, on the food of truth, in the wood of Scripture'.

Cunningham was supported by William Woodford, Uhtred Boldon, and William Binham, to whose controversies with Wyclif we have already referred. A greater opponent was the able Carmelite, Stephen Patrington. Other leaders in opposition are mentioned by Wood:[6] the Carmelite Nicholas of Durham, Ralph Strode, and, more especially 'when now the minds of the Oxonians were half asleep in permitting Wyclif's doctrines so far to spread', William Remington. Remington[7] or Remston, whom Bale calls 'a great assertor of the Eucharist', hailed from the Cistercian abbey of Salley or Sawley on the Ribble, and was chancellor in the year 1372–3[8] when Wyclif took his doctorate. Possibly in consequence of theses

[1] *Ziz.* 4, 15, 20.
[2] *Ib.* 8, 101, *et passim.* See *supra*, i. 140. Wyclif, *ib.* 463, claims the support of Aquinas.
[3] *Ib.* 64–5. *Supra*, i. 137.
[4] *Ib.* 86. Cf. *ib.*, Shirley in Introd., p. lv. and *supra*, i. 142.
[5] *Ib.* 453, 454 'Intendo hodie respondere'.
[6] Wood, *Univ.* i. 491.
[7] See *D. N. B.*; Tanner, 621, who calls him 'Thomas Remyston'; Bale, i. 516.
[8] Wood, *Fasti*, 28–9; *Eng. Hist. Rev.* iii. 381; *Snappe*, 330.

then delivered, Remington ' worked against Wyclif night and day to uncover his crafty designs ', and published a *Dialogue*, still extant,[1] ' between a catholic and a heretic ', and other treatises. According to Bale, Remington was still alive in 1390. Wyclif's reply to Remington was examined by the censors in 1410, and eleven errors and heresies extracted out of it.[2] The ground covered was wide, and dealt with the Eucharist and the primacy of the papacy. From the mention of the Eucharist it cannot be earlier than 1379.

Of Nicholas of Durham[3] not much is known. Born at Durham he entered the Carmelite house at Newcastle, at that time, according to Bale, known as ' Monktown ' from the number of its regulars. His renown at Oxford for philosophy was considerable, and his recorded works deal with the usual scholastic themes, except the inevitable *contra Wiclevi Articulos*. The date of this would appear to be shortly after Wyclif's condemnation by Gregory XI. Another persistent opponent of Wyclif was John Wells,[4] a Benedictine from Ramsey, for thirteen years the prior of the students in Gloucester college. His zeal and polemical writings, especially in defence of the monastic life and of the Eucharist against Wyclif's and Hereford's strictures, earned for Wells the title of the ' Hammer of heretics '. In controversy with Hereford, if we may trust a satirical contemporary account, he was completely worsted,[5] while Wyclif published a reply called *de Religione Privata* as well as sundry sermons [6] in which Wells was dubbed ' a certain

[1] In Bodleian MS. 158. The same work as the *contra Wiclifistas* of Bale, i. 516. Two other works of Remington are in the same MS., *Conclusiones* 26 *Hereticae* and *Conclus. Catholicae* (Madan, ii. (1) 152). Bale also mentions *Meditationes ad quendam Anchoretam* (in Bale, *Index Script.* 147–8 wrongly treated as two treatises, one to an anchorite, the other to a monk) which is the same as the *Stimulus Peccatoris*, a copy of which is in Cambridge University Library, Hh. iv. 3. Bale and Tanner assign other works no longer extant.

[2] Wilkins, iii. 348–9 (nos. 239–49).

[3] Tanner, 545 ; Bale, i. 476 ; Pits, 507, all chiefly from Leland, *Comment.* 368.

[4] For Wells see *D. N. B.* and Appendix P; Tanner, 757 ; Wood, *City*, ii. 260. The rooms of Ramsey in Gloucester could be distinguished in Wood's time (*City*, ii. 253). For Wells's writings see Bale, i. 496, and *Index Script.* 263. *Ziz.* 239–41 is an abstract of his *pro Religione Privata*, called in Wood, *Univ.* i. 500, and Tanner 757, *de Religione Perfectorum.*

[5] *Pol. Poems*, i. 260 ; *Mon. Franc.* i. 598. Wyclif alludes to this in *Blas.* 90.

[6] *Sermones*, iii. 230–9, 246–8, 251–7, of which the first is verbally repeated in Wyclif's second treatise *de Religione Privata* (*Pol. Works*, ii. 524–34).

black dog of the order of Benedict '.[1] 'His face' yellow as gall 'was typical of the man', though his ability cannot be doubted, in spite of Wyclif's complaint that he wrote 'intricately and diffusely'[2]—to some of Wyclif's readers this may seem an instance of Satan rebuking sin. In the later opposition to Wyclif he took a prominent part, especially in the Blackfriars synod. In July 1387 Wells was sent by the Benedictines to Urban VI to act as their general proctor with instructions to intercede for the imprisoned cardinal, Adam Easton. His mission was in vain, and in the following year Wells died at Perugia and was buried in the church of S. Sabina.

Wells was not alone. Wyclif's attack on the monasteries brought against him a host of foes among the orders; 'men', retorted Wyclif,

> 'who though they professed evangelical poverty yet crossed the seas, exposing themselves to the manifold perils of the road that they might win wealth, contrary to their vows'.[3]

Among these was an Irishman, an Oxford Cistercian scholar, of historical tastes,[4] from the abbey of Baltinglass[5] in co. Wicklow. Shortly after the publication of the first book of Wyclif's *Civili Dominio* Crump preached a sermon against its doctrines, especially the subjection of the clergy and of church property to the State. Wyclif answered him by bringing out three more books on the same theme.[6] Another opponent was a fellow of Queen's, John Sharp. Unlike some of his associates in that college, Sharp had refused to come under Wyclif's

Wyclif's first treatise, *de Rel. Priv.* (*Pol. Works*, ii. 496–518) is very abstract in reasoning, and Buddensieg is doubtful as to its authorship (*ib.* 486–8). I date Wyclif's *de Rel. Priv.* as written about this time, and not so late as Buddensieg would put it (*ib.* 522).

[1] *Serm.* iii. 246. The identification is clear from *Ziz.* 239. Wyclif explains his language as due to Peter Stokes calling him 'a fox'.

[2] *Pol. Works*, ii. 528.

[3] *Civ. Dom.* ii. 1.

[4] Two metrical lives of saints, *St. Edith* and *St. Etheldreda*, are attributed to him (Bale, *Index Script.* 161; Tanner, 211; both in Cotton MSS., Faust, B. iii.) as well as an account of the monasteries of England from Berin, bishop of Dorchester, down to Grosseteste (Bale, *op. cit.*; Ware, 73 f.; Dugdale, *Mon.* ii. 319 f. gives an extract).

[5] So Wood, *Univ.* i. 492. In *Ziz.* 351 'Bawynglass'. For Baltinglass, founded about 1148, see Archdall, *Monast. Hibernicum* (1786), pp. 761 ff. In *Ziz.* 112 Crump is inaccurately called 'abbas'. According to Wood, *Univ.* i. 498, Crump was a fellow of University College.

[6] See *supra*, i. 264, assuming the identification.

influence. Sharp had won the title of ' doctor famosus ' by his works on Aristotle, several of which are still preserved in Oxford libraries.[1]

One of the most noted of Wyclif's Oxford opponents was Ralph Strode, a fellow of Merton,[2] and a distinguished Thomist philosopher whose treatise on Logic explored with appalling thoroughness the whole system of syllogistic reasoning. His *Logica* has been lost, though fragments have been preserved in two works entitled *Consequentiae* and *Obligationes* or *Scholastica Militia*, this last a series of formal exercises in dialectics. Strode's reputation was by no means confined to England. He was highly esteemed ' by the sophists of the Italians and Gauls '.[3] That he is said to have travelled in Italy and France may be either a deduction from or a fact accounting for his wide reputation. His *Questiones* was read at Padua in 1486 as part of the curriculum, along with the *Sophismata Tisberi*, i. e. the Oxonian Heytisbury, another contemporary of Wyclif.[4] That Wyclif was a fellow of Merton seems doubtful; we have Wyclif's own statement that the two had known each other ' in the schools ',[5] as also for their close friendship. Wyclif calls him ' reverend master and dearest friend '.[6] Moreover, the controversy between the two was carried on with all courtesy. Strode's moderation of tone fits in with the picture we should otherwise form of him from Chaucer's friendship, as shown in his well-known dedication of his *Troylus and Crysede*:

> O moral Gower, this booke I directe
> To thee, and to the philosophical Strode.[7]

if, as seems likely, the identification is correct.

[1] For Sharp see Wood, *Univ.* (Ed. Lat.) ii. 117; Bale, *Index*, 250–1, who enumerates nineteen works, of which three were polemics against Wyclif. Possibly the John Sharp granted a benefice of £40 in Aug. 1363 (*Pap. Pet.* i. 457).

[2] For Strode see Appendix Q.

[3] Bale, i. 477, who is very scurrilous: ' evomuit ad posteritatis perniciem ' &c. Pits, 509, makes up on the other side.

[4] Rashdall, i. 248 *n.*, whose account of Strode is slight.

[5] *Op. Min.* 197. Gollancz (*D. N. B.*) takes this as a proof that Strode and Wyclif were together at Merton (*supra*, i. 66 f.); Loserth, *Op. Min.*, p. xxxii, that Strode was a pupil of Wyclif's!

[6] *Op. Min.* 398.

[7] *Troilus* (ed. Skeat, v. 1857–9), written between 1379 and 1382 (*op. cit.*, p. xlix). In one MS. of Chaucer's *Treatise on the Astrolobe*, written 1391, there is an ' R. Strode ', ' nobilissimus philosophus ', tutor at Merton of his son Louis, to whom the book is dedicated. If this is more than an attempt to

Strode was not wholly wrapt up in his syllogistic refinements. In the old catalogue of the fellows of Merton [1] we find his name with the gloss: 'Nobilis poeta fuit et versificavit librum elegiacum vocatum *Phantasma Radulphi*' to which Bale added an *Itinerarium Terrae Sanctae*. Dr. Gollancz has urged that this *Phantasma* or Dream may be the fine West Midland poem now famous as *The Pearl*:

> We lost you—for how long a time
> True pearl of our poetic prime!
> We found you, and you gleam re-set
> In Britain's lyric coronet.

If so Strode—who, if we may judge from the poems, hailed from Lancashire or Cumberland, and was therefore a northerner like Wyclif [2]—was also responsible for three other poems, *Cleanness*, *Patience*, and the *Romance of Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight*, "the jewel of Middle English romance literature", possibly also, though with failing powers, for *St. Erkenwald*. But the ascription of these works to Strode the Thomist is not certain, though much has been argued for the identification from the orthodoxy of the *Pearl* as regards free-will and predestination. Gollancz would also identify Strode with Ralph Strode, a lawyer who acted between November 1373 and 1382 [3] as Common Sergeant of London. To this Strode there was granted by the Common Council in October 1375 'a mansion situate over the gate Aldrichesgate (Aldersgate) with gardens, &c.', not far from the residence of Chaucer over the Aldgate,[4] a fact which may account for their friendship. Lawyer Strode, who died in 1387, according to the advocates of this theory of identity left Merton before 1373 for practice at the bar. With Strode the lawyer Wyclif had some dealings in a case in 1374 in which they acted together.[5] But between the two in later life there would be

explain the dedication it disposes of the identity of Strode the Thomist and Strode the lawyer (†1387); Gollancz treats it as a late addition. One may doubt whether there were 'tutors' in 1391, let alone that Strode was a fellow in 1360.

[1] Leland, *Coll.* iv. 55, expanded in Leland, *Comment.* 376, and the foundation of Bale, *Index Script.* 334 f.; Brodrick, 214.

[2] A point against the Merton Strode (see *supra*, i. 66).

[3] Gollancz repeatedly gives 1375–85. But see Appendix Q.

[4] Granted 10 May 1374, Riley, *Mem. Lond.* 377–8.

[5] *Supra*, i. 242.

little sympathy apart from a common love for the Bible and hatred of all vice. Lawyer, poet, logician—if the identification be correct—Strode was an unusual combination of qualities. As his poems show, he was a man of deep, mystic, spiritual instinct and wide human sympathies, as far removed from the logician as sweetness and light from formalism. Some even find in the *Pearl* as its " central idea the fundamental teaching of the Eucharist ". Strode's life was wrapped up in his child. But Strode the lawyer was the nominee of the profiteers and courtiers in opposition to John of Northampton.[1] Now in the rough and tumble of city politics it was among the latter party that Wyclif found his adherents.

To the attacks of Strode the Thomist, Wyclif replied in his *Responsiones ad argumenta Radulphi Strode*, as also in his *Responsiones ad decem Questiones magistri R. Strode.*[2] Of these the second would appear to have been of earlier date. It was written before Wyclif's break with the papacy, while Urban was still winning Wyclif's commendation, in the early autumn of 1378.[3] The first nine questions refer to matters in Wyclif's *de Civili Dominio*; the tenth appears somewhat irrelevant until we remember the part it played in medieval life, why a woman may not marry her gossip?[4] Strode was evidently anxious—as indeed a lawyer might well be—to know the issue of Wyclif's positions on ' use ', ' service ', and ' dominion '. From an interesting personal reference we learn that Wyclif was somewhat disturbed by intrigues at the curia against himself. The ground of accusation was his statement ' in the schools ', upon which Cunningham had fastened some years before, that many charters of donation are invalid. He was even more troubled by the attacks of certain monastic doctors on the Scriptures.[5] Wyclif's *Responsiones*,[6] a much larger work, shows that the breach between the two friends

[1] For Northampton see *D. N. B.*, to which add new material in Powell, *Lollards*, 27 f.; A. H. Johnson, *Hist. Drapers* (1914), i. 31–44; *Letter Book H*, passim; and for his genealogy see *Pat. Hen.* iv. 89.

[2] *Ib.* 398–404. In the MS. at Prague the name is given as ' Ricardi ' (*ib.* 398). Clearly a mistake of the Czech copyist (cf. *ib.*, p. xlvii).

[3] *Ib.* 401, which dates as between the secession of Robert and the commencement of Urban's retaliations.

[4] *Ib.* 403.

[5] *Op. Min.* 402; cf. *Ziz.* 4, 5 and *infra*, p. 150.

[6] *Op. Min.* 175–200.

had widened, though Wyclif still calls him ' amicus veritatis '. Strode, evidently, had come across Wyclif's *Ecclesia*, and in a pamphlet now lost entitled *XVIII Positiones contra Wiclevum*[1] had attacked his plea for disendowment and for a return to the simplicity of apostolic times. This, Strode held, would destroy the organization and rites of the Church. The peace of the Church should be the first care of all, and must be maintained even at the cost of possible abuses. Strode protested against Wyclif's necessitarianism and his claim that man can be damned ' for the good of the Church '.

Wyclif replied by once more reaffirming his familiar views on predestination, the need for disendowment and the holding of all ' dominion ' by laymen. He urged the reformation of the whole Church, and sets out the manner in which this should be effected. Priests who do not find themselves capable of living on this high level, but belong to the ' chapter of Iscariot ', should go back to secular life. Strode had maintained that bishops should have endowments ' that they may provide hospitality and exercise works of mercy '. Wyclif agreed provided there was no superfluity. Towards the close Wyclif grows more bold. ' The struggle of the popes '[2] was driving him into rebellion. He claims that the marriage of priests is not forbidden by Scripture,[3] and maintains not only that the ' new orders ' or ' sects ' should come to an end, but that ' it would be well that there should be neither pope nor Caesarean prelate '. His attack on ' costly basilicas ' led the Czech scribe to add ' Ha, ha, so much for the monks '.[4] The great need of the present day, Wyclif urged, is the courage to speak out. Not by silence or ' by the wisdom of the serpent ' will the Church be delivered from ' the tyranny of the Devil ' but by following the example of the martyrs. Nevertheless Wyclif owns that Strode was right when he urged with Augustine that evil must not be punished at the cost of the peace of the

[1] Bale and Leland give no incipit, which shows they had never seen it. The title seems reminiscent of the controversy over the eighteen condemned theses (*supra*, i. 298).

[2] *Op. Min.* 191, which fixes the date. Wood, *Univ.* i. 491, gives 1377 which is too early; Rashdall, i. 249 *n.*, 1370, is worse.

[3] *Op. Min.* 191. Cf. *Off. Reg.* 29–30 written about this time.

[4] *Op. Min.* 196, 200.

Church. Wyclif confessed that he himself—'a man whom you knew in the schools'—had often sinned in this matter 'from presumption and arrogance'; he would agree that reformation 'should not be sudden but carried out with prudence and step by step'. The result must be with God, but all 'faithful soldiers of Christ' must do all that in them lies 'to defend God's law in the Church militant', and to reduce the burden of taxation for the commons.[1] We fear that Wyclif soon forgot this wise caution and returned to his former 'arrogance'. As Wyclif makes no further reference to his former friend in any of his writings, it is probable that the breach between the two became as complete as that between Erasmus and Luther. At any rate, out of Wyclif's reply the censors at Oxford in later years extracted 'nine hercsies and errors'.[2]

There were other opponents of Wyclif of whom we do not know even the name, only Wyclif's scornful references. Who, for instance, was the 'pseudofrater, idiota et nimis ignarus' who had objected, as did Strode, that Wyclif's plea for disendowment would rob the Church of the power to offer hospitality? This drew from Wyclif the scornful answer that friars never show hospitality.[3] Who again was the doctor 'whom I believed my special friend and stout defender of catholic truth' who before the spring of 1379 had attacked him with personal abuse, and accused him of double dealing in his interpretation of Scripture, and also of heresy because he stuck to the letter? From the nature of the charge this would fit in with Cunningham, were it not that we have no reason to suppose that at any time he was one of Wyclif's 'special friends'. The date forbids us to think of Thomas Winterton, whose controversy with Wyclif had not yet begun. Who again was the monk 'of great status' who flung himself into the struggle at Oxford with Nicholas Hereford and who is concealed or revealed under the name of 'Goydon'? He asserted that monks ought not to labour, but friars ought to beg.[4] But in an Oxford so fiercely divided into warring camps the name of the combatants was legion, and with this we must be content.

[1] *Op.Min.* 197 f. [2] Wilkins, iii. 349. See *infra*, p. 366.
[3] *Serm.* iii. 37.
[4] *Mon Franc.* i. 598; *Pol. Poems*, i. 260. Is it a corruption of Boldon?

§ 2

From Wyclif's opponents we turn to his friends. Just as Wesley and Newman in later centuries were the foremost of a band of enthusiastic followers, some of whom fell away, so with Wyclif at Oxford. The Reformer owed no small part of his influence to the men who rallied round him. As so often happens, the greatness of their chief has resulted in the suppression in popular fame of his associates. The translation of the Bible, a work almost wholly the task of others, for centuries has been ascribed to Wyclif himself. So with other writings both in Latin and English, but especially English. We must conceive of Wyclif as the head and inspiration of a band of scholars, by whose assistance alone he was enabled to complete the works that tradition has assigned to him, and to pour out his flood of polemics. In the present section we purpose to tell the story of the Oxford lollards, who while the master was alive worked with him and for him, though after his death for the most part they abandoned his teaching. But the story of their relapse we shall leave to a later page.

Of Wyclif's Oxford associates the three most eminent were Philip Repingdon, Nicholas Hereford, and John Purvey. Of these three, the lollardy of Repingdon withered away even in the master's lifetime. Repingdon, according to Fuller, was a native of Wales, but more probably his family was connected with Repton in Derbyshire.[1] Born about 1350,[2] Philip early in life became an inmate of the abbey of the Austin canons of St. Mary de Pré at Leicester, the famous abbey where Wolsey died, but of which to-day scarcely a trace can be found. The abbey was not the place to which we should naturally look for a reformer. In the fifteenth century the canons were noted for their laziness, and for keeping 'a great multitude of useless dogs'.[3] Founded in 1143 by Robert le Bossu, earl of Leicester and chief justiciary, it lay on the site of the cemetery of Roman Leicester, encircled with walls and turrets of its own, whence

[1] Kingsford, *D. N. B.* As in Derby the "e" was broad, hence the form 'Rappyngdon' (Wilkins, iii. 160) and the later lollard form of contempt 'Rampington' (Foxe, iii. 46).

[2] Judging from the date of his doctorate, and of his death.

[3] See A. H. Thompson, *Visitations of Religious Houses* (1918), ii. pt. I.

might be seen the gates of the medieval town.[1] Its wealth was vast, £960 at the Dissolution with twenty-six parish churches appropriated to it, including most of those in Leicester. The abbey church, 140 feet in length and nearly as high as Westminster Abbey, was roofed with lead sold at the Dissolution for £1,000, its peal of bells being valued at £88.

In accordance with the custom obtaining for their better qualified canons, Repingdon obtained leave to study at Oxford. As yet the Austin canons had no house of their own at the university, St. Mary's college being of later date[2] and Osney and St. Frideswyde's independent monasteries. So Repingdon lodged at Broadgates hall,[3] one of the many halls of that name, the nucleus of the later Pembroke college. Broadgates was one of the hostels for students of law that clustered round St. Aldate's. Of this then lovely Norman church—now alas! "restored"—the lawyers possessed the use of the south aisle for their devotions, and, possibly, a chamber over it for their library.[4] Repingdon soon obtained the reputation of being 'the most learned man of his age';[5] in the judgement of his enemies he was insane.[6] He won golden opinions as a bachelor in theology by his modesty and kindliness, possibly also because in spite of his vows he identified himself with the cause of the seculars. His "lollardy" sprang from this root, rather than from any desire "to breathe a modern spirit into the monastic life" and to bring that life "into harmony with the actual conditions of society around".[7] But while it lasted Repingdon's support of Wyclif was of considerable value.

The importance of Nicholas Hereford in the early lollard movement cannot be exaggerated. To him we owe the greater part of the so-called Wyclif translation of the Bible. His life,

[1] For the site see *Jour. Brit. Arch. Soc.* (O.S.), vi. 116–22, and for detail *ib.* vii. 93–103; *Valor.* iv. 145 f.; Dugdale, vi. 462 f. with plate of ruins.

[2] St. Mary's, Leicester, was one of the three Austin abbeys—the other two being St. Osyth in Essex and Gisburn in Yorks—that contributed largely to the building of St. Mary's College, Oxford, bond being given for £103 6*s.* 8*d.* (Wood, *City*, ii. 230).

[3] See Appendix R.

[4] Macleane, *Pem. Coll.*, c. 2.

[5] Bale, i. 501.

[6] See the curious satirical poem by a Franciscan novice who had become a lollard, in *Mon. Franc.* i. 601 or *Pol. Poems*, i. 263. The date is 1382, not 1385 as Wylie, *Hen. IV.* i. 199 *n.*

[7] So *ib.* without evidence.

however, is full of the puzzles inseparable from Wyclif and his comrades. It is claimed that he belonged to a family that survives to this day, the Herefords of Sufton,[1] who can be traced back to Walter de Hereford, sheriff of the county in 1155.[2] They held from the Crown the manor of Mordiford in Herefordshire, value £7 18*s.* 0*d.* a year, by annual presentation to the Crown of a pair of gilt spurs worth 3*s.* 4*d.* Genealogists tell us that Nicholas was the third son of John Hereford of Sufton and his wife Matilda. As John Hereford died in 1337 Nicholas must have been born before that year, say in 1335. He is said to have married a certain Isabel Helton[3] and to have had two sons, Roger, who died in 1427, and John,[4] to whom the estate of Sufton passed in tail. Marriages in those days took place at an early age, and by 1360 or thereabouts Nicholas was a widower, and had gone up to Oxford. His career there is uncertain in its chronology. At one time, possibly, he became a canon in St. Mary's, Leicester,[5] probably an absentee. This, though not beyond doubt, would account for the lollardy of another canon of the same abbey, Philip Repingdon. From 1369 to 1374 he was a fellow of Queen's, along with Trevisa and Middleworth.[6] His association with Trevisa, another great translator, is of interest. In Sept. 1374 he became bursar at Queen's, and as such let certain rooms in Queen's to Wyclif. Shortly afterwards Hereford's name disappears from the rolls of Queen's. He had obtained from Gregory XI the usual reward of a master's degree, 'a dignity with prebend in Hereford'. The chancellorship of the cathedral falling vacant

[1] I have adopted the view put forth in Cooke, supported by Capes, *Charters*, p. xlii. This rests upon a family memoir of the Herefords of Sufton which is not without defects. The dates, &c., fit in reasonably well, and the theory explains Hereford's sudden conversion. See *infra*, p. 336 *n*. But it should be understood that the theory is not proved and has its difficulties, and Kingsford in *D. N. B.* xl. 418 takes no notice of it.

[2] Cooke, 68, 85.

[3] If so he cannot be the Nicholas Hereford who in June 1351 obtained an indult for himself and Alice his wife (*Pap. Let.* iii. 279).

[4] For this table see Cooke, 85. That John was the son of Roger is stated in Gloucester abbey deeds no. 472, see Cooke, 91, but that he was Roger's brother is equally distinctly stated in *Cal. Pat. Ric.* v. 467, which is probably accurate. There was a John Hereford, M.P. for Worcester in 1393 (*Members*, 246).

[5] *Reg. Gilbert*, 22. Possibly a mistake on Gilbert's part. There is no mention of it in Wilkins, iii. 167.

[6] Foxe, ii. 941–2; Magrath, i. 113; *Ziz.* 515.

about this time, Nicholas was presented to the same by the king, the translation of Courtenay to London leaving the temporalities of Hereford in Edward's hands.[1] The vacant chancellorship was claimed however by Gregory XI on the ground that he had reserved all dignities in cathedrals and colleges.[2] But on the 20th February 1377 Nicholas was confirmed in his title by Edward III.[3] What exactly then happened it is difficult to say, but the chancellorship was treated by the ecclesiastical authorities as still vacant—the title is never given to Nicholas in any official documents—while its revenues, forty marks a year, were collected by Peter de la Mare and 'turned to his own use'—alas! for the Speaker of the Good Parliament! To add to the offence Peter permitted dilapidations to take place in the chancellery which would need 100 marks to repair. But in June 1387 the scandal was ended by Richard appointing John Nottingham,[4] for the two cardinals who had been provided in succession to the office had received nothing save the title.[5] The identification of the Oxford Nicholas with the chancellor of Hereford, while not beyond doubt, seems probable.[6]

In the winter of 1381 Nicholas obtained his doctorate,[7] and in the spring of 1382 shared with Wyclif the condemnation of the Blackfriars synod. Stirred by its decisions, as also by the persecution of poor priests, Hereford at once published two English tracts in which he reaffirmed six out of the fourteen decisions condemned as erroneous.[8] He appealed to 'knights'

[1] This fixes the date as between 12 Sept. 1375, when Courtenay was translated, and Dec. 4, when the temporalities were restored to Gilbert (Rymer, iii. 1044).

[2] For the confused account see the official inquiries in June 1387 (*Reg. Gilbert*, 105–8). For Gregory's reservation 'made at the beginning of his pontificate, when he sought out honest means to provide for the burden of the *camera*', *Pap. Let*, iv. 156–7.

[3] *Pat. Ed.* xvi. 426; Capes, *Charters*, 238.

[4] *Reg. Gilbert*, 105. On 22 Oct. 1389 Gilbert gave orders that the sums owing for vacant chancellorship should be paid to repair the official residence (Capes, *Charters*, 249).

[5] They were cardinal Bertrand Atger, 'Glandaton', deprived 18 April 1381, and Bontempi of Perugia appointed in his place (*Cal. Pat.* i. 615; Le Neve, i. 492).

[6] It is scarcely likely that there were two Nicholases of Hereford, both 'magistri' in 1375.

[7] In the summer of 1381 Hereford is still M.A. (*Ziz.* 274), in the spring of 1382 he is 'Master in theology' (*ib.* 296).

[8] *Lincolniensis* (*Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 230–2) and *Vita Sacerdotum* (*ib.* 233–41). Neither are by Wyclif; see *supra*, i. 330.

' sharply to stand in this cause ', and ' get by process of time their own lordship out of the fiend's hands '. Not content with this, Hereford appealed from the Synod to Urban VI [1] and in spite of Courtenay's efforts to arrest him succeeded in reaching the Holy See. As Trevelyan remarks, " He was not the first or the last to imagine that if only he could get a hearing from the pope he could move the Catholic Church out of old tradition into new paths. Like many other appellants, Hereford found that he had to do not so much with the pope as with the cardinals ".[2] In spite of the friendliness of Urban VI for the English, the pope after hearing his views in consistory sentenced Hereford to imprisonment for life, probably in St. Angelo's, possibly in a dungeon which Wyclif calls ' the Soldan's prison '.[3] In the summer of 1385 an insurrection in the streets and the siege of Urban VI in Nocera by Charles of Durazzo led to his release, along with other prisoners, by the Roman mob. Hereford returned to England, and as orders were given for his arrest he hid for a while in one of the manors, probably Shenley, of the lollard Sir John Montague.[4] While there, according to his enemies, Hereford refused to shrive a dying priest who repented of his lollardy. Hereford was now looked upon as the leader of the lollards, ' to whom all the men of the sect specially adhered '.[5] While he had been abroad an incident occurred which showed that he was still, in the eyes of the law, chancellor of Hereford. In December 1384 a vacancy arose in the mastership of the Hereford cathedral school. To Nicholas, as chancellor, belonged the duty of appointing his successor. According to the official account he refused ; as he was in prison in Rome he was never asked. Bishop Gilbert took

[1] For the value of this appeal see Maitland, *Eng. Hist. Rev.* (1901), 38–42. Knighton, ii. 170, says he recanted, and prints the recantation. The first part agrees with the general protest in *Ziz.* 319 (or Wilkins, iii. 161) ; the second part is inconsistent with *Ziz.* 326, 329. Knighton has either muddled together the general protest of 1382 and Hereford's recantation in 1390, or else this form was prepared for them to sign, and they struck out all save the first part. There is a similar tale of Oldcastle.

[2] Trevelyan, 310.

[3] Knighton, ii. 172–3, our only source, seems to me to exaggerate Urban's friendliness to Hereford. Wyclif alludes to Hereford's imprisonment in *Pol. Works*, ii. 554 ; *Op. Min.* 323 ; *Sel. Eng. Works*, i. 154.

[4] Walsingham, ii. 159–60, who calls the manor ' Schevele '.

[5] *Ib.* 159.

the matter into his own hands and appointed Richard Cornwall, M.A.[1] On his return from abroad Nicholas did not claim his benefice, not only because he feared arrest but because 'the chancellor of Hereford' still owed twenty shillings for the king's subsidy, according to a report made on the 17th June 1384.[2]

About this time Hereford published an English tract *On the Seven Deadly Sins*,[3] usually assigned to Wyclif, but written in a Western dialect that Wyclif did not use. Like Piers Plowman the writer is fond of alliteration, and, unlike Wyclif, deigns to narrate a fable at length and to mention the well-known romance of the 'batel of Troye'.[4] The question of the Sacrament did not interest him, and he makes no reference to it, except to protest against priests who 'make God's body' but 'whose mouth and hands be polluted with a whore'. But the attempt of the bishops to 'letten (prevent) true priests to preach to their sheep' stirs him to anger; 'the most high service that men have in earth is to preach God's word'.[5] There is a distinct allusion to the later fortunes of Urban VI in his identification of the pope with 'antichrist closed in a castle; a wolf of ravin, who puts many thousand lives for his own wretched life'.[6] As might be expected, the tract but reaffirms the teaching of his master, as in his insistence on the 'two glues of predestination and prescience of God', or that 'by ordinance of Christ, priests and bishops be all one'. His plea that the best way to answer 'chiders that strive with words' is 'by stillness' cannot be derived from Wyclif's practice, and he goes further than Wyclif in maintaining the sinfulness of all war: 'men of the gospel vanquish by patience, and come to rest and to peace by suffering of death'.[7] In this he was one with the later lollards. In his attack on pride of birth—'for all we come of earth', and 'shall be gentle in heaven'[8]—he reminds us of John Ball, with whom he was accused of associating. He maintains that 'men of law and merchants and chapmen and victuallers sin more in avarice than do poor

[1] *Reg. Gilbert*, 48 on 26 Dec. 1384. Was he the former dean of Westbury (*supra*, i. 160, 164)?
[2] *Ib.* 83.
[3] *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 119–67.
[4] *Ib.* 129, 147.
[5] *Ib.* 143–5, 164.
[6] *Ib.* 140, 141.
[7] *Ib.* 128, 131, 134, 137–40.
[8] *Ib.* 125.

labourers '[1]; lawyers especially, for 'they commonly be men without mercy and without charity as their deeds show'. His attack on the evils of drunkenness strikes a modern note. There is the mark of the travelled man in his claim that interchange of products between different countries is good, 'for well I wot that God has ordained one land to be plenteous in one thing and one in another'.[2]

Leaving Shenley, Hereford made his way north, but was captured in Nottingham towards the close of 1386, and handed over to the mayor and bailiffs of Nottingham. On hearing of this Sir William Neville, the constable of the castle, petitioned that Hereford might

> 'be committed to his custody because of the honesty of his person, mainperning and faithfully promising to keep him so safe that he shall not walk abroad, nor preach errors, nor publish unlawful sermons contrary to the faith of the Church',[3]

all of which indicates considerable recent missionary activity on Hereford's part. The petition was granted (1 Feb. 1387), but Neville, whose orthodoxy was not above suspicion, proved negligent. Hereford escaped, and in August 1387 joined Aston in a preaching tour in the West of England.[4] Though the English is not his, he was probably one of the authors of the lollard *Twenty Five Points* presented to the Parliament of 1388.[5] We then lose touch with him, except that between the 30th March 1388 and the 16th December 1389 Hereford is included in the many proclamations and commissions issued by Richard for the destruction of lollard writings.[6] He was then imprisoned by Courtenay, probably along with Purvey, at Saltwood in Kent.[7] There he was 'grievously tormented', so that he too in the end relapsed, recanted at St. Paul's Cross,[8] and became 'a cursed enemy of the truth'.

[1] Cf. Wyclif on the evils of profiteering, *Blas.* 33.

[2] *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 153, 159, 160.

[3] *Cal. Pat.* iii. 208. This new evidence leads to considerable recasting of the current accounts. For lollards arrested in Nottingham in 1387 see *Pat. Ric.* iii. 430; Powell, *Peasants' Rising*, 41; Wilkins, iii. 204.

[4] *Ib.* iii. 202 (10 Aug. 1387). See *infra*, p. 336.

[5] See *infra*, p. 388.

[6] Knighton, ii. 264–5; Wilkins, iii. 204, where the date 1387 should be corrected to 1388; *Cal. Pat.* iii. 430.

[7] Foxe, iii. 285; Arundel's statement to Thorpe in Pollard, 165; Bale, i. 502.

[8] Bale, l.c. The date 1396 in Foxe is too late. See *infra*, p. 337.

With Repingdon and Hereford Wyclif's affinities probably were not deep. The first was a cultured, opportunist ecclesiastic; the second uncertain and erratic. Very different were his relations with John Purvey,[1] 'the librarian of lollards', 'the glosser of Wyclif', as Netter calls him,[2] to whom therefore we must attribute many of the English translations of Wyclif's works. Purvey was a native probably of Lathbury, a village near Newport Pagnell.[3] The details of his career at Oxford are unknown, but Netter acknowledges that he was 'a noted doctor'.[4] From the date of his ordination—the spring of 1377[5]—it may be inferred that he was born about 1354 and was at Oxford as a student when Wyclif's influence was at its highest. 'As an invincible disciple' he 'drunk deep' of 'Wyclif's most secret teaching', and became his 'inseparable companion',[6] living with him at Lutterworth as his secretary,[7] and proving 'the stout executor in all things of the doctrine of his master'. To the same authority we owe a portrait of Purvey: 'grave in bearing and countenance, he dressed and lived as a common man, and despising rest gave all his energy to the task of travelling'.[8] He never rose beyond the rank of 'a simple chaplain', but lives for ever as the translator of the English Bible. The further story of his life and work may therefore be deferred with advantage to a later chapter.

Hereford, Purvey, and Repingdon were the foremost of a band, of whom some were regulars, the majority seculars. The names of but few have come down to us. There was William James, a fellow of Merton, 'a regent in arts and a special friend' of chancellor Rigg.[9] More prominent was John Ashton or Aston.

[1] For Purvey see *Ziz.* 383–407; Knighton, ii. 178–9; *F. M.* i. xxv–viii; Foxe, iii. 257, 285–92; Purvey, *Rem.* i. pp. xiii–xvi; *D. N. B.*; Wilkins, iii. 260–3 (called 'Purney' or 'Perney' throughout; in the alleged monogram, Dublin, A. i. 10, it is J. Perney, Deanesly, 378); and above all Deanesly, *passim.*

[2] Bale, i. 542; Foxe, iii. 285; Tanner, 609, quoting 'Walden, second tome'. Wylie, *Hen. IV*, i. 179 *n.* failed to discover the passage. It is from *Doct.* iii. 110, 127 'pessimus glossator', 'glossator Wicliffi', and iii. 732 'librarius lollardorum'.

[3] F. and M. i. p. xxiv. from Reg. Buckingham.

[4] *Doct.* i. 619.

[5] Reg. Buckingham quoted in Forshall's edition of Purvey's *Rem.*, p. xiii. Buckingham gave his letters dimissory on 13 March (F. and M. i. p. xxiv *n.*).

[6] Knighton, ii. 179.

[7] Often mistakenly called his 'curate'. Wyclif's 'curate' was Horn (see *infra*, p. 316).

[8] Knighton, ii. 178.

[9] *Ziz.* 307; Brodrick, 208; *infra*, p. 248.

Aston,[1] a priest from the diocese of Worcester, was a man of some repute who had been a fellow of Merton. According to Wood he ' made his entry on the Bible in the Schools ' in 1365 ' with a dissertation concerning the set number of years that should be between Noah's flood and the destroying of the world by fire '. His dissertation secured the honour of a refutation by the celebrated mathematician ' Mr. Ashendon '.[2] Bale attributes to him five works, all of them polemical theological tracts, on the *Usurpations of the Clergy*, the *Right use of the Sacrament*, and the like. Possibly we should consider Aston as the author of some of the anonymous English tracts in the Western dialect that we have assigned to Hereford. Aston was a fiery evangelist whose portrait has been limned for us by Knighton. Regardless of toil Aston went everywhere on foot. He had no horse to delay him, so could ' take the road at once like a bee. Like a dog roused from his rest he was ready at the smallest sound to bark '—the mixed metaphors show the chronicler's indignation. He ingratiated himself with the peasants at their meals and poured out ' the poison ' of Wyclif, to whose conclusions ' he did not blush to add new ones of his own '. Knighton formed his impressions from hearing Aston preach ' on a certain Palm Sunday at Leicester ', probably in 1382.[3] He took down eleven points in which Aston defended the teaching of Wyclif. Leicester at this time was a hot-bed of lollardy, though we can hardly imagine much sympathy between Aston and its resident lollard missionaries, William Swinderby and William Smith.

Another secular was John Ashwardby of Oriel, who

> ' was violent in his sermons in St. Mary's and in his public lectures against the beggary of the friars. He had for his adversary one Richard Maidstone, a Carmelite doctor, and about these times confessor to John, duke of Lancaster '.[4]

A native of Lincolnshire, Ashwardby had obtained his

[1] Brodrick, 226 ; Wood, *Univ.* i. 480, 492 ; Bale, i. 495 ; Knighton, ii. 176–8. On 26 May 1372 a certain John Aston was appointed with two others to inquire into the causes of riots between the ' collegiate houses ' over the election of proctors, friends of the deposed proctors seeking ' to make appeals to foreign parts ' (*Cal. Fine Rolls*, viii, 173–41).

[2] See *supra*, i. 100, and add Leland, *Coll.* iv. 21.

[3] So Knighton, ii. 176. Walsingham, ii. 53, attributes it to Swinderby.

[4] Wood, *Univ.* i. 492 ; cf. Bale, i. 498 ; Tanner, 52. All our knowledge of Ashwardby (*D. N. B.*) is due to Bale. For Maidstone see *infra*, p. 249.

doctorate and was now vicar of St. Mary's. From this vantage ground, like Newman in a later age, he could preach his new doctrines. But all his works are now lost, unless indeed we may assign to him, on guess-work merely, the authorship of some of the lollard tracts commonly ascribed to Wyclif. In due time Ashwardby repented of his errors; at any rate we may so infer from his being vice-chancellor in 1392.[1] Another secular was Thomas Brightwell, an ex-fellow of Merton,[2] who in 1374–5 had kept rooms at Queen's at the time that Wyclif lodged there.[3] But the seed then sown by the Reformer had no depth of earth. Equally precarious was the lollardy of Lawrence Bedeman or Bedmond, whose real name seems to have been Steven or Stephen.[4] A native of Cornwall, he had been first fellow (1372),[5] then rector of Exeter college (1379). He surrendered both on the 16th April 1380. Six months previously (20 Sept. 1379) he had received from bishop Brantingham of Exeter his first tonsure.[6] At this time Exeter College was strong in support of Wyclif. So prominent was Bedeman in the movement that his enemies inserted his name in the alleged confession of John Ball, as one of the authors of the Peasants' Revolt.

Of Robert Alington, another secular lollard, nothing certain is known.[7] But with the examples before us of Repingdon, Fleming, Hereford, and other Oxford lollards who afterwards became pillars of the faith, we may confidently identify him with Robert Alington, a fellow of New College, previously of Queen's,[8] where he would meet with Wyclif. In 1393 he

[1] Wood, *Fasti*, 33.

[2] In Lent 1364 he had been admitted to Exeter College on a Sarum foundation (Boase, 12): fellow of Merton 1368 (Brodrick, 202). Brightwell's real name, as we learn from his will, was Attwell. At one time it was the fashion at ordination to change the name to that of the village of birth (Holingshead, 232). Thus Wykeham's real name was Long, Waynflete's Barlow. Brightwell—so called from a village near Wallingford—was at this time rector of Tarent Hinton in Dorset (Boase l.c.). In 1373 he had received the church of Cokethorp, co. Oxford (*Pat. Ed.* xv. 254). For his later career see *infra*, p. 280.

[3] Magrath, i. 112 *n.*

[4] Wilkins, iii. 168; *Reg. Stafford*, 241; *D. N. B.* iv. 108.

[5] See the petition of the scholars, 18 Sept. 1372 in *Reg. Brant.* i. 284; and also the certificate of 30 Oct. 1373 (*ib.* i. 316; Boase, p. lvii).

[6] *Ib.*, p. lxv, 17; *Reg. Brant.* i. 405.

[7] For Robert Alington, parson of Wigston, not far from Lutterworth, see *Cal. Pat. Ric.* iv. 258.

[8] Wood, *Fasti*, 34. Magrath, i. 121; Tanner, 38 *n.*

became chancellor of Oxford.[1] In later years he wrote several works against Wyclif's doctrines,[2] and in defence of the veneration of saints and images—possibly this last as the result of the presentation of the *XII Conclusions* in 1395 by the lollard leaders in parliament. Manuscripts of this work still exist both at Oxford and Cambridge.[3] His logical works had considerable repute, as the extant manuscripts still show. One of these, *Sophistica principia*, was printed in London early in the sixteenth century.[4]

A number of tracts and polemics in English have come down to us. Of these some have been printed, others still repose undisturbed in our libraries. Though intensely loyal in tone to the master, and containing little or nothing that may not be found in his undoubted writings, there are adequate reasons for assigning the authorship to other hands than Wyclif's. Two or three of the tracts were written by monks or friars who had identified themselves, more or less openly, with Wyclif's opinions. Only in this way can we account for the numerous references to the penalties overtaking regulars who did their duty in preaching to the poor, or who sought to break away from monastic routine. But of such regulars we only know the name of one, Dr. David Gotray of 'Pakrynge' (Pickering), a monk of Byland, and of him the name merely.[5]

§ 3

Wyclif's denial of the nominalist doctrine of the Eucharist furnished friend and foe with an ample battle-ground. Oxford became divided into two camps. The monks and friars formed

[1] Wood, *Fasti*, 34; *Cal. Pat. Ric.* v. 588; *Snappe*, 331.

[2] For list see Bale, i. 519; *Index Script.* 364–5.

[3] Tanner, l.c.; Bale, *Index Script.* 364 *n.*

[4] According to Ames, *Typ. Antiq.* i. 149, in London in 1510 'ad usum Cantabrigiensem' by Wynand de Word. But there is no reference to it in Panzer, nor is it in Brit. Mus., and the date is possibly 1520 (Tanner, 38 *n.*, who suggests that the work is possibly by an Oxford Franciscan, Robert Alington, who flourished in 1513). There are two copies at Lambeth, one 'for the use of Cambridge' printed 4 June 1524, the other 'for the use of Oxford' printed 16 July 1530 (Hazlitt, *Second Series of Bibliographical Collections*, 1882, ii. 8).

[5] Wood, *Univ.* i. 492. After Wyclif's death the Austin friar, Pattishull, joined the lollards in London in 1386, accusing his brethren of sodomy, &c. (*D. N. B.*, Bale, i. 510; Walsingham, ii. 157–8). For his arrest as an 'apostate', 18 July 1387, see *Pat. Ric.* iii. 386. See also *supra*, i. 330.

the vanguard of one party ; the seculars rallied to the support of a secular doctor. But the line of cleavage was not absolute, and many of the seculars assisted in the reaction which secured as the new chancellor, in the autumn of 1379, William de Berton or Barton. Berton, a fellow of Merton,[1] who had taken his master's degree in the same year as Wyclif, had already thrown himself in his *Determinations* into opposition to Wyclif. His official position now gave him the chance of securing Wyclif's formal condemnation. So in the early spring of 1380, Berton, himself a doctor of divinity,[2] summoned a small council of twelve doctors to consider Wyclif's heresy of the altar,[3] as enunciated in twelve conclusions put forth either by Wyclif himself or, as it seems more likely, gathered from his writings by his opponents.[4] The authorities were the more encouraged to do this because they had received the renewal of their powers in matters of faith under the writ *significavit*.[5] Moreover the threatening aspect of foreign affairs, with the need of calling out all men between the ages of 16 and 60,[6] would make the Government more dependent on the help of the Church. There were other incidents in the autumn of 1379 which might have encouraged the ecclesiastical authorities to believe that Wyclif could no longer count on support from the Court. On the 28th November the Crown made up the quarrel with Westminster Abbey begun by the abduction of Haulay

[1] Brodrick, 201, elected 1356. In Feb. 1360 rector of Lanteglos (*Reg. Grand.* iii. 1459). In Dec. 1362 his name is coupled with Wyclif's in the Roll of Masters presented to Urban V, with grant of prebend in Wingham (*Pap. Pet.* i. 390). Bale i. 501 gives a list of his works, in reality only his *Determinations* against Wyclif, the other two being the findings of this Committee (*infra*).

[2] *Ziz.* 241, between 1376 when Berton was B.D. and 1380 when he was called D.D. (*ib.* 290).

[3] *Ib.* 112 f. Tout, *D. N. B.* lx. 229, following Poole, *Wyclif*, 105, dates in 1382. But this is too late, as Poole, *D. N. B.* iv. 412 allows, for it must have been held between Berton's election as chancellor and the *Confessio* or reply of Wyclif. Now Berton was elected on the death of Robert Aylesham, autumn 1379 (Wood, *Coll.* 30) ; he was chancellor 7 Feb. 1380 (*Cal. Pat.* i. 470), and continued until after 6 April 1381 (*Eng. Hist. Rev.* v. 329 ; cf. Wood, *Univ.* i. 499), his successor Rigg being elected 30 May 1381 (*Snappe*, 331). The date of the *Confessio* is thus 10 May 1381 as *Ziz.* 115 (no importance should be attached to the alteration by an unknown hand to 1380) ; and Bale, *Index Script.* 261. We therefore date the election of the doctors as early in 1380, their condemnation autumn 1380 or early 1381.

[4] *Ziz.* 104–6, and for the view taken of these theses note *Ziz.* 106 (10).

[5] 25 June 1379. See *supra*, p. 26.

[6] 20 March 1380 (*Cal. Pat.* i. 471 f.).

and Shakyl. Early in the new year (30 Jan. 1380) the chancellorship was once more handed to a churchman, archbishop Sudbury, in place of Sir Richard le Scrope. Moreover, Alice de Perrers had reasserted her power and obtained complete pardon (14 Dec. 1379) as also the restoration, nominally to her husband, of all her forfeited estates (15 March 1380). On the other hand Wyclif might mistake the demand of the Crown on the 14th July 1379 for a return of the possessions of alien priories as indicating sympathy with his claim for the confiscation of the wealth of the Church. As a matter of fact the step was purely political, due to the wars with the French.[1]

Berton's council was a packed council of friars and monks, four only of the twelve being seculars. Of the eight regulars six were friars, several of whom had already shown their hostility to Wyclif in their writings. They were chosen because they could be trusted to give the right verdict. Of the seculars the most eminent was Robert Rigg.[2] For seven years in succession he served as chancellor of Oxford,[3] until deposed in May 1388 by the Crown for failing to prevent a great riot between North and South. A Devonshire man, first a fellow of Exeter (1362), he migrated to Merton, of which he became bursar in 1374–5. He took his bachelor's degree in theology before Sept. 1378, when he was appointed one of the visitors of Exeter. The esteem in which he was held was shown in his many preferments. A friend of Brantingham, of whose will he was an executor, he commended himself to his successor, Stafford, by whom he was appointed vicar-general (Sept. 1400). The last public business he transacted was to sit on an admiralty case at Exeter in July 1406. Rigg died early in 1410 full of years and honours. The stir of this Oxford council and of his dalliance with lollardy had long since become a memory only.

Another secular was John Lawndryn,[4] named from one or

[1] *Cal. Pat.* i. 412, 413, 417, 503–4.

[2] For Rigg *D. N. B.*; Boase, *Exeter*, lix. 11; Brodrick, 212; Wood, *Univ.* i. 516, 519; *Pat. Ric.* i. 608, 611; iii. 117, 208; v. 221, 536; *Reg. Stafford*, 108, 311; *Reg. Brant.* i. 155; ii. 748–9; *Pat. Hen.* iii. 213; Le Neve, i. 418.

[3] *Snappe*, 331, to which add *Pat. Ric.* iii. 65, 117, 160. Wood, *Coll.* 30, is inaccurate in superseding him by Berton in 1382, see *Pat. Ric.* ii. 195; *Close Ric.* ii. 306, 452; nor was he (as *D. N. B.*) chancellor in 1391.

[4] *Pap. Pet.* i. 403, 422; Wood, *Univ.* i. 499; Boase, 4, 5; *Reg. Brant.* i. 385, 447; ii. 584. Vice-chancellor in 1386, *Pat. Ric.* iii. 131.

other of the two villages of that name in Cornwall. A fellow of Exeter (1344) he migrated before 1360 to Oriel, of which college in 1386 he became the senior fellow. Lawndryn was an all-round scholar, master of arts, doctor of medicine and doctor of divinity, an absentee rector endowed with several prebends, who lived and died at Oxford, though for a few years he entered the king's service, for which he was paid with various prebends.[1] Two years before this council he had obtained leave of absence for a year from his Cornish rectory of St. Mawgan, that he might act as physician to Humphrey Charlton, archdeacon of Richmond. When his licence for non-residence ran out, Lawndryn made haste to obtain its renewal. A typical Oxford fellow, he died in 1409, four shillings being spent by Oriel on 'wine given to the priests at his funeral'.

The other two seculars were John Mowbray, a doctor of both laws, and the canonist doctor John Gascoigne. Mowbray[2] was a young Yorkshireman, born about 1350, who took his B.A. in May 1369 and obtained thereupon a benefice while still under nineteen. In later years he joined the king's service, receiving reward in the usual prebends. He ended as an auditor of causes in the apostolic palace, and died in Rome before October 1389. Of Gascoigne we know nothing,[3] save that he was one of the delegates appointed to give evidence on behalf of the faculty of laws in the commission appointed in 1376 to settle the dispute with the university. Of the regulars the monks Crump and Wells had already entered into controversy with Wyclif and would join the council with verdict already settled. Of the other regulars, John Chesham, William Brunscombe or Bruscombe, and John Wolverton were Oxford Dominicans, none of whom were men of distinction. Wolverton had been expelled the university, as a result, probably, of one of the perpetual squabbles between friars and artists, but on the supplication of friar Ellis, the general of the Order, had been

[1] Windsor, Jan. 1376, exchanged ten days later for Glasney; Hastings, Sept. 1376; Crantock, May 1379; St. Buryan, 1386 (*Pat. Ed.* xvi. 209, 211, 340, 346; *Reg. Brant.* i. 43; *Pat. Ric.* i. 330; iii. 140).

[2] *Pap. Let.* iv. 79, 335, 418; Le Neve, iii. 202; *Pat. Ed.* xv. 402.

[3] Pitts, 541, assigns him a *Vita Hieronymi*, probably by Thomas Gascoigne (Tanner 311).

restored by the king.[1] Chesham [2] was one of the seventeen students at the Oxford friary in 1370, six of whom were foreigners, who had broken out in revolt against some action of the provincial, William de Bodekisham. On the 4th May the secular arm had been invoked and the riot put down. In 1397 he was appointed vicar in the Oxford convent, and was still a friar at Oxford in November 1411. Bruscombe was present at Canterbury at the lollard trial in July 1382. The Austin friars were represented by John Shipton, of whom nothing is known save the name. The Carmelite, John Loney,[3] later a member of the Blackfriars synod, died in London in 1390, and was buried in the cloister of the Carmelite church with the inscription :

> Clauditur hoc claustro frater Loneye Johannes
> Expertus mundo celo fruiturus ut heres.

The remaining regular was the Franciscan, John Tissington, a noted opponent of Wyclif. Tissington [4] at this time was regent master of the friary at Oxford and, probably, next to Rigg the most influential member of the council. In 1392 he was elected the twenty-seventh English provincial. As such he assisted at Stamford in the condemnation of his present associate Crump. He died in 1395 and was buried in the London Greyfriars. He was the author of several works in defence of the Eucharist and of auricular confession, nearly all of which were lost even in Bale's day.

Of a committee so constituted, the conclusions as a matter of course were hostile. In one of his rare biographical notes Wyclif gives us the information that he was condemned by seven votes.[5] We may assume that the four seculars, with Rigg at their head, stood by their champion. Which of the eight regulars failed to vote we cannot say. The majority singled out for condemnation the two articles which proclaimed

[1] 8 Jan. 1377, *Pat. Ed.* xvi. 400.

[2] *Pat. Ed.* xiv. 425 ; *Vict. Co. Ox.* ii. 117 ; *Pat. Hen.* iv. 349.

[3] In *Ziz.* 113, 286 ; Wilkins, iii. 158 mistakenly called Louey. For Loney see Bale, ii. 81, who attributes two works to him ; Pitts, 550 ; Tanner, 485 ; Weever, 222 ; Wood, *Univ.* i. 499.

[4] *Eulog. Cont.* iii. 351 ; *Mon. Franc.* i. 538, 561 ; Kingsford, *Greyfriars*, 194 ; *Ziz.* 357 ; Bale, i. 515 ; *Index Script.* 261.

[5] *Blas.* 89. For the conclusions see *Ziz.* 110–13 ; Lewis 268 f.

the doctrine of Remanence and the statement, ' execrable even to listen to ', that Christ is only present in the Eucharist ' figuratively or tropically, not truly in His own proper corporal person '. They committed themselves to the doctrine of Duns that ' only the appearance ' of the bread and wine remain. This view, they said, ' must be believed, taught and manfully defended against all gainsayers '. As for the views of Wyclif they forbade

' that any one should publicly hold, teach, or defend the same in this University, either in the schools or outside, under pain of imprisonment, suspension from all scholastic functions and the greater excommunication '.

Every scholar was warned to flee such teachers ' as they would a snake spitting out baleful poison '. To add to Wyclif's defeat, this condemnation was publicly and unexpectedly read in his presence. He was sitting at the time in the schools of the Augustinians—' in cathedra '—and ' determining to the contrary '. On hearing the condemnation read he was ' confused ', but recovered himself sufficiently to say that ' neither the chancellor nor any of his accomplices could alter his convictions '.

This condemnation would have no legislative force, and could only be an administrative act of the chancellor. An appeal would lie to the Congregation of Regent Masters and from their decision to the Great Congregation of the whole university. But instead of turning to these academic courts Wyclif appealed to the king—this appeal in a purely theological matter to the authority of the State is characteristic.[1] To this petition no formal answer seems to have been returned, but John of Gaunt, fearful lest he should lose an ally, hurried down to the university and urged him to be silent. Wyclif refused. In no act of his life did he show more clearly his loyalty to conscience. The refusal for Wyclif was the parting of the ways. Henceforth he could hope for little help from the Duke, much less from the

[1] Wilkins, iii. 171 ; *Ziz.* 114. This appeal must have taken place before the election of Rigg, who would have reversed Berton's decision. We date therefore in March 1381. We do not know whether Wyclif first appealed to the Great Congregation or not. If so it was expressly provided in 1368 that in civil cases an appeal should lie to the king, in spiritual cases only to the pope (*Mun. Ac.* 231–2, cf. 461).

Government. For the truth's sake he put himself within the power of his enemies. How John of Gaunt took the refusal we know not. If, however, he had any sense of humour he would be amused at the new portrait of himself which the clerics were busy painting. Hitherto they could find no words too bitter with which to express his character, but now he was extolled as 'a brave soldier, wise counsellor, faithful son of Holy Church'.[1]

Conscious of the momentousness of his decision, realizing, perhaps, that he owed some apology to his former allies, Wyclif published on the 10th May 1381 a Latin defence of his views as against 'the sects of the signs', entitled his *Confessio*.[2] In the opinion of his enemies this concealed his errors 'under a veil of words'. The *Confessio* certainly lacks directness; its appeal is to antiquity. He professes amazement that 'an adulterous generation should trust the decree of Innocent (III) rather than the sense of the Gospel'. We regard the *Confessio* as a last effort of Wyclif to keep the discussion within scholastic limits and circles. We are confirmed in this view by finding John Tissington, Winterton, Wells, and two unnamed monks, one of Durham—either Uhtred or Nicholas—and another of St. Albans, probably Sutherey, fulminating against 'this confession of Judas Iscariot' in various determinations, three of which have come down to us.[3] Tissington's [4] was delivered in the Franciscan schools and shows marks of great haste. As Shirley points out, he had "evidently never seen most of the books he quotes, and the references are often false". Nevertheless his lecture when published was ordered to be preserved in the university archives.

Winterton's polemic, or *Absolutio*, a copy of which Leland found in St. Paul's, was of a higher order. Thomas of Winterton,[5] a village in Lincolnshire, at the Humber end of the

[1] *Ziz.* 112.

[2] Printed *Ib.* 114–32; Lewis, 272 f.; Vaughan, *Mon.* 564 f. For date *Ziz.* 114 and *supra*, p. 241 *n.*

[3] *Ziz.* 133–241. See also *infra*, p. 278.

[4] *Ib.* 133–80; Bale, *Index Script.* 261; James, *MSS. Corp.* ii. 158 ("Tassington"); *Eulog. Cont.* iii. 351.

[5] *D. N. B.*; Wood, *City*, ii. 453. For his work *Ziz.* 181–238; Leland, *Comment.* 403; Bale i. 490 (who makes two works out of one); Tanner, 781, who detected Bale's mistake.

Ermine Street, was brought up at the house of the Austin friars in Stamford. According to Wood he was "a great familiar of Wyclif in their first years of learning", but afterwards "a great oppugner of him in his writings, as by diverse is confessed". Leland speaks enthusiastically of his powers as a theologian and writer. The repute in which he was held is shown in his election in 1389 and again in 1391 as the provincial of his order. The freedom of Winterton's work from all abuse and its general moderation of tone is a testimony, perhaps, to Winterton's past friendship, and does credit to his civility. He refuses, for instance, to call Wyclif a heretic 'since I am ignorant whether he has the intention of defending through thick and thin' the contested arguments. He professes to detect in Wyclif's *Confessio* ten different heresies. These Winterton proceeds to refute from the fathers, inasmuch as Wyclif refuses to accept all authorities save

'Augustine, Jerome, Ambrose, Gregory, with the other ancient authors of the primitive church, the text of the Bible and the determinations of the Church'.

As regards Wyclif's appeal to the Bible, especially to Christ's words of consecration at the Last Supper, Winterton acknowledges that if Wyclif

'could show from the text of Scripture that Christ asserted a proposition, I would hold the same without reservation, and every faithful Christian would be bound to do the same'.

But he denies that Christ's words should be interpreted in Wyclif's sense, though he owns that a plausible argument might thence be deduced.

After the publication of his *Confessio* we lose sight of Wyclif for a few months. From the 2nd August 1380 he had taken rooms for a year at Queen's, along with his former associate, William Selby, for which he paid his usual rent of twenty shillings.[1] On the conclusion of the year, possibly some months earlier at the commencement of the Long Vacation, Wyclif left Oxford, as it turned out for good, and retired to Lutterworth. There is some evidence, apart from his failure to reply to Winterton, that during part of the time he was seriously ill.

[1] *Supra*, i. 65; Magrath, i. 116.

For there is a tale handed down to us by Foxe—' which thing ', he acknowledges, ' I do here write only of report '—that

' when Wyclif was lying very sick at London certain friars came unto him to counsel him ; and when they had babbled much unto him, Wyclif being moved with the foolishness and absurdity of their talk, with a stout stomach, setting himself upright in his bed, repeated this saying out of the Psalms : I shall not die, but I shall live and declare the works of the Lord '.[1]

The tale, especially in view of the stroke which so soon followed, may well embody some true tradition handed down by the reverence of the lollards. To this period of his life—the year spent at Queen's from August 1380, and the after period at Lutterworth until the summer of 1382—we attribute the beginning and, possibly, the completion by Wyclif of his translation of the Bible, the publication of many of his Latin sermons, the issue of many of his English tracts, and the foundation of his order of Poor Preachers. All these enterprises were carried out while he had round him a band of devoted adherents. We mention them here to show that Wyclif's time at Oxford was not wholly spent in controversy. Controversy arose out of the larger issues involved in Wyclif's many-sided activity.

[1] In Foxe, iii. 20. Lewis, 64–5, dates in 1379 and places at Oxford, adding to the four friars four aldermen, a most improbable combination of town and gown. He also changes Wyclif's sentence to : ' I shall not die but live and declare the evil deeds of the friars '. This incorrect version has been extensively copied.

Nicholas de Hereford's interrupted translation of the Bible

The last folio of the original corrected copy of the translator (MS. Bodl. 959, f. 332 r.)

baruch

ultrecude shal be tũed ĩto yͤ lesse folc
of lande· for yͤ yͤ shal scatte for yͤ wor yͤ
wee shal not bere ye puple ye puple is
fooleye wͤ an hard nol t shal de tũed
to hys lire cye loud of hys carnifre· t yey
shul write for yam ye lord god of hͤ· and
y shal zyue to yͤ an lire t yei shul vnder-
stonde· t eres t yei shul here· t yei shulu
pile me ĩ ye lond of y carnifre· t mydefial
yei shul be of my name· t yei shul rũeu
ause yelelf fͦ y harde nig t fͦ y cludhed·
for yei shul remẽbre ye wele of y fadrs
yat sp̃ncden ĩ me· t y shal azee clepe hͤ
ĩ to ye loud yat y swor to ye fadrs of hͤ
abrahm ysaac t jacob· t yei shul tord
shapen of my t y shal multeplie yͤ· t yei
shul not be talld· t y shal stere to yem
an oy testamet cũdmende yͤ y be to
yͤ ĩ to a lord· t yei shul be to me ĩ to a
puple· t y shal no more mone my puple
ysrou of irl· fͦ ye loud yat y zat to ye·
Hd nows lord god of irl· ye soule ĩ
augwyshes t ye spirit to zmẽd· eyes
to yee here lord t hau mcy· for god y
art mcyful· t hau mcy of vs for wee
han sp̃ned bifor yee yat sittil ĩ to ewer-
mor· t wee shul not pslie ĩ to ye sprituel
dnig· lord god al myty god of irl· he
re nows ye orysoũ of ye deade mẽ of irl·
t of ye sou of hͤ for yei han sp̃ned bi-
for yee· t yei hern not ye vois of ye lord
y god· t ioyned hẽ to vs euelus wule y
wor han myde of ye wickednelle of oure
fadrs· but hau myde of yu loud t of y
name ĩ dys tyme· for y art lord oure god·
t wee shul pile yee lord· for yͤ y hast
zone y drede ĩ oure lires yͤ wee sholud
nu clepe y name t pile yee ĩ oure carnifre·
for wee shul be tũed fro ye wickednelle
of oure fadrs yat sp̃ncden ĩ yee· t lo wee
ĩ oure carnifre ben to dy yͤ vs y hast sct
tred to repe t to carlig· t ĩ to sp̃nde· alle
alle ye wickednelles of oure fadrs yat
weenten ause fro yee lord oure god here
y irl· ye mistidines of lit· wt eres par-
ceyue yͤ y wrte pdence wolf vs nu· yͤ
ĩ ye lond of ye eueuys y art· you hast
eldid ĩ an abeu lond y· unt· de shuld vs
dyale me· y art sett vs mẽ goe nde cuy
ĩ to helle· y hast forsake ye welle of
wisdõ· for if ĩ ye weies of god y hadest
go· y shuldst han dwelld ĩ sothe ĩ pes
vp on erye· lerne wher be pdence wher
be vtue· wher be vndstondig y· y wi
te togidr wher be loug abidig of lit
t of lesode· wher be litt of eien t pes/

who fond hys place· who entde ĩ to hys
tresores wher be ye princes of Jeruthys
t yat lord shapen of bestes yat be vp on
erye· yat ĩ ye briddes of heuene pleieu·
yat silu tresozen t god ĩ wlynde rũeu
me t y is noon ende of ye purthalyng
of hͤ· yat sihi sorgen t ben bely· ne y
is studig of ye werko of hͤ· yei be out
lawid t to helle yei weme dou· t oppyr
me ĩ ye place of hͤ trisen· ye zuge

Explicit translacõm Nicholay de herford.

Nicholas de Hereford's interrupted translation of the Bible

A folio transcribed from the preceding before its correction, with a note assigning the translation to Hereford (MS. Douce 369, f. 250 r.)

V

WYCLIF AND THE BIBLE

§ 1

In popular opinion Wyclif's chief claim to be ranked as a reformer lies in his repute as the first translator of the English Bible. The problems involved in this claim will need careful consideration. But there is a preliminary matter which demands attention, for the translation of the Scriptures, by whomsoever made, was the outcome of an attitude of mind on the place of the Scriptures in which Wyclif differed widely from current views. Whatever be the decision of research as to Wyclif's contribution to the first English Bible, no one can deny his constant appeal to the Scriptures as the primary and absolute authority.[1] This emphasis was characteristic of his writings even in his scholastic days; it deepened with growing years. In this emphasis Wyclif was not alone; he followed closely in the footsteps of Grosseteste and Ockham.[2] But there is a fundamental difference between Wyclif and his predecessors. Grosseteste and Ockham always think of Scripture, creeds, and dogmas, as in harmony or combination; whereas Wyclif advanced to the position so characteristic of the later Reformation of distinguishing between the Bible and the teaching of the Church and its doctors. Wyclif's insistence on the supreme authority of Scripture was not less than that

[1] For Wyclif's views on the authority of the Scriptures see, in his earlier writings, *Civ. Dom.* i. 399, 402, 437; ii. 153; *Off. Reg.* 111, 115; in later writings *Euch.* 116; *Serm.* i. 83; ii. 179; *Op. Evang.* i. 79, 368 *et passim*; *Pol. Works*, ii. 524; *Sel. Eng. Works*, i. 140, 225; ii. 71, 343; iii. 186, 362; *Eng. Works*, i. 83, 255–62, 284–5, also 2, 33, 70, 89, 94, 266; also especially *Ver. Script.* i. 22, 127, 135–7, 269, 274, 346, 356, 382, 399; ii. 137, 147, 156, 163 f., 177, 179, 187, 271. Also a tract in English, *The holy prophet David saith*, printed by Deanesly 445–56 and attributed to Wyclif. For the views of Hereford and Purvey, *Ziz.* 304, 397, and for other lollard views, *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 495, and *Lantern of Light*, 100, 102. Later lollards went farther than Wyclif, though *Trial.* 64, goes far enough. The main argument of Pecock's *Repressor* was directed against certain rather clumsy statements of the lollards of his time.

[2] In *Ver. Script.* i. 217 Wyclif claims also the support of Fitzralph.

of Luther, and won for him at an early date the proud title of 'doctor evangelicus', while he desired that the title of 'viri evangelici', 'men of the Gospel', should be given to his adherents. Those who mingled God's truth with human traditions he dubbed 'mixtim theologi', 'the medley divines'. 'God's Word pure and simple' alone must be taught and alone determine the articles of faith. Only 'Antichrist's clerks' will ask the question, 'How provest thou that it is holy writ more than any other book?'

Compared with the Bible 'the writings of other doctors, however true they are, are said to be apocryphal'.[1] Thus:

'Neither the testimony of Augustine nor Jerome, nor any other saint should be accepted except in so far as it was based upon Scripture.' 'Christ's law is best and enough, and other laws men should not take, but as branches of God's law.'

Scripture, apart from Canon Law, is sufficient for the rule of the Church. By it also any novelty must be tested. To the current scorn of the Bible, of which he complains,[2] Wyclif traces the evils in the Church. He laments the exclusion of bible-study from religious life, and the reluctance of officials to spread the knowledge thereof among the people. Wyclif's works, even those of the Oxford schoolman, are full of biblical quotations. In the *Trialogus* alone there are over 700, and in his *de Civili Dominio* the number is greater.[3] These are not illustrations but appeals to a supreme authority, for the Bible 'is a Charter written by God', 'the marrow of all laws', and

[1] Wyclif relegated the Apocrypha to an inferior place. In *Ben. Incarn.* 81 '*apocrifa*' is opposed to 'autentica'. Cf. *Trial.* 239. In the early Wyclif version of the Bible, as well as by the frequent use he makes of them, *Ecclesiasticus*, &c., are given full value. But in Purvey's version we find 'Apocrifa that is not of autorite of bileve' (F. and M. i. 1).

[2] *Ver. Script.* i. 55, 148, 183, 245, 296, 383 (where he dates the dishonour as dating from the time of the Decretals); ii. 43; iii. 107; *Trial.* 241; *Op. Evang.* i. 158; *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 388 (by friars). Cf. to the same effect other lollard writers, *Eng. Works*, 10, 264–5. In *Op. Min.* 402 Wyclif speaks of 'doctores possessionati' who say that a great part of Scripture 'detestanda est tamquam heretica et blasphema'. For a certain friar, Claxton, D.D., 'who said that Scripture was a false heresy', Deanesly, 242 *n.* refers to Rawlinson, C. 411, p. 1. Cf. *Ver. Script.* iii. 284. In Sharpe, *Wills*, ii. 305, a minor canon of St. Paul's leaves a book of 'ecclesiastical stories of the weaknesses and virtues of the four evangelists, with glosses'. In *Ver. Script.* i. 23; ii. 5, Wyclif deplores that in his youth through academic pride he tended in the same direction.

[3] See the astonishing list in *Civ. Dom.* iv. 663 f.

'contains all truth'. Upon it all human knowledge is founded; 'Science of God feedeth men well, other science is meet for hogs, and maketh men fat here but not after doomsday'. Only so far as they are founded on 'God's law' are the conclusions of philosophers true. In neglect of this lay the weakness of Pelagius and Abailard.

In his assertion of the authority of Scripture Wyclif was not alone. But Wyclif added a new doctrine, the right of every man, whether cleric or layman, to examine the Bible for himself:

'The New Testament is of full authority, and open to the understanding of simple men, as to the points that be most needful to salvation. . . . He that keepeth meekness and charity hath the true understanding and perfection of all Holy Writ,' for 'Christ did not write His laws on tables, or on skins of animals, but in the hearts of men.' . . . 'The Holy Ghost teaches us the meaning of Scripture as Christ opened its sense to His Apostles.'

For priests and bishops the knowledge of the Bible is necessary that they may carry out their pastoral office, and for 'all Christians, if they are to be saved', for 'to be ignorant of the Scriptures is to be ignorant of Christ'. Every priest, therefore, ought to pass an examination in biblical knowledge, instead of wasting his time on Sarum missals and other service-books.[1] When asked by a correspondent what state of life was most fitting for the man who wished to love God Wyclif replied that

'God hath ordained state of priests, state of knights, and state of commons', but in every state 'it helpeth Christian men to study the Gospel in that tongue in which they know best Christ's sentence'.

He insisted that 'no man was so rude a scholar but that he might learn the words of the Gospel according to his simplicity'.[2]

The medieval Church held that the exegesis of Scripture was fourfold; literal, allegorical, tropological, and anagogical.[3] To this Wyclif gave his assent, though in his youth he confesses

[1] *Ver. Script.* ii. 201; iii. 132, 242; *Eng. Works*, 194.
[2] *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 184; *Op. Min.* 9, 74; *Op. Evang.* i. 92.
[3] So Purvey, *Prologue* in F. and M. i. 43, 52; *Ver. Script.* i. 49; *Sel. Eng. Works*, ii. 277.

that he had shown stupidity by not recognizing that Scripture has a double sense.[1] In his insistence that Scripture must be considered as a whole, and words must not be singled out from their context, Wyclif was before his times. He would have nothing to do with the device of 'Antichrist's tyrants' that Scripture must always be interpreted mystically, that the Bible, as friar Butler put it in 1401, was a mysterious book, the literal sense of which was useless, and which therefore could not be read by the simple.[2] Wyclif maintains that the literal or grammatical sense is the best, 'dulcissimus, sapientissimus, et preciossimus';[3] though the modern reader who dips into his sermons will probably hold that his theory was more consistent than his practice. Wyclif was too much under the influence of Augustine to be able to emancipate himself from allegorization.

From this insistence by Wyclif on this supreme authority of Scripture certain consequences followed. Wyclif sweeps away the whole mass of tradition, doctrine, and ordinances which set themselves as of equal or superior value to Scripture, nor would he allow that what the pope decrees in matters of faith must be received, observed, and carried out as if it were Gospel. Such a claim would make the pope into Christ. Scripture alone is the standard of papal authority, and this the pope may fail to understand or misinterpret.[4] Nor has Wyclif any place for a doctrine of development.[5] If an institution is not mentioned in the Gospels, as for instance the monastic orders, that is in itself a proof that it is not of divine intent.[6] Wyclif has no inkling of the increased complexity of organization that must inevitably follow the growth of a primitive

[1] *Civ. Dom.* iv. 443.

[2] For this see Deanesly, 417, and cf. the attack of Palmer, *ib.* 423–5. In *Ver. Script.* i. 100, Wyclif tells us that when he was younger he was too inclined to reject the 'mystical', 'on account of his pride'.

[3] *Ver. Script.* i. 73, 122, &c.; ii. 113. See Winterton's observations, *Ziz.* 195. Winterton justly points out that Wyclif could not claim in this the authority of St. Augustine. The value of the literal sense was first emphasized by Bacon and then by de Lyra. See Deanesly, 166–7.

[4] *Ver. Script.* i. 263, 384, 405, 408.

[5] In *Pol. Works*, i. 76, he owns that many doctrines of the fathers must be set aside as the experience of the Church develops. But this is really illogical in view of his main positions.

[6] *Pol. Works*, ii. 524 *et passim*.

faith into a spiritual world-power, whether in the second, fourteenth, or twentieth century.

The title which Wyclif gave to the Scriptures, ' God's Law ', is significant. His political theory, as we have seen, was that of dominion by grace. Every man was God's tenant in chief, owing no vassalage to any mesne tenant, and losing his ' dominion ', in theory at least, if he disregarded the law of God, which ought to be the sole law-book of the Church.[1] Every man therefore, if he was to be held responsible for his ' dominion ', must know the law of God, and this knowledge must be as direct, without intermediaries, as was the ' dominion ' itself. ' God's Law ' as the basis of ' dominion ' was bound therefore to be in a language understanded of God's tenants. The Bible is thus with Wyclif the necessary instrument whereby alone this fundamental conception could obtain proof or justification. We may also trace Wyclif's emphasis of the right of individual interpretation to the same philosophical position. As every man is God's tenant in chief, holding directly from his Lord, Wyclif has no place for an intermediate consensus of interpretations expressed in the traditions of an historic church. For this dependence on the ministers of the Church, he would substitute a written ' law ' directly accessible to every man.

Wyclif's attitude to the Bible brings us up against a series of difficult questions. By his appeal to the Scriptures, as well as by his translation, was Wyclif attempting a revolution in religious thought ? What part did the Bible, whether in the Vulgate or vernacular, play in the religious life of the people ? Closely cognate is the inquiry to what extent were there in existence other translations of the Bible, partial or complete ? Behind all these is the difficult question of the degree to which the upper laity and the average priest were familiar with Latin, apart from the routine services of the Church.

The main question has been investigated with impartial learning by Miss Deanesly,[2] who patiently examines the evidence for knowledge of the Bible by the clergy and the better educated laity. As regards the clergy she justly points out the small percentage who were undergraduates. " It

[1] *Ver. Script.* ii. 136.

[2] Deanesly, *Lollard Bible*, cc. 6, 7, 8.

seems broadly true to say, from the evidence of the registers and contemporary writers, that between the Conquest and Wyclif's day the average priest probably could not read Latin freely; sometimes even he could not translate it at all." [1] This falls in with what we learn otherwise of their frequent illiteracy. If this was true of the parish priests, much more was it true of the lower clergy, the stipendiaries, morrow-mass priests, chantry priests and the like, who knew little beyond that which was necessary for their daily routine. There were, of course, many exceptions, even among non-graduates. Langland tells us how his father and friends 'founden him to school' till he could understand the Latin of the Bible and service-books. But Langland was not typical of the ordinary priest. Nor was general instruction in the Bible any part of their duties. No mention is made of it in John Myrc's *Instructions for Parish Priests*,[2] or in the closely allied *Pupilla Oculi* of John de Burgh, chancellor of Cambridge.[3] Even Grosseteste had only insisted on the priest's ability to say the Ten Commandments, to explain them to the people, and to understand 'at least simply' the seven sacraments and the three creeds. In his constitutions of 1281 archbishop Peckham had slightly enlarged these duties, enjoining the priests four times a year to preach to the people 'in the vulgar tongue', but the exposition of the Vulgate in general was never mentioned.[4] In the following century preaching became more frequent, but there was a growing tendency to compose sermons from non-biblical rather than biblical matter. Even when this last was still kept in view the range was limited to the epistles and gospels of the day, nor is there proof that the gospel was read to the people in English.

When we turn to the more educated laity we find the same answer. "It is almost impossible to quote any instance of lay

[1] Deanesly, 161, 195, 204; *Piers Plow.*, C. vi. 36–7.

[2] Ed. E.E.T.S. (1868); Wells, 361. This book, written *c.* 1400, was a translation of the greater part of the *Oculus Sacerdotis* of William de Pagula, upon which also Burgh's *Pupilla Oculi* was modelled.

[3] For MSS. of this common work see James, *MSS. Corpus*, i. 508; ii. 6 (where it is dated as 1385); *MSS. Johns*, 89; *MSS. Pet.*, 140; *Reg. Staff.* 394 (copy left to Ermington church, June 1409, 'to be used by the ministry for their learning').

[4] Wilkins, ii. 54.

people who were acquainted with the Bible before Wyclif's day",[1] that is, outside the psalms and epistles for the day. Numerous manuals of devotion, of which the earliest was the northern *Lay Folks' Mass Book*, show the strong desire of the laity to understand the ritual, and to know what sins must be avoided as mortal. But no manual, not even the popular *Handlyng Synne*, nor the *Ayenbite of Inwit*,[2] nor the *Pricke of Conscience* of Rolle, refers to negligence in bible-reading as a sin, though they dwell at length on every other. Manuals also abound of special piety, many written for those prevented from entering a religious order. Some of these, e. g. the anonymous translation into northern English of the *Speculum Vitae*,[3] the anonymous *Abbey of the Holy Ghost*, and Walter Hilton's *Epistle on Mixed Life*,[4] had considerable vogue. But of these only the last, written for a devout lord, recommends the reading of the gospels by the laity, and even Hilton's recommendation is but vague and indirect. All the evidence shows that Wyclif's plea for the reading of the Bible by the laity was a revolution, not an extension of an existing practice.

§ 2

When Wyclif, urged by the logic of his theological positions, determined on this revolution, he was irresistibly driven into translation. For the laity, as we see from the rarity of their possession of Vulgates,[5] the Bible was a sealed book. The old Anglo-Saxon versions of the Gospels usually ascribed in the Middle Ages to Bede and Alfred, and the larger translation of Aelfric, the scholarly abbot of Eynsham (†1020), in the last two hundred years had become unintelligible.[6] We have evidence of this in the fact that only six monasteries, in addition to St. Paul's, are known to have possessed Saxon gospel-books,

[1] Deanesly, 139, 214, 217–19, 222; cf. Manning, 47.

[2] i. e. "the backbite or remorse of conscience".

[3] The views of authorship in Wells, 1st ed., 348, should be corrected by 2nd ed., 967.

[4] Wells, 461. Printed by Notary in 1507, de Worde in 1525 and 1533. Ed. C. Horstmann, *Yorkshire Writers*, and E.E.T.S.

[5] Wills only reveal five instances before 1370 (Deanesly, 221).

[6] For these versions and their authors see Deanesly, 132 f. The opponents of vernacular bibles refused to allow the authorship of Bede.

or portions of the Old Testament. There were also two versions of the Scriptures in French,[1] the old Anglo-Norman edition, and Jean de Sy's translation executed in 1355.[2] But the number of French bibles in England was small, though one was possessed by Edward III and Richard II.[3] Moreover, at the close of the fourteenth century French bibles were becoming as sealed as if written in Latin, save for the cultured few. Partial translations into English, as we shall see later, had been made before Wyclif's day, especially of the Psalms. Nevertheless, to Wyclif and his friends must be assigned the credit of first setting forth, between 1380 and 1384,[4] the whole Bible in the English tongue.

The determination to make this venture was not reached all at once. Translation was not Wyclif's prime purpose, but rather a consequence. The earlier lollards, Wyclif included, did not at first contend for the reading of the whole Bible, or for the 'naked text'. They would have been content, as Purvey put it in one of his earlier tracts,

'if the Ten Commandments, the Pater Noster, the Creed, and Ave, that all Christian people ought to kunne (know), common things of holy writ, gospels and epistles read in church, be well translated and truly, sentence for sentence, with good declaration (exposition).'[5]

They desired especially the translation of the parts which from the twelfth century to the Reformation formed the staple of all pastoral teaching. At first Wyclif seems to have had in view the education of the clergy and upper classes. The age was one of manuals of devotion of all sorts.[6] Wyclif determined to go deeper than these manuals and to reach the original

[1] For French versions see S. Berger, *La Bible Française au moyen âge* (1884). The translation of Raoul de Presles, at any rate up to 1 *Maccab.* xiv, was completed for Charles V before 1382, the year of Raoul's death (Berger, 244 f.). Purvey, in a chapter he added to his translation of Wyclif's *de Officio Pastorali*, refers to this translation (*Eng. Works*, 429).

[2] Berger, 230 f., 238¼f. For a copy of the Norman-French text illuminated before 1361 for Maud, d. of William lord Ros, see Berger, 230. There was also a translation of the Gospels and Epistles made *c.* 1330, by Jean de Vignay for the queen of Philip VI (Berger, 228).

[3] Deanesly, 221. For 'a French bible in two vols' belonging to Eleanor, duchess of Gloucester, see Nicolas, *Test. Vet.* i. 148.

[4] In *Pol. Works*, i. 126, written about 1381, Wyclif speaks of the opposition of the 'Pharisees and satraps' to the 'collecting together the gospel in the vulgar tongue'.

[5] Quoted in Deanesly, 272, from Camb. MSS. Ii. 6. 26, p. 15.

[6] See the treatises based upon *The Mirror of St. Edmund* (ed. G. G. Perry in E.E.T.S., 1867, 1914) in Wells, 346 f, 355 f.

source. As we see from his order of Poor Priests, he was anxious also to enable the parochial clergy to do the preaching too often left to the friars. He had also another object in view. The Church, he claimed, should secure that 'temporal lords can study the gospels in the tongue known to them and bring back the Church to the order which Christ instituted'. But from this he passed to the wider conception that the word of God should be open to the people at large.[1]

We have claimed that Wyclif's first intention was the translation 'sentence by sentence' of parts specially used in the services of the Church. This will explain both the cramped, harsh English of the first version, and the otherwise perplexing connexion between Wyclif and the *Lay Folks' Catechism*. This work, or rather its Latin original, owed its inception to archbishop John Thoresby.[2] Thoresby was a prelate in some respects after Wyclif's own heart, save indeed for the fact that he had won his place in the Church by his services as king's proctor at Rome in 1330, in connexion with the proposed canonization of the worthless Thomas of Lancaster.[3] He served also as keeper of the great seal in 1345 and chancellor of England.[4] A Yorkshireman from Wensleydale, his career at Oxford had been with distinction, and Baconthorp had dedicated to him his *Commentary on the Ethics of Aristotle*. Bishop of St. David's, then of Worcester, when he became archbishop he threw himself into his episcopal duties, though in 1355 he served as one of the regents of England during the absence of Edward in France. Thoresby also, to his credit, brought to an end in April 1353 the long struggle between Canterbury and York as to the right of either metropolitan to bear his cross erect in the province of the other. Henceforth one was to be Primate of England, the other Primate of All England.[5] To Thoresby's zeal we owe also the lofty, magnificent choir of York minster, with its wonderful East window. He laid the founda-

[1] *Op. Min.* 378, written in 1382–3; *Sel. Eng. Works*, i. 79; iii. 98, 100, 184.
[2] For Thoresby see *D. N. B.*; *Lay Folks' Cat.*, p. xii ff.; Thomas Stubbs in Raine's *Hist. Church York*, ii. 419–21. He was provided to York, 22 Oct. 1352; enthroned 8 Sept. 1354 (*ib.* ii. 420).
[3] Rymer, ii. 782; *Cal. Pat.* i. 493. See also *supra*, ii. 17 *n.*
[4] 16 June 1349–27 Nov. 1356 (Rymer, iii. 186, 344).
[5] *Ang. Sac.* i. 43, 75, 77; Wilkins, iii. 31 (Feb. 1354).

tion on the 30th July 1360, pulling down his own manor house at Sherburn that stone might not be lacking. He died at York on the 6th November 1373, and was buried in the Lady-chapel which he had built. As a reformer Thoresby's 'chief solicitude', writes one of his descendants,

'was for the poor vicars who had the cure of souls, yet were too often meanly provided for; to remedy which he erected vicarages in some impropriate churches, which had been till that time ill-served, and augmented others where he found the endowment too small.'

In 1357 Thoresby published a set of constitutions [1] designed to check abuses. In order to improve the status of his parish priests and vicars he ordered a catechism of the simplest character to be issued both in Latin and in English so as to be understood by all. Both versions were dated from his manor of Cawood (25th November 1357), and were closely modelled on a catechism issued by archbishop Peckham seventy-six years previously. By the help of this document the clergy were to expound the Lord's Prayer, the Creed and Commandments in the English tongue, 'at least on the Lord's day', as well as the Seven Deadly Sins, and the Seven Virtues.

Thoresby's Instruction, or as it is more often called, *Lay Folks' Catechism*,[2] was translated, or rather paraphrased, into rude verse by John de Gaytrik,[3] a monk of St. Mary's Abbey, York, and approved by the Northern Convocation in 1357. That it fell into the hands of Wyclif, himself a priest 'of the diocese of York' in all probability ordained by Thoresby's licence or letters dimissory, is not surprising. Wyclif saw its value both for his own order of Poor Priests and for the instruction of the people. In consequence there was issued a version of Gaytrik's manual freely interpolated with Wyclif's views, sometimes with whole passages from his tracts, though

[1] Wilkins, iii. 666–79. Cf. *infra*, p. 202 *n*.

[2] The Latin, the English version, and the lollard version have been edited in E.E.T.S., 1901.

[3] In *op. cit.*, p. xx and some MSS. mistakenly called "Taystek or Tavistock"; in Tanner, 312 'Gaystek' and distinguished from 'Gaytrig'. Gaytrik was also the author of a *Sermon*, ed. J. O. Halliwell, *Yorkshire Anthology* (1851), 287–314; R. Thoresby, *Vicaria Leodiensis* (1724), 213–35; G. G. Perry, *Religious Pieces* (E.E.T.S., 1867, 1914), pp. 1–15. Of this *Sermon*, a part called *The Seven Virtues*, and another part, *The Seven Sacraments*, in the Tenison Wyclif tracts, have been erroneously attributed to Wyclif (Wells, 482).

possibly the real order may be that the interpolations were published later as tracts.[1] Many of these interpolations enunciated views that Thoresby would have repudiated. This lollard edition, which the editors date somewhat early in Wyclif's career,[2] was issued with a Latin heading claiming an indulgence issued by Thoresby for forty days for those who followed its instructions.[3]

The question arises at once what part, if any, had Wyclif in this forgery. No conclusive answer can be given, though some light is shed by the parallel case of lollard additions to Rolle's *Psalter*.[4] That the interpolated portions are of lollard origin, taken from Wyclif's writings and teaching, cannot be denied.[5] But they may easily have been copied from Wyclif's works by an enthusiastic but unscrupulous disciple; or, the ending claiming the indulgence may itself be the addition, attached to the lollard tract by some orthodox but ignorant scribe. That Wyclif was responsible for the forged claim of the indulgence we cannot admit; it would give the lie to all his teaching. Nor can we accept the idea put forth by one of the editors of the *Catechism*, that Wyclif at the time of publication was working in conjunction with Thoresby, and had obtained his consent both for the indulgence and the interpolations.[6] Wyclif's

[1] Cf. *Cat.*, pp. 11–14, with *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 111–13, where we see that the tract *Ave Maria* was originally one of the Wyclif interpolations. This tract was an early production. Other additions (cf. *Cat.* ii. 18–19, with *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 111, 112) are in both works in a west midland dialect and are probably by Hereford. The *Pater Noster* is by Wyclif, but was turned in the *Cat.* into a west midland dialect also; cf. *Cat.* 2 and *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 93.

[2] *Op. cit.* 121 *n.* But it is difficult to suppose that it was issued until after the death of Thoresby, Oct. 1373, and the formation of the Poor Priests.

[3] *Ib.* 3, 99.

[4] *Infra*, p. 172.

[5] The proofs by Nolloth in *Lay Folks' Cat.*, seem to me conclusive. Cf. especially pp. 102, 103, 106.

[6] Nolloth, *op. cit.*, pp. xxii f. Canon Simmons seems to have regarded it as a forgery. Nolloth's arguments are often weak. No stress can be laid (as Nolloth, *l.c.*, p. xxiv) on Thoresby's ordination, among hundreds, of a member of the Wyclif family, nor is it correct to state that Wyclif's home—" northern seat " as Nolloth calls it!—would bring him into contact with Thoresby, for Richmondshire was practically a separate diocese (*supra*, i. 31). Too much stress also is laid on the inductions of Ralph Thoresby, writing 300 years later, in his *Vicaria Leodensia*, 196, 198, quoting Wood, *Univ.* i. 475. The assignment to the archbishop of certain fulminations against the friars (p. xxv)—an argument used to strengthen the claim of sympathy with Wyclif—is also unsound. The works in question were probably by John Thoresby, his nephew and executor (*D. N. B.*).

edition of Gaytrik's translation was admirably adapted for Wyclif's Poor Priests, but this is no basis for the deduction that Thoresby was " a close friend of the Reformer himself ", favouring his projects of reform, and lending his name to his enterprises. The revised chronology of Wyclif's life makes this most improbable. One thing the work proves: Wyclif had kept sufficient connexion with the northern province for one of its official documents to fall into his hands. But Wyclif's writings show by their midland dialect as contrasted with Gaytrik's northern speech—' so sharp, slitting, frotting (grating) and unshape ' [1]—that Wyclif had long since lost the tongue of his youth. Beyond this all is unproven, and the fact that Purvey in his reference to Gaytrik's work [2] makes no mention of Wyclif's connexion renders it most improbable.

If we may hazard a conjecture we would ascribe the interpolated edition to the period before Wyclif and his friends had commenced their translation of the Bible, though they already felt the need of some such work as Thoresby's for the education of people and clergy. One of the band essayed to see what could be done with Gaytrik's manual, just in the same way as Wyclif had altered a colourless commentary on the *Ten Commandments* into a thoroughly lollard tract.[3] For many reasons this was unsatisfactory and inadequate. So it was decided to attempt a translation of the Bible ' sentence by sentence ' after the fashion of schoolboy renderings. The work, at first carried on in Oxford, but after the spring of 1382 transferred to Lutterworth, was not actually done by Wyclif, though no doubt in this as in all else he was the moving spirit of the band. ' Many good fellows and cunning ' contributed their share. Prominent among Wyclif's helpers was Nicholas of Hereford, who translated the Old Testament up to *Baruch*, iii. 20. There Hereford's share ended, as is shown by a manuscript now in the Bodleian.[4] The cause of the abrupt termination was the citation of Here-

[1] Higden, ii. 163.

[2] In a work written about 1403, printed in Deanesly, 442, and very badly by Foxe, iv. 671.

[3] *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 82–92. The colourless original still exists, MSS. Laud 254. That the work is by Wyclif see *Anglia*, xxx. 264.

[4] See F. and M. i. p. l, for a facsimile of the interrupted page, with the note ' Explicit translacionem Nicholay de herford '.

ford before the second council of bishops and friars at the Blackfriars, June 1382,[1] and his subsequent flight to Rome in a vain appeal to the pope. In addition to Hereford, whose dialect was west midland, there is evidence in the Bodleian manuscript of four other contributors.[2] What part, if any, was by Wyclif has been a matter of keen debate. A manuscript in the British Museum assigns to him the translation of one of the most popular theological works of the times, Clement of Llanthony's *Unum ex quattuor*, or *Harmony of the Gospels*,[3] which was appended to the version. Wyclif's editors in 1850 believed that he had translated the Gospels, at any rate *St. Matthew*, on evidence which later research has shown to be unsatisfactory.[4] It was generally accepted also that Wyclif had translated the *Apocalypse*, with a commentary attached, probably taken from the Latin of Gilbert de la Porrée.[5] A copy of this translation belonging to the martyrologist John Foxe is now in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge.[6] The translation of this *Apocalypse* was written in a northern or north

[1] The second, not the first. See *infra*, p. 278.

[2] According to F. and M. i. p. xlvii, the original MS. shows five different hands, three of southern dialect and two of midland. But whether made by five different people or five scribes writing from dictation cannot be determined (Deanesly, 253).

[3] See F. and M. i. p. x. Copies exist in Royal MSS. 17 C. xxxiii, 17 D. viii, both claiming to be 'Englished by John Wyclif' and another, which does not so claim, is in the Bodleian (F. ii.). In Lambeth MS. 594 f. 47 is a tract claiming to be Wyclif's 'Preface' to the same (*D. N. B., l.c. infra*). The text differs little from the first Wycliffite version. There are also other marks of lollard origin and of some connexion with Purvey (Deanesly, 303). According to Bale, *Index Script.*, 269; F. and M. i. p. xiv, Wyclif translated Clement's Commentary on St. Matthew. Clement's *Commentary on the Four Gospels*, a work which must be distinguished from his *Harmony*, is mainly composed of extracts from the Fathers and is still extant at Winchester school, Hereford, Trinity College Dublin, and Norwich. For Clement, prior of Llanthony (*c.* 1190), see *D. N. B.*, 1st Sup. ii. 33; Wells, 407; Bale, i. 212, and *Index. Script.* 55–6; *Ang. Sac.* ii. 322; Tanner, 183.

[4] The evidence on which F. and M. relied (i. p. viii) was the existence of certain commentaries and epilogues on Matthew, Luke, and John, which they assumed to be the work of Wyclif. Arnold, *Sel. Eng. Works*, i. pp. iv–v, demonstrated that this was incorrect. Wyclif was never, as the author of these commentaries claimed for himself (F. and M. i. p. ix), 'letted from preaching for a time for causes known to God'. Cf. Lechler, 210; E. D. Jones, *The Authenticity of Some English Works ascribed to Wyclif* (in *Anglia*, xxx. 261 f.); nor would he have described himself as a 'pore caitiff'. The author was Purvey (*infra*, p. 164), and not, as Arnold surmised, the author of *The Pore Caitif*.

[5] F. and M. i. p. viii.

[6] James, *MSS. Trin.* i. 64.

midland dialect. This dialect, it was assumed, Wyclif the Yorkshireman would use, in forgetfulness of his long absence from his northern home. But this book is now shown to be a verbal rendering of a twelfth-century Apocalypse in Norman-French. Of this three forms or versions still exist, the earliest dating between 1340 and 1370.[1] Comparison also with the free English of the translations from the Vulgate in Wyclif's *Sermons* would lead us on other grounds to conclude that no part of the first version was from Wyclif's pen.

The first translation, in the main the work of Hereford, after Hereford's arrest completed, possibly, by Purvey,[2] was in several respects unsatisfactory. Hereford was a pedant whose style was " stiff and awkward ",[3] his dialect midland. The first version, in fact, in accordance with the earlier limited conception, was not so much a translation, ' following the wit of the word ', as a verbal rendering without clearness of expression or idiomatic use of the language.[4] Wyclif himself, whose English style is always vigorous and free, must have been dissatisfied with it ; at any rate he never quotes from it. Shortly after its publication, possibly even in Wyclif's lifetime, the work of revision was begun by Purvey, who in Wyclif's last days acted as his secretary at Lutterworth. Purvey was still engaged on this revision when in the summer of 1387 he joined Hereford and Aston in a preaching tour in the West of England, including Bristol.[5] On this tour, as Courtenay complained in a mandate to the bishop of Worcester, Purvey and his companions

' united in a certain association condemned by the law, by the name and with the rites of lollards, under the guise of great sanctity, sowed tares in place of wheat in the Lord's field '.[6]

His preaching contained the usual lollard tenets, with the addition of an attack upon bishops who refused to consecrate a poor parish church ' if forty pence were lacking ' out of the

[1] Wells, 409–10, 828. Miss Paues is preparing an edition for the E.E.T.S.

[2] Deanesly, 254, 275, points out that the MS. after Baruch iii has no Kentish or midland forms inconsistent with Purvey's authorship. For the suggestion that it was completed by Trevisa see *infra*, pp. 185, 188.

[3] F. G. Kenyon, *Our Bible*, 201.

[4] Paues, *op. cit.*, pp. lxxxii, lxxxvi ; Deanesly, 145, 252. Powell, *Pauline Ep.*, p. lxxii, notes the use of double renderings.

[5] Knighton, ii. 179.

[6] Wilkins, iii. 202 on 10 Aug. 1387. The phrase is a stock one.

fee of forty shillings demanded.[1] In 1388 and 1389 several writs were issued for the seizure of Purvey's 'writings' along with those of Wyclif, Hereford, and Aston. Among these 'writings' we would put certain tracts usually assigned to Wyclif, *The Great Sentence of Curse Expouned*, and *Fifty Heresies and Errors of Friars*.[2] There is in them a bluntness and directness which show the closest sympathy with Wyclif. How the master would have rejoiced in the following sentence of his secretary:

'If a poor man have long found much wax, burning before a rotten stock, if a true man teach this poor man to pay his debts, find his wife and children bread and clothes, and if he may stretch further, to do his alms to poor bedridden men, old and feeble, crooked and blind, as God biddeth, they both be holden cursed and enemies of holy Church, forasmuch as they do Christ's bidding.'[3]

He is equally outspoken against the policy of 'free masons' and other 'men of subtle craft' who insist that 'no man shall take less on a day' than 'they set, though he should by good conscience take much less'. He attacks the power of the clergy in the probate of wills, and their exactions 'where they should take but 8*d*. at the most'.[4] In his protest against the combinations of 'grocers and victuallers', we have a reference to the struggle associated with John of Northampton.[5]

On the failure of his preaching expedition in the West in 1387 Purvey returned to his task of completing his edition of the Bible. Inhibited by his bishop, Wakefield,—'a poor caitiff letted from preaching for a time for causes known of God'[6]—Purvey translated *Luke* into English about 1387–8, with its epilogue and glosses:

'for the poor men of his nation which con little Latin or none, and be poor of wit and of worldly chattels, and nevertheless rich of good will to please God'.[7]

Between 1382 and 1395 Purvey wrote a series of twelve tracts in English defending English bibles. One of these, the tenth,

[1] Knighton, ii. 180. Cf. *supra*, p. 114 *n*.
[2] See *supra*, i. 331. 'Expouned', i. e. expounded.
[3] *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 293.
[4] *Ib.* 305.
[5] *Ib.* 333–4.
[6] Reg. Wakefield, f. 128, in 1387. See *supra*, p. 161 *n*.
[7] F. and M. i. p. ix, where it is wrongly referred to Wyclif.

was afterwards incorporated by him in his *General Prologue*[1] as the epilogue to his gloss on *St. Matthew*. The biblical quotations in these tracts, which are not from either lollard version, would seem to prove that they were written while the second version was still in preparation. But the subject-matter of the tracts identifies the author with the one lollard of the day supremely interested in vernacular scriptures.[2] Apparently these tracts were originally sermons, for the address 'dear friends' occurs frequently. As such some of them may have been preached on his tour in the West of England. For Purvey 'gave all his energy to the task of travelling', and his preaching tours were not confined to any one year.

According to a doubtful story Purvey in 1390 was thrown into prison, and there occupied his time with writing a commentary on the *Apocalypse* 'from lectures', adds Bale, 'formerly delivered by Wyclif'.[3] But for this imprisonment there is no evidence.[4] His revision was now complete with the exception of certain short prologues. Purvey, however, had decided to add a *General Prologue*, but had found that he lacked the necessary books, especially a Nicholas de Lyra. For his glosses on the Gospels he used the *Catena Aurea* of Thomas

[1] In F. and M. i. 1–60; first printed by John Gough—for whom see Tanner, 337; *D. N. B.*; not "Gowgle" as *Ziz.* 529—under the title of *The Dore of Holy Scripture* (Tanner, 770; in Lincoln chapter library), reprinted in 1550 by Robert Crowley (Tanner, 210; *D. N. B.* xiii. 243) as *The True Copy of a Prologue written about 200 years past by John Wyclif.* In Tanner 770 the title is wrongly given as *The Pathway to Perfect Knowledge*. This *General Prologue* must be distinguished from the short prologues to the several books of the New Testament in both the first and second versions, mostly from the Vulgate. The identification of Purvey with the author of the *General Prologue* in the second version has been established by Deanesly, 260–7, 376 f.; cf. F. and M. i. pp. xxv–xxviii. According to Pollard (p. xxii; repeated in *History*, Jan. 1921), who considers the attribution of the second version to Purvey weak, the version was first assigned to Purvey by Waterland, *Works*, x. 361, in 1729. For a reference in the second version to the first version, see *General Prologue*, 'the English Bible late translated' (F. and M. i. 58), and for the value of this reference, Deanesly, 262 f.

[2] For these tracts, Cambridge MSS. Ii. 6, 26 ff. 1–158, see Deanesly, 270 f. Tract 2 is printed in F. and M. i. pp. xiv–xv.

[3] This commentary is said to have been published at Wittenberg by Luther in 1528 with the title *Commentarius Ante Centum Annos Aeditus*, but without Purvey's name. See Panzer, ix. 87; Tanner, 609. Commentaries on the *Apocalypse* abounded.

[4] That he was not tried as a lapsed heretic in 1401 would seem to disprove this statement (Deanesly, 284 *n.*), which however is accepted in *D. N. B.* xlvii. 52. The date 1396 rests on a mistaken marginal note of bishop Bale (*Ziz.* 407) for 1401.

Aquinas,[1] but the ' Lyra came late to me ',[2] and compelled the insertion of extracts in the margin. On the 4th August 1394 Purvey was present at the funeral of queen Anne in Westminster Abbey; at any rate he reports a notable sentence then uttered by archbishop Arundel in the funeral sermon. The death of Anne, to whom Purvey had presented a copy of his translation of the Gospels, was a great blow to the lollards. In January 1395 Purvey assisted the lollard knights in parliament by supplying them with an appeal which they might lay before that assembly or bring to the notice of the citizens of London. With the completion of his *General Prologue* his translation of the Bible was now finished, with the assistance, as he acknowledges, of ' many good fellows and cunning ',[3] of whose names, unfortunately, we are ignorant. According to his own statements during the time of writing he was undergoing persecution.[4] We are able, fortunately, to date this important event of publication within narrow limits[5] as between the parliament which met in January 1395 and that which met in February 1397. We shall not be far wrong in dating the issue as in the summer of 1395. The proof lies in the fact that in his *General Prologue,* among other less definite allusions to contemporary events—the attempt at Oxford to prevent ' true men ' from learning ' divinity neither holy writ no but he hath done his form in art ';[6] also some Oxford brawl, ' slaying of quick men '[7]—Purvey refers in explicit words to certain scandalous results of celibacy ' as it is known to many persons of the realm and at the last parliament '.[8] The reference can only be to the third of the *XXXVII Conclusiones* presented to the parliament of February 1395.[9]

To the occasion and authorship of the *XXXVII Conclusiones* we shall return. This work, whether in its original Latin form

[1] Deanesly, 276.

[2] This is conclusive against Wyclif's authorship. Wyclif in his English Sermons more than once quotes legends and stories taken directly from de Lyra. See *Sel. Eng. Works,* ii. 56, 68.

[3] F. and M. i. 57. [4] *Ib.* 2, 15, 30, 37, 43, 49, 57, 58, 60.

[5] Usually dated far too early, e. g. 1388 in *D. N. B.* xlii. 52; Lechler, 218, &c., following F. and M. i. p. xxiv.

[6] ' no but,' i. e. unless. Extremes meet, cf. *supra,* i. 91, *re* friars.

[7] Possibly the riot of 1389. For this see Usk, *Chron.* 7–8.

[8] F. and M. i. 51.

[9] See *infra,* p. 392, and for full examination Deanesly, 374–6.

or in the expanded English translation, entitled *Ecclesiae Regimen*, if not from Purvey's own pen, was produced under his editorship. The *XXXVII Conclusiones* drew down upon Purvey the strictures of Richard Lavenham, prior of the Carmes in Bristol,[1] who indicted under eleven heads with numerous subdivisions ' the heresies and errors of master John Purvey, extracted from his heretical book '.[2] The ' book ' in question was not one but many, a volume in fact rather than ' a book ', for the indictment is by no means limited to the *XXXVII Conclusiones*. From the fact that no reference is made to the translation of the Bible we may assume that Lavenham's indictment was published between the parliament of February 1395 and the issue of his *General Prologue*. Lavenham draws attention to Purvey's advice, carried out alas ! by Purvey himself in later years, to avoid straightforward answers when a ' simple Christian ' is questioned with reference to the Eucharist by ' Antichrist or his worldly clerics '.[3] Lavenham also makes much of Purvey's ' heresies ' with reference to marriage.[4] These errors, seven in all, are not to be found either in the *Thirty Seven Conclusions* or in any other work assigned to Purvey now extant. His tract on marriage is lost. The first ' heresy ' is a well needed protest against " gossipry " or ' spiritual kindred ' which prevented marriage without papal dispensation. The papal registers are full of the endless complications into which couples found that they had fallen, often after long years of marriage, through the fact that some

[1] For Lavenham, so called from a village of that name in Suffolk, see *D. N. B.*; also Tanner, 470; Villiers, ii. 678–82; Tritheim, 73, who give lists of his sixty works, many of which still exist. An Ipswich Carmelite, he took his M.A. at Oxford (*Ziz.* 399) and became confessor to Richard II. Leland, *Comment.* ii. 398, states that he died in 1383 at Winchester. But this date is impossible, for it makes havoc of any chronology of Purvey's life. Moreover, as Miss Deanesly points out (*The Pastons and their England*, 1921, App.), " Leland's original MS. in the Bodleian shows that he was in some doubt, from using two conflicting sources, and suggests that the source which Leland preferred, placing the death at Winchester, had no date of death ". That Lavenham lived until after 1391 is evident from the interest he took in St. Bridget's first canonization (7 Oct. 1391). He evidently lived also until after 1395.

[2] In *Ziz.* 383–9; translated Foxe, iii. 286–92.

[3] *Ziz.* 384. For Purvey's action see *infra*, p. 168.

[4] *Ziz.* 391; Foxe, iii. 289. According to Lavenham (*Ziz.* 397) Purvey refers also to Higden's narrative of the deposition by the emperor Otho of John XII in 962. There is no such reference in the *Ecclesiae Regimen*.

one connected with them by marriage had once acted as godfather or godmother to one of their parents or brothers, and thus, by the doctrine of spiritual kinship, had put the marriage within the prohibited degrees.[1] Of the other 'heresies' under the same head some are a defence by Purvey of the English laws of marriage against the strictures of the Church. As might be expected, Lavenham exposes Purvey's scheme 'set forth in another special tract' for utilizing the confiscated wealth of the Church for the establishing of 'fifteen new universities', '100 alms houses' and the like, as well as 15,000 knights.[2] Though its reference to new universities is evidence of Purvey's interest in education, its figures will not stand investigation.

As a result of these political pamphlets and, probably, of Lavenham's indictment, in 1400 Purvey was arrested and imprisoned in archbishop Arundel's 'foul, unhonest prison' at Saltwood. There, after being 'grievously tormented and punished',[3] he was brought before Convocation in the chapter house of St. Paul's (Monday, 28 Feb. 1401) [4] and charged with promulgating heretical doctrines, seven of which were specially singled out. Arundel carefully examined him with reference to his heresies, and then because of the pressure of his duties in parliament handed him over to two new bishops, Richard Young of Bangor and John Bottlesham of Rochester, assisted by the masters John Barnet, Robert Hallum, in after days the noted bishop of Salisbury, and Nicholas Rishton. What further persuasions theses prelates used we know not. None perhaps were necessary. The burning of the lollard Sawtre, a man of sterner, more fanatical mould, on the previous Wednesday (2 March 1401) did its work and cowed the other lollards who had been arrested with Sawtre, to say nothing of the shadow of the impending act *de heretico comburendo*. On his next appearance before this committee [5] (Saturday, 5 March 1401) Purvey recanted and 'swore on the gospels' that he

[1] References may be found on almost every page of the *Cal. Papal Letters*.

[2] *Ziz.* 393. See *infra*, p. 397 f.

[3] Pollard, 165; Foxe, iii. 280. For Saltwood, where Thorpe also was confined, see *Jour. Brit. Arch.* (N. S.) xx. 195-202, with views.

[4] So Wilkins, iii. 260, from comparison with dates on previous page. Not 29 Feb. 1400 as *Ziz.* 400; F. and M. i. p. xxiv *n*.

[5] Hardly 'convocation' as *Ziz.* 400, for Bangor and Rochester were the only bishops present (Wilkins, iii. 260).

spoke truly. The next day in the presence of Braybroke of London, the earl of Warwick and the aforesaid masters, Purvey read a recantation in English at sermon time at St. Paul's Cross, a copy of which in Latin has come down to us.[1] He was rewarded by being presented on the following August 11th to the living of West Hythe, a mile from the archbishop's prison of Saltwood, and so under the archbishop's observation. 'There', said Arundel to the lollard Thorpe,[2]

'I heard more complaints about his covetousness for tithes and other misdoings than I did of all men that were advanced within my diocese.'

'Sir', replied Thorpe, who had little sympathy with indecision,

'Purvey is neither with you now for the benefice ye gave him, nor holdeth he faithfully with the learning that he taught and writ beforetime; and thus he showeth himself to be (neither) hot nor cold.'

Arundel's answer was to utter threats against Purvey as a 'false harlot. But come he more for such cause before me, ere we depart, I shall know with whom he holdeth.' Purvey already had wisely removed himself from residence near Saltwood. Four years before Arundel's threats he had resigned his living (8 Oct. 1403).[3] His movements after this are uncertain. But his recantation and middle position alike are illustrated in a tract that he wrote about this time entitled *Sixteen points putten by bishops' ordinaries upon men which they clepen Lollards*.[4] In this tract Purvey defended the moderate lollard views on the sacraments, penance, tithes, the place of the pope, and the like, setting forth a *via media* very close to the earlier teaching of Wyclif. In every one of the sixteen points

'is hid truth and falsehood, and who that ever granteth all granteth much falsehood; and who that ever denieth all, denieth many truths .... The pope of Rome should next follow Christ and saint Peter in manner of living, and if he do so he is worthily pope, and if he contrary him most of all others he is most antichrist.'

[1] *Ziz.* 400–7; Wilkins, iii. 260–2.
[2] Pollard, 118; Foxe, iii. 257.
[3] F. and M. i. p. xxiv from Reg. Arundel, f. 290 b.
[4] Printed Deanesly, 462–5. For authorship, *ib.* 461. For the MS. see James, *MSS. Trin.* i. 457–9. Cf. also *Sel. Eng Works*, iii. 454–96.

Shortly before 1405 a debate was held at Oxford on the lawfulness of vernacular bibles, between the Dominican, Thomas Palmer,[1] and a regent master, probably the noted Peter Payne. That Payne was stirred up to the debate by Purvey is an assumption founded on the presence at the debate of Purvey himself, who composed Latin and English records thereof, adding arguments of his own. The English version, entitled *Against them that say that holy writ should not or may not be drawn into English*, still exists[2]; the Latin edition, *de Versione Bibliorum*[3], was carried off, probably by Peter Payne on his flight to Prague in 1415, and is now found in an unique manuscript at Vienna. Palmer's determination is in the library of Trinity, Cambridge, and has recently been published.[4] As Palmer begins with setting out in skeleton the arguments of his opponent, we are able to see the line that Payne took and to compare Palmer's account with that of Purvey. From the comparison we see that Purvey considerably edited Payne. Three years or so after this debate archbishop Arundel suppressed in the Constitutions of Oxford Wyclif's and Purvey's versions. This strong step would lead Purvey to support, if not to prompt, the lollard knights when in 1410 they brought before parliament his wild scheme of disendowment.[5] What afterwards became of Purvey we know not. That he was again thrown into gaol, possibly by Chichele, because of writings to which Netter refers,[6] appears certain, for Netter tells us: 'I have in my hands now a book taken

[1] For the *MS.* see James, *MSS. Trin.* i. 474.

[2] James, *MSS. Corpus*, ii. 85; *MSS. Trin.* i. 31, 458; Cotton MSS, Vitellius D. 7. Printed, Deanesly, 437 f. and, very badly, in Foxe, iv. 671–6, from Hans Luft's ed. Marburg 1530 (ed. Tindale, as part of his controversy with More), from an imperfect Worcester cathedral MS. See Deanesly, 437–8. The work is mentioned in T. F. Dibdin's *Top. Antiq.* (1816), iii. 257, from the edition of Richard Banckes, London, n. d.

[3] For the identity of the two versions see Deanesly, 291 *n.*

[4] Deanesly, 418–437, from Trin. Camb. 347, f. 426, a MS. written about 1430 in the Dominican friary, Oxford (James, *MSS. Trin.* i. 473).

[5] Shirley, *Ziz.*, p. lxix, argued that the parliament was the source instead of the outcome of Purvey's scheme, as indeed Bale's note, *ib.* 393, properly interpreted would have shown. This error led Shirley to date Lavenham's treatise against Purvey (*supra*, p. 166) as after 1410 (*ib.* pp. ix, *n.* 1, lxviii). For the scheme see *infra*, p. 397 f.

[6] *Doct.* i. 619, 637; Foxe, iii. 285, inaccurately quoting Netter 'in his third tome'. The date seems to be a guess of Bale, i. 542; cf. Tanner, 609; Purvey, *Rem.*, p. xvi.

from John Purvey in prison'. In the third chapter of this work Purvey had claimed that women should be allowed to preach—a position which would justify the late date of 1421 usually assigned to this imprisonment. It is possible that he was still living in 1427 when Netter wrote his *Doctrinale*, but this is uncertain. The chief evidence in favour is a doubtful monogram written in a small but clear hand, 'J. Perney', and also a Latin distich:

'Christus homo factus
J. P. prosperet actus',

both in a lollard manuscript of 1427.[1] Thus Purvey passed away either in some bishop's gaol or in hiding, with none to tell of his fate. From the way in which Netter speaks of him as 'one of great authority' among the lollards, it is evident that his memory was reverenced and his writings treasured. To-day, after long obscurity, he holds an established niche in the temple of fame as the translator of the first readable English Bible.

§ 3

We have referred to the translations of parts of the Bible made into English either before or during Wyclif's life. These translations prove that Wyclif's Bible, whether in the first or second edition, was the expression of a movement which would have produced a translation in the latter years of the fourteenth or the opening years of the fifteenth centuries, altogether apart from Wyclif. The earliest and best known of these translations was an English version of the *Psalms*, together with extracts from Job and Jeremiah, made by the Yorkshire hermit, Richard Rolle of Hampole, near Doncaster, in the years when Wyclif was still a lad at home.

Rolle[2] and Wyclif were the poles apart. The one was a mystic who tells us that his sweetest pleasure was to sing of Jesus and who desired to escape both academic thought and civil life; the other plunged himself into the thick of

[1] F. and M. i. p. lx, "without doubt in the hand of John Purvey himself"; Deanesly, 378–9.

[2] For Rolle see *D. N. B.*; *Camb. Lit.* ii. 43–8; Wells, c. 11; Horstmann, *Yorkshire Writers*, ii. pp. xxxvi f.

university conflict and political struggle. The one sought God through the stages of purgation, illumination, and contemplation ; the other was intent on the service of God by the service of his generation. The one was a poet, who desired ' in some good way to compose or write something by which the Church of God might grow in divine delight ' ; the other would have stated his aim to be the spread of the truth. The writings of the one are dominated by feeling, of the other by the logic of the schools. Hence the different character of their two translations. Rolle contented himself with the Psalms, whose singing brought ' great abundance of ghostly comfort and joy in God '. This ' shining book ', he adds, ' is a chosen song before God, a lamp to our life, health of a sick heart, honey to a bitter soul '. Wyclif's intention was to found doctrine upon Scripture. Rolle was a loyal son of the Church, whose latest work, *Pricke of Conscience*—a popular summary of medieval theology, largely borrowed from Grosseteste, written as he tells us for the instruction of those who knew no Latin—shows that his interest in reform lay in his desire to condemn abuse ; Wyclif saw no chance of salvation save by thorough reconstruction. Rolle was a characteristic product of the medieval Church ; Wyclif saw men as trees walking in a new age. So when printing came, Rolle, true type of the past, was one of the earliest to be published both in England and the Continent, and in the last few years his works have had several translators. But Wyclif was left severely alone, for he fitted in neither with the old nor the new.

Both Rolle and Wyclif were alike in being the inspiration of a band of followers who copied their master's thoughts and published numerous tracts, either anonymous or assigned to their leader, which have been the despair of biographers. With Wyclif the difficulty of deciding what English pieces are his and what the work of his friends is not lessened because we know the names of some, Nicholas of Hereford, Purvey and the like, who were capable of writing them. With Rolle the number of works in English brought out by writers under his influence is very considerable,[1] and with the exception of Walter Hilton, William Nassington, and Juliana Lampit of Norwich

[1] See on these Wells, 452 f.

we know the names of none. Mystical works of this sort are generally anonymous.

Rolle's *Psalter*[1] exists in various forms. The earliest cannot with any certainty be ascribed to Rolle himself. This anonymous metrical version in northern or west midland English made between 1300 and 1350[2] was extensively copied—twenty-three manuscripts are still extant—and passed under Rolle's name. More certain is the Latin version followed by an English translation, if we can give this title to a mere literal construe, followed by a commentary translated from Peter Lombard. This commentary was widely popular, and about 1381, or possibly two or three years earlier when Rolle's fame was revived by the miracles at Hampole, this was reissued with many lollard interpolations and additions.[3] The ascription of this reissue to Wyclif is without foundation ; it may fairly be attributed to the same band that had already tampered with Gaytrik's *Lay Folks' Catechism*. Against these lollard additions, which became especially frequent after 1408 when Rolle's *Psalter* became the one authorized version,[4] the owner of a manuscript, which followed exactly the copy kept chained at Hampole itself, complained in some verses which he affixed :

> Copied has this Sauter ben of yvel men of lollardy,
> And afterward hit has been sene ymped in with eresy ;
> They scyden them to lewde foles that it shuld be all enter
> A blessyd boke of hur scoles, of Richard Hampole the Sauter.

There were other English versions of portions of the Bible. One of these, a collection of two versions, has recently been published.[5] In the unfinished prologue, found only in two manuscripts and therefore, possibly, no part of the original,

[1] See K. D. Bülbring, *Earliest Complete English Prose Psalter* (E.E.T.S.). The ascription to William of Shoreham should be discredited (Wells, 403).

[2] See Wells, 402, who points out that the MSS. fall into two groups according to whether or not there is added matter after *Ps.* 89.

[3] Ed. H. R. Bramley, 1884, with the Latin text and English commentary. Cf. Paues, *op. cit.*, 1902 ed., p. xxxi, not in the later reprints.

[4] Deanesly, 304.

[5] Miss A. C. Paues, *A Fourteenth-Century English Biblical Version* (Camb. 1902). This edition, privately printed, contained an historical introduction. This was withdrawn in the reprints of 1904 and 1909 to form the basis of a new work, *The English Bible in the Fourteenth Century*, which unfortunately has not yet (1923) been published. The MSS. are at Corpus, Camb., Selwyn and elsewhere. See James, *MSS. Corpus*, ii. 343 ; *MSS. Trinity*, i. 318 ; and Wells, 405.

a ' brother ' and a ' sister ' ' lewd and uncunning ' request a more learned ' brother ' ' to teach us lewd men truely the sooth after our asking '.[1] The learned ' brother ',[2] after protesting the danger of ' death ' which he would thereby run, at last consented. The result was a translation of the Pauline and catholic epistles in which the Latin is rendered " with clearness and idiomatic ease ", the work, it would seem, of a man of Kent or of the south-eastern counties. To this there was afterwards added a southern transcript of a version of the catholic epistles, the *Acts* and the first six chapters of *Matthew* made in the north-east midland. Of these *Matthew*, *Acts* ii. and iii., *John* and *Jude* seem to be borrowed from a still earlier version. The northern version is by a writer who knew Latin but poorly.[3] But in clearness of expression and idiomatic use of English both versions are superior to Wyclif's, while the southern version is on an equality even with Purvey's. It is interesting to note that both the northern and southern versions made less use of French words than either Wyclif or Purvey.[4]

This version, both in its northern and southern forms, is perfectly orthodox. But the writer, though not an extreme lollard, was in sympathy with the movement. This is shown by his giving a translation for the ' lewd ' of the ' bare text ' without the Latin side by side, and without glosses. The reference to the obtaining forgiveness by confession to God only also smells of lollardy. Possibly the writer of the southern version was one of the five who wrote Nicholas Hereford's original manuscript now in the Bodleian, one of whom appears to hail from Kent.[5] But this is conjecture, and we are equally

[1] Paues, *op. cit.*, li; also quoted at length in Deanesly, 306.

[2] Paues rendered it ' brother superior ', a title at that time unknown (Deanesly, 308 *n.*). Paues attributed to it therefore a monastic origin, as written for nuns, who, owing to their learning ' no Latin in their youth ' (see *Three M. E. Versions of the Rule of St. Benet*, E.E.T.S. (1902), p. 48) found Latin service books and Psalters exceedingly difficult. See Paues, *op. cit.* xxvi; L. Eckenstein, *Woman under Monasticism* (1896), cx, or Miss E. Power, *Eng. Med. Nunneries*, 246–7. For illustrations of similar works for nuns, including *The Ancren Riwle*, see Wells, 361 f.; Paues, *op. cit.*, pp. xxiv–v. But Deanesly, 308, rejects the monastic origin.

[3] Paues, pp. lxxxi, lxxxiv. The author translates ' Philippos, quæ est prima partis Macedoniæ civitas colonia ' (see Vulgate, *Acts* xvi. 12) as ' the city of Cologne.'

[4] Paues, xi *n.*, xvii, lxvi, lxxii, lxxxii, lxxxvi; Wells, 406.

[5] Deanesly, 309–10.

uncertain as to the year. If a lollard, the date would probably be earlier than the completion of Purvey's version. The reference to the danger of 'death' for making such a version would point to a time after the passing of Wyclif when persecution had begun. But this must not be pressed too far, for references to death and danger do not always imply any legal warrant. All that is certain is that the northern and southern versions were united in one manuscript about 1400.[1]

In addition to the New Testament there existed also an English version of the synoptic Gospels, with the Latin text and a gloss mainly translated from Peter Lombard. The writer tells us that he

> 'was stirred up of (*by*) one that I suppose verily was God's servant and oft times prayed me this work to begin, saying to me that the gospel is rule by which each Christian man ought to live;'

a statement which points to the association of the author with Wyclif.[2] There are reasons for believing that this work was by the author of a lollard book called *The Pore Caitif*. There has also survived in a single manuscript a translation of the *Pauline Epistles*,[3] practically a construe from Latin into "rough and pedestrian" English. This version, which shows an anti-Wycliffite tendency, was made about the close of the fourteenth century, not for the public but for the author's own use in giving instruction,[4] possibly in the Lincoln cathedral school. We must also mention translations of the Gospels for Sundays and Festivals arranged so as to form a continuous narrative,[5] practically a life of Christ or Gospel harmony. The earliest of these was the *Ormulum*, written about 1200 by the Austin canon, Orm. But there is no evidence that this manuscript was ever copied.[6] There were other verse renderings, all developments of the same original cycle now generally known as *The Northern Homily Collection*,[7] probably written near Durham, the manuscripts of which were once very

[1] Paues, *op. cit.*, p. xi; Wells, 405. [2] Deanesly, 311–12.
[3] Printed by M. J. Powell, *The Pauline Epistles* in E.E.T.S. 1916, from MS. Parker 32, in Corpus Coll., Camb., a fourteenth-century MS. See James *MSS. Corpus*, i. 64. The *Epistle to Laodiceans* is in Latin only.
[4] Deanesly, 314; Powell, *op. cit.*, pp. xxxiv, lv; lviii f., lxvi.
[5] Cf. Paues, Introd. (1902), p. lvi. [6] Wells, 282–3, 804.
[7] *Ib.* 288 f., 805; ed. G. H. Gerould (1902).

numerous. The rhymed gospels in this collection were based upon the rhymed French gospels of Robert of Greatham, written in the latter part of the thirteenth century for a noble lady, possibly Eleanor de Montfort. There was also a verse rendering of *Genesis* and *Exodus*, following rather Peter Comestor's *Historia Scholastica* than the Bible itself, probably written about 1300 in the south-east midland dialect,[1] as well as prose and verse translations of the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, a work which had a vast influence on medieval faith.[2] We may add several translations of the seven penitential psalms; one, written about 1370 in the east midland dialect, was wrongly ascribed to the Carmelite, Richard Maidstone,[3] who, as his name shows, hailed from Kent.

The student will have noticed that most of these versions were written in a northern or north midland dialect, though often freely turned by transcribers into other dialects; in fact the "earliest home of the English Bible was the north of England".[4] Lest Yorkshire readers boast overmuch we add that the fact may be accounted for by the greater ignorance of French and Latin in the north than in the more cultured south. Whether Wyclif would be acquainted with any of these versions in his earlier days we cannot say. This much is clear, that in the north translations of the Bible were not regarded with the same suspicion as in the south. We may remark in passing that the fact of these northern translations may account for the late date of a Scots version.

Critics, sceptical regarding the origin of the Wycliffite versions, have rightly pointed out that neither "Wyclif's" nor Purvey's version corresponds with the translation of the Sunday Gospels, given by Wyclif in his English *Sermons*, though no doubt there is greater resemblance to Purvey's version.[5] This has usually been explained by supposing that Wyclif when preaching would have the Vulgate open before him and make his translation as he went along.[6] But if so it

[1] Wells, 397; Ed. E.E.T.S. in 1865. James, *MSS. Corpus*, ii. 357.
[2] Wells, 326. [3] *Ib.* 404, 979. *Supra*, p. 138.
[4] Paues, *op. cit.*, p. xxvii; Powell, *op. cit.*, § 8.
[5] E. D. Jones in *Anglia*, xxx. 262. For instances of resemblance see *Sel. Eng. Works*, ii. 162, 253. On the other hand see *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 90.
[6] Wyclif once gives two sermons on the same Gospel, but with different translations (*Sel. Eng. Works*, i. 235; ii. 393).

is difficult to explain why a passage rightly translated in the *Sermons* should be mistranslated in both versions;[1] the contrary of course would be easy, for written translation is usually more correct than oral. Moreover the English *Sermons* in their present form seem scarcely to be spoken utterances; they are more likely to be transcripts for the benefit of his Poor Priests. The vernacular gospels in Wyclif's *Sermons* prove how strongly the tide was flowing towards translation, as well as illustrate the slow stages by which the translation of a complete Bible was reached. We have, in fact, no less than three prose translations still surviving of the Sunday Gospels with homilies attached. The best known of these is that of Wyclif, the popularity of which is evidenced by the survival of nineteen manuscripts,[2] in spite of all the efforts to suppress Wyclif's works. Here homily and translation are interwoven. But if the homily were removed the reader would have a most valuable and fairly continuous translation of the larger part of the New Testament. The *Sermons*, in fact, give us Wyclif's own personal contribution to Bible translation. In one set of his sermons, the *Epistolae Dominicales*, Wyclif expressly states that his motive was 'to tell in English Paul's epistles'.[3] The English of the translations in the *Sermons* is nervous and idiomatic, always equal to and sometimes even superior in our judgement to that of Purvey. We regret that Wyclif did not abandon his polemics, and devote himself to the supreme task of doing the Bible into the vernacular instead of handing it over to his assistants. He would have left behind him a monument more lasting than brass. The fact that the *Sermons* are more free from the clumsy attempts to follow the Latin word-order

[1] *Sel. Eng. Works*, ii. 13 *n.*, where the Vulgate 'pauperes evangelizantur' (*Luke* vii. 22) is rightly translated, though in the first and second version it is mistranslated in favour of Poor Priests: 'Poor men be taken to preaching of the Gospel or be made keepers of the Gospel' (the second clause not in Purvey's). This remarkable gloss seems to me proof that Wyclif had little to do with either the first or second version, for if so surely we should expect the gloss in his own version.

[2] Wells, 369.

[3] *Sel. Eng. Works*, ii. 221. But Wyclif's *Epistolae Dominicales*, taken from the Sarum ritual, unlike the sermons on the Sunday Gospels, give rather a paraphrase than a translation of the Sunday epistles. They were evidently written before the Bible version was published, and from their form are earlier, probably, than his sermonic translation of the Gospels.

so characteristic of the first version would seem to point to a date of publication intermediate between "Wyclif's" version and Purvey's.[1] Moreover the translations of the Gospels in the *Sermons* are conclusive proof that Wyclif had nothing to do with the clumsy paraphrases of the Gospels in the first version, and that this "Wyclif" version, though the inspiration came from him, was not really brought under his critical notice, unless indeed to urge Purvey to a better attempt.

We must mention also two other prose translations of the Sunday Gospels with homilies attached, one based upon Robert of Greatham's *Miroir*, existing in four manuscripts, and the other in two. The writer of the first, who apparently lived after Wyclif's death, though no lollard either in teaching or phraseology, expected considerable opposition: 'my name', he wrote, 'will I not name for the enemies that might hear it'. The second, which survives only in two manuscripts now in Cambridge, was written about 1400. This work is perfectly orthodox and was intended for pulpit use. The age was one of homilies, of which an extraordinary number have survived.[2]

§ 4

The two versions, the earlier and the later, or as we may call them for the sake of convenience Hereford's and Purvey's, can now be studied side by side in the Oxford edition of Forshall and Madden. By older writers, Pecock for instance,[3] the two versions were never distinguished, and much confusion resulted;[4] to-day the reader is able to see at a glance the differences. Purvey smoothed out the harsh literalness of the first version, added prologues and epilogues for the several books, and a *General Prologue* for the whole. He also substituted

[1] Later editing by a disciple would account for the reference to the death penalty which so misled Arnold, *Sel. Eng. Works*, i. p. ix.

[2] Wells, c. 5; Deanesly, 316–18.

[3] *Repressor*, i. p. xxviii.

[4] We would suggest the adoption of a new nomenclature which would save much confusion. There are really three versions. First the paraphrase. This we would call Hereford's inasmuch as he had the chief share (*supra*, p. 162). Second, Wyclif's own partial New Testament in his *Sermons*. This has never yet been separately printed. This we would call Wyclif's. The third should be known as Purvey's. Some connected passages from Wyclif's own version will be published shortly in H. E. Winn's *Selected Passages from the English Writings of Wyclif* (Oxford Press).

for its frequent glosses short comments in the margin, especially from Nicholas de Lyra (†1340), whom Wyclif had acclaimed as 'a modern, copious, and ingenious interpreter', and who was regarded by the university as almost official, if we may judge from the copy chained in 1414 in the chancel of St. Mary's.[1] How difficult was the task of thus making the first complete Bible in readable English is sometimes overlooked by students acquainted from their earliest days with versions and revisions. They forget that Purvey was the first to lay down in his *Prologue* principles of translation which remain valid in the light of modern scholarship. The mere translation from the Vulgate—the Greek was out of the question—was the least part of the task. The whole vernacular language of theology was yet to form, and this was the cause of the presence, especially in Hereford's version, of many 'inkhorn terms', as Puttenham in his *Art of English Poesie* aptly called them. These difficulties are clearly set forth by Purvey in his *General Prologue*:

'A simple creature[2] hath translated the Bible out of Latin into English. First, this simple creature had much travail, with divers fellows and helpers, to gather many old Bibles and other doctors and common glosses, and to make one Latin Bible somedeal true; and then to study it anew, the text with the gloss and other doctors as he might get, and especially Lyra on the Old Testament, that helped full much in this work; the third time, to counsel with old grammarians and old divines of hard words and hard sentences, how they might best be understood and translated; the fourth time, to translate as clearly as he could to the sense, and to have many good fellows and cunning at the translating.'[3]

'To make one Latin Bible somedeal true': Purvey here alludes to a difficulty to which sufficient attention has not always been paid—the obtaining a correct text of the Vulgate. So Purvey goes on to warn critics of his translation to

'examine truely his Latin bible for no doubt he shall find many bibles in Latin full false, if he look many, namely (especially) new; and the common Latin bibles have more need to be corrected, as many as I have seen in my life, than hath the English bible late translated.'

[1] Wyclif, *Ver. Script.* i. 275; Anstey, *Mun. Ac.* 270.

[2] A favourite phrase with the lollards (*Eng. Hist. Rev.* x. 98) and with Purvey (Deanesly, 276, collects instances).

[3] F. and M. i. 57.

There was, in fact, in Wyclif's day no one text in common use; even the Paris versions which were supposed to be the best were diverse and corrupt. This it was that led Grandisson, during Wyclif's lifetime, to revise all the epistles and gospels from a manuscript of Jerome that once belonged to king Offa, and to send corrected copies 'to all collegiate churches in his diocese' with the correct pronunciation and accent carefully marked.[1] Purvey's translation was made from a selected text; nevertheless, to give an illustration of Purvey's difficulties, it omitted the first four verses of *St. Luke*.

The influence of Hereford's or rather of Purvey's version was far-reaching. "The new version was eagerly sought after and read. Copies passed into the hands of all classes of the people. Even the sovereign himself and princes of the royal blood did not disdain to possess them."[2] A finely illuminated copy on vellum of Hereford's version, now in the British Museum, was once the property of Thomas of Woodstock, duke of Gloucester.[3] 'One comfort is of knights', said Wyclif in one of his sermons, 'that they savour much the gospel and have will to read in English the gospel of Christ's life'.[4] The multiplication of copies must have been rapid. Of the one hundred and seventy existing manuscripts, only thirty of which are copies of Hereford's version, the majority were written within forty years of Purvey's translation being finished, and some are earlier than 1400.[5] Some of these copies are executed in the most costly manner; the cheaper copies have perished.

Influence is a relative term, and it is easy to fall into

[1] See the interesting note in *Reg. Brant.* ii. 908–9 from MS. 328 in Caius Coll. Library, Cambridge, printed also in James, *MSS. Caius*, i. 371. Offa's MS. was at Worcester, and the MS. of Jerome from which it was made was in the church of S. Paolo *fuori* in Rome and still exists. For an account of the work of English scholars from Stephen Langton to Roger Bacon in emending the Vulgate text see F. A. Gasquet in *Dublin Review*, xxv (n.s.) Jan.; also Denifle in *Archiv.* iv. 263 f., especially 291 f. for the corruptions in medieval text. T. G. Law in his edition of Murdoch Nisbet's *New Testament in Scots* has indicated in his notes where Purvey's version differs from the present Vulgate.

[2] F. and M. i. p. xxvii.

[3] *Supra*, i. 287; *D. N. B.* lvi. 157. Woodstock possessed eighty-four volumes of romances in his library. He was evidently a book collector (*Arch. Jour.* liv. 281).

[4] *Sel. Eng. Works*, i. 209. Probably by Purvey; see *infra*, p. 197 *n.*

[5] Deanesly, 381, gives a list of early MSS. MS. Caius 343 from its calendar dates from 1397 (James, *MSS. Caius*, 386).

exaggerations. The opinion of Marsh [1] that Wyclif is the father of our early English prose as Chaucer of our early English poetry, though often repeated,[2] will as little bear examination as " the popular idea of Wyclif sitting alone in the study at Lutterworth and making a complete new translation of the whole Bible with his own hands ".[3] Hereford's version, as distinct from the version of Purvey, " is in a language hardly to be called English ".[4] It owes, in fact, most of its importance as literature to its forming part of a national movement that has sometimes been overlooked. We refer to the displacement of French as the language of the educated. As might be expected from geographical conditions, this displacement was more rapid in the north of England than in the south. But both in the north and south the translation of the Bible into the vernacular secured a measure of support because it formed part of a growing English consciousness.[5]

In the earlier years of the fourteenth century the children of English gentlemen and merchants were taught French, as Trevisa puts it, ' from the time that they be rocked in their cradles '. French, in fact, was the usual language of the polite classes in their more formal dealings. In 1345 the chronicles of London were still written in French.[6] The treaty of 1348 between Oxford university and the town regarding the assay of weights and measures was written in French, as was also the indenture of 1357 after the fatal fray of St. Scolastica's day.[7] English was restricted to addresses to inferiors, or, as with Edward I, to supplying the swear-words. But before the end of the century the upper classes had ceased to be bilingual. Trevisa complained that ' in all the grammar schools children leave French and learn in English and know no more French than their heels '. He attributed the change to the ' first

[1] See G. P. Marsh, *Lectures Eng. Lang.* (4th ed., 1863) 49. By " Wyclif " Marsh meant the two versions, neither of which is Wyclif's. Marsh was unacquainted with Wyclif's prose works, whose vigorous style would have justified his verdict if only they had been more circulated.

[2] e. g. Buddensieg, *Pol. Works*, i. p. v.

[3] J. H. Blunt, *Plain account of English Bible* (1870), 17–21.

[4] Prof. Hales in *D. N. B.* xlvii. 52.

[5] Cf. Wylie, *Hen. IV.* ii. 388–90 ; Stubbs, ii. 434.

[6] e. g. *Croniques de Londres*, ed. G. J. Aungier, 1844.

[7] *Mun. Ac.* 159–67, 191–9.

murrain '. The Black Death had carried off the older clerks; the new clergy knew no French, much to their disadvantage ' if they should cross the sea and travel in strange lands '.[1] The leaders in the change were said to have been John Cornwall, a master of grammar connected with the Merton grammar school,[2] and Richard Penkridge and ' other men of Penkridge '.[3] We have similar evidence in the second edition of *Piers Plowman* (1377). Avarice, when asked by Repentance if he had ever made restitution, replied in the affirmative: he had once ' rifled ' a pedlar's pack. When Repentance explained that this was not restitution: ' I know no French ', replied Avarice, ' for I never learned read on book '.[4] Langland, living in London, was inclined to regard such ignorance as characteristic of Norfolk; in reality it was becoming the rule among all classes.

The change from French to English took place while Wyclif was at Oxford. On the 13th October 1363—year illustrious for the publication of the first edition of *Piers Plowman*—parliament was first opened with an English speech, delivered in the Painted Chamber by Henry Green, Chief Justice of England, a precedent followed in 1365 and 1381.[5] The same parliament further distinguished itself. The use of French in the law-courts was forbidden inasmuch as French was now

> ' too little known in the realm. . . . People who impleaded or were impleaded in the courts knew not what was said for or against them by their serjeants or pleaders '.[6]

So henceforth English was allowed, both in civil and church courts, though the record was to be kept in Latin. In taking this decision parliament but followed the drift of opinion. We see this in the resolution of the Common Council of London on the 29th September 1356 that in all future pleadings in the

[1] Higden, ii. 157 f.

[2] Leach, *Charters*, 300, for his name in sundry accounts in 1347–8.

[3] Usually taken to be the collegiate church in Staffordshire, with a grammar school attached. But there was a hall at Oxford called Penkridge. This seems the more likely.

[4] *Piers Plow.* (B), v. 239. Not in the A. text.

[5] *Rot. Parl.* ii. 275, 283; iii. 3, 98 (this last, 1381, a sermon in English by Courtenay).

[6] *Rot. Parl.* ii. 273; *Statutes*, i. 375–6; Reading, *Chron.* 155; Higden, viii. 361, 413; *Brut.* ii. 315.

Sheriffs' courts should be in English.[1] London, which in the early years of the century had been as completely a bilingual city as is Berne or Prague to-day, had become English in tongue, as it had long since become English in feeling and tradition. It must be confessed, however, that the conservative habits of lawyers proved stronger than statute-law, and that French maintained itself in the law-courts long after its banishment elsewhere. The same may be said of the official documents of London. The first entry in English in the *Letter-Books* is in 1383;[2] but Latin or Norman-French still continued to be the rule well into the next century,[3] especially in wills.

By the end of the century the use of French had so disappeared that Henry IV could boast that he knew the language, though his ambassadors in 1404 were unable to communicate with Frenchmen except in Latin. In the statutes of New College and Winchester school the use of French is not even mentioned. A few years later we find provision made at Oxford for the teaching of French, a remarkable anticipation of modern developments. Grammar masters are to teach the boys to construe in French as well as in English 'lest the French language be utterly lost'. From the reign of Henry VI onwards, nuns, to whom as a rule in earlier ages formal communications had been written in French and not in Latin as always to monks, were henceforth addressed in English, for French had become as dead a language in the nunneries as Latin, though maintaining itself, as might be expected, longer in southern nunneries than in those of the ruder north. At Oxford in 1432 the chancellor was authorized to dispense with Latin in convocation, if he deem it wise 'propter utilitatem negotii', while in 1459 indentures between the university and city for the first time were made in English.[4] We find the same change in commerce. In 1345 the ordinances of the Grocers were written in French for the use of the Pepperers, as in fact were the ordinances of other London companies, except

[1] *Letter-Book G*, 73. [2] Riley, *Mem. Lond.* 480.

[3] Possibly French continued longer in London than elsewhere. On 3 May 1393 John King, draper, left a Bible in French to be chained in St. James Garlickhithe (Sharpe, *Wills*, ii. 312).

[4] Leach, *Winchester*, 165; *Charters*, pref. xviii; *Royal Let.* i. 307; *Mun. Ac.* 302, 438 (both undated), 311, 344; Paues, *op. cit.* xxvi.

when they were written in Latin.[1] But in 1418 they had to be turned into English because they were no longer understood. Very similar was the decision of the Brewers' Company :

' that whereas our mother tongue, to wit, the English tongue, hath in modern days began to be honourably enlarged and adorned, for that our most excellent lord King Henry V . . . for the better understanding of his people, hath, with a diligent mind, procured the common idiom . . . to be commended by the exercise of writing ', and as many of the craft of brewers ' do not in any wise understand ' Latin or French, and ' the greater part of the lords and trusty commons have begun to make their matters to be noted down in our mother tongue ', therefore the ordinances of their craft are henceforth to be written in English.[2]

In all departments English was becoming conscious of itself, and the end of the fourteenth century was an age of translations. Of these, Hereford's or Purvey's Bible was one only, not by any means the most widely read, nor, from the standpoint of its influence on the English language, the most important.

These English translations belong to the history of literature. Yet they demand a passing note, if only to explain more adequately the stream of tendency of which Wyclif's and Purvey's Bibles formed a part. One of the earliest translators was Robert Manning of Brunne (Bourne), who in 1303, when a canon of Sempringham, had written his *Handlyng Synne*.[3] The awkward title of this book shows that it is a version of the *Manuel des Péchiez* of William of Wadington. Thirty years later, as a canon of the Gilbertine house of Sixhill in Lincolnshire, ' between three and four o'clock on the afternoon of Friday, the 25th May 1338 ' he finished his translation of the rhyming Anglo-Norman *Chronicle* of Pierre de Langtoft of Bridlington—with considerable interpolations and additions—' all written in as plain English as I know how to use, and for the love of simple men who cannot make out stranger English '.[4] A more important work was the translation between 1350 and 1380 of the most popular of all medieval histories of England,

[1] For illustrations see Riley, *Mem. Lond.* 153–62, 166, 178, 179, 180, 216–19, 222, 226, 258, 280, 354, 361. A proclamation to settle in 1315 the prices of provisions was, however, in French and English (James, *MSS. Corpus*, i. 193).

[2] W. Herbert, *Twelve Livery Companies* (1837), i. 106.

[3] Ed. F. J. Furnivall, E. E. T. S. (1901).

[4] For Manning and his works see *D. N. B.* ; Wells, 199 f., 342 f., 794, 816 ; *Camb. Lit.* i. 344 f.

the compilation known as *The Brut*,[1] of which 167 MSS. still exist. The original of this, so far as the early fourteenth century is concerned, seems to have been a chronicle, now lost, written by William of Packington, clerk of the council to the Black Prince. It is thus the oldest prose chronicle in Middle English, of special interest as completed shortly before Wyclif's Bible.

One of the leading translators of the day was Wyclif's contemporary and associate at Oxford, John Trevisa, to whom, however, many translations have been attributed that were by other hands.[2] He worked for the benefit of the patron of his living, lord Berkeley. His translations in the main concern the history of English literature and culture. His most notable work, his rendering of Higden's *Polychronicon*,[3] was not finished until after Wyclif's death (8 April 1387),[4] nor his translation of Glanville's *de Proprietatibus Rerum* until the 6th February 1388. His last translation was of the *de Passione Christi*.[5] The version of the Bible attributed to him by Caxton is probably a mistake; but his translation, or rather summary, of Richard Fitzralph's sermon against the Mendicant friars is still extant, and would indicate one point of contact between Wyclif and his fellow-lodger at Queen's. That his sympathies would be with the attempt to translate the Bible is manifest from his translation of a Latin tract entitled *Dialogus inter Militem et Clericum de potestate ecclesiastica et civili*—a Latin tract inaccurately attributed to Ockham[6]—published at London under Trevisa's name in 1540.[7] In this short tract

[1] Ed. E. E. T. S. by Dr. F. W. D. Brie (1906, 1908). Dr. Brie's introduction has not yet (1926) appeared, but an abstract is given in his *Geschichte u. Quellen der Prosachronik, the Brute of England* (Marburg, 1905). The continuation of the *Brut* from 1333 to 1377 seems to have been a translation made before 1400 from Reading, *Chron.* See Tait's note, pp. 48–52.

[2] e. g. the translation of Boethius, *de Consolatione Philosophica*, in the library of Exeter Coll., Oxon, made by John Walton, canon of Osney, in 1410 at the request of Elizabeth Berkeley, and printed at Tavistock abbey in 1525 (Boase, p. clxvii; Tanner, 753).

[3] First printed by Caxton with considerable modifications in 1482. Now accessible in R. S.

[4] So dated in a note in the MS. at St. John's, Camb. See James, *MSS. John*, 236; Higden, i. p. lvii. Not 18 Ap. as Wells, 205.

[5] Dated by Wells, 206 in 1408. But see *supra*, i. 168 *n.* for his death some years previously.

[6] So in ed. R. S. of Higden, i. p. lv. But see S. Riezler, *Widersacher*, 144–8 and *infra*, p. 189 *n.* It was supposed to form the proem to Ockham's *Dialogus*.

[7] Also printed by Caxton in 1482. Accessible in Pollard, 203–10.

Trevisa, or rather the ' lord ', whom Trevisa identifies with his patron of Berkeley, defended the translation of ' holy writ ' from Latin into English :

' For the Latin but it be told them in English what it is to mean ? And it may not be told in English without translation . . . and it is better that such a translation be made and written than said and not written.' [1]

§ 5

Wyclif's conception of the Scriptures as the final authority led him and his assistants to treat the translation with the utmost reverence. Sir Thomas More, and in our own day, cardinal Gasquet, took it for granted that any Bible translated by lollards would be a partisan Bible, ' purposely corrupted ' (to use More's phrases) so as to ' serve to the proof of such heresies as he went about to sow '. But the extant Bibles were certainly not so corrupted, but were " a remarkable attempt to produce a scholarly and accurate translation, without any partisan attempt to emphasize particular shades of meaning ". " The translators ", Miss Deanesly adds,

" were among the most learned scholars of the day, and their aim was simply to popularize the connected story of the ' meek and poor and charitable living of Christ ' and His apostles. They could obtain the picture of this state by a literal and faithful translation, and had no temptation to tamper with the text. The translations were made while lollardy was still almost solely an Oxford movement, when lollard literature consisted of little else than the guarded, academic, authority-laden Latin writings of Wycliffe himself ; and not under the second generation of lollards, led by Oldcastle." [2]

The result was a Bible whose " orthodoxy " misled More and cardinal Gasquet into the denial that it could have come from the pen of Wyclif. These doubts have been so widely circulated [3] that it is advisable to add the positive proofs of Wyclif's authorship, premising that the question at issue, in our judge-

[1] Pollard, *l. c.* 206. A. W. Pollard, *Records of the English Bible* (1911), 2, suggests (without evidence, Deanesly, 300 *n.*) that Trevisa finished Hereford's translation after *Baruch*, iii. 20 (*supra*, p. 160).

[2] Deanesly, 231.

[3] Gasquet, *Old English Bible* (1897) from articles in *Dublin Review*, July, 1894. Answered by F. G. Kenyon, *Our Bible and the Ancient MSS.* (3rd ed., 1897) ; F. D. Matthew, *Eng. Hist. Rev.* x. 91–9 ; *Ch. Quart. Rev.*, Jan. 1901, and above all by Deanesly.

ment, is not so much the actual work of translation, which we have shown was done by others, but the conception of the plan and the organization of the work for his followers. We may grant, as Dr. Gasquet claims, that Wyclif never alludes to his own translation,[1] nor does he seem in his quotations from the Bible to make use of it even in his English sermons. Of this we have already given a sufficient explanation. On the other hand, Wyclif's works are full of passages advocating such a translation.[2] Moreover, the translation or, as archbishop Arundel more accurately phrased it, 'the devising of the plan', is definitely attributed to Wyclif by his contemporaries, as well as by the uninterrupted tradition of history. The complaint of the angry Knighton or his continuator, whose residence at Leicester close to Lutterworth would give him knowledge of the facts, is well known, but will bear repetition.

'This Master John Wyclif translated from Latin into English—the Angle not the angel speech—the Scriptures, which Christ gave to the clergy and doctors of the Church that they might sweetly minister to the laity and to weaker persons according to the message of the season, the wants of men, and the hunger of their souls.[3] Thence by his means it is become vulgar and more open to laymen and women who can read than it is wont to be to lettered clerks of good intelligence. Thus the pearl of the gospel is scattered abroad and trodden underfoot by swine,[4] the jewel of clerics is turned to the sport of the laity, so that what before had been the heavenly talent for clerks and doctors of the Church is now the *commune aeternum* of the laity'.[5]

In a letter which he wrote in 1411 to John XXIII, to accompany a list of 267 errors in Wyclif's works, the archbishop speaks of

'that wretched and pestilent fellow, the son of the serpent, the herald and child of Antichrist, John Wyclif, . . . filling up the measure of his malice by devising the expedient of a new translation of Scripture into the mother tongue.'

[1] *Sel. Eng. Works*, ii. 221, cannot be so interpreted.

[2] The following illustrations may be given: *Sel. Eng. Works*, i. 129, 209; ii. 221; iii. 90, 98, 99, 100, 114, 184, 202; *Eng. Works*, 429, 430; *Pol. Works*, i. 126, 168; ii. 711; *Op. Evang.* ii. 36 'hodie multum horretur quod evangelium anglicetur'.

[3] 'cum mentis eorum esurie'. Deanesly, 239, translates 'with the usury of their own minds', interpreting it to mean that the priests can tell the Sunday Gospel "in their own words with its moral inferences".

[4] A common argument. So Walter de Mapes, *de Nugis Curialium* (ed. M. R. James, 1914), 60, when protesting against the Waldensians in 1179.

[5] *Chron.* ii. 152.

The student will note that Arundel in this official letter does not say more than that Wyclif 'devised' the plan.[1] But the version was commonly attributed to Wyclif, as we see in the further evidence of Hus, writing in the same year, 1411: 'For the English say that Wyclif translated the whole Bible from Latin into English'; [2] or the acknowledgement of the lollard Ralph Mungyn in 1428 that he 'had possessed for twelve year past [3] the gospels of John Wyclif'. Cumulative evidence of this strength cannot be lightly ignored. "There is more contemporary evidence as to authorship than any that could be found, for instance, to prove that Chaucer wrote the *Canterbury Tales*." [4]

Wyclif's translation, if we may use the familiar term, was, we hold, the first of the whole Scriptures, or of any considerable portion, done into Middle as distinct from Early English. Dr. Gasquet has denied this, following the lead of certain Anglican historians, who, for their part, were misled by More and Caxton.[5] The existence of such a translation, as distinct from the partial translations to which we have referred, rests upon indirect evidence of a very doubtful character, as, for instance, Arundel's statement of a 'new translation',[6] which has been held to prove that there must have been one already. As the matter is of considerable importance we shall present the evidence in full and weigh its value. The first witness is the famous canonist, Lyndwood, who in the year 1430 stated in a gloss on the Constitutions of Oxford that the prohibition does not apply to versions of Holy Scripture 'previously translated into English or any other idiom'.[7] Lyndwood gives no details, nor does he indicate whether he is referring to partial versions. The whole gloss reads rather as a lawyer's cautious deduction from the word 'newly' in the constitution before him than as a claim that such versions existed. The second witness is Sir Thomas More, who unwittingly started

[1] Wilkins, iii. 350, where it is wrongly dated as 1412.
[2] *Mon. Hus.* i. 108 b.
[3] Wilkins, iii. 498. In Foxe, iii. 589, this becomes "he dispersed in the City of London the gospels of John Wyclif". As a matter of fact Mungyn sold his copy to a Hampshire chaplain called John Botte.
[4] Deanesly, 250.
[5] R. W. Dixon, *Hist. Church England*, i. 451; Hook, iv. 83.
[6] See *infra*, p. 194. [7] See *Provinciale*, 286, quoted *infra*, p. 418.

the controversy. In his *Dialogue*, published as part of his controversy with Tindale, More discusses the question whether or not the Bible may be read in English. Speaking of 'the great arch-heretic Wyclif' More maintains that

'the Holy Bible was long before his day by virtuous and well learned men translated into the English tongue. Wyclif purposely corrupted the holy text, maliciously placing therein such words as might in the reader's ear serve for the proof of such heresies as he went about for to sow, which he not only set forth with his own translation of the Bible, but also with certain prologues and glosses which he had made thereon.'

In the following chapter More once more repeated this statement. Dealing with the charge brought forward by Tindale, that the Romanists have burned the English Bible, he replies:

'If this were so, then were it in my mind not well done. But I believe ye mistake it. How be it, what ye have seen I cannot say. But myself have seen and could show you Bibles fair and old written in English which have been known and seen by the bishop of the diocese, and left in laymen's hands (women's too, such as be known for good and catholic folk), who used it with devotion and soberness. But, of truth, all such as are found in the hands of heretics they use to take away. But they do cause none to be burned, so far as ever I could wit, but only such as be found faulty. Whereof many be set forth with evil prologues or glosses maliciously made by Wyclif and other heretics. For no good man, I ween, would be so mad as to burn up the Bible wherein they found no fault, nor any law that letted (*hindered*) it be looked on and read.'[1]

More further maintained, on the doubtful evidence of an ambiguous reading in the seventh Constitution of Oxford (1407), that 'to have the Bible in English was no hurt'. Foxe also tells us that

'before John Wyclif was born, the whole body of the Scriptures was by sundry men translated into our mother tongue'.

Ussher repeated the same statement with more circumstance in his *Preface to the Authorized Version* of 1611:

'And about that time, even in our own King Richard the Second's day, John Trevisa translated them into English,[2] and

[1] *Dialogue* (ed. 1557, a rare book), i. 233, 241.

[2] Caxton refers to this translation in his 'prohemye' to his ed. of Trevisa's *Polychron.* Furthermore the first earl of Berkeley gave James II a MS. 'of some part of the Bible', preserved, he said, in Berkeley castle for 'neare 400 years'. This passed to the cardinal of York and may be the copy said to

many English Bibles in written hand are yet to be seen with diverse ; translated, as is very probable, in that age.'

These statements of Ussher, Foxe, and More can scarcely be accepted as sufficient proof of the existence of this lost version. We may point out, on *a priori* grounds, that the existence of a translation of any considerable age before Wyclif is most unlikely. Translations of the Vulgate, if made a century earlier than Wyclif, would have been done into French. Ussher, moreover, is undoubtedly referring to Hereford and Purvey, of whose translations, if we may judge from the context, he seems to have been ignorant. Dr. Gasquet would be the first to tell us that Foxe is of doubtful value unless he is quoting from official sources. Foxe drew his information from a tract written in 1405 by Purvey, but the only instance Purvey gives—' a man of London, whose name was Wyring, had a Bible in English of Northern speech, which was seen of many men, and it seemed to be 200 years old ' [1]—was really an Anglo-Saxon version. The worth of the evidence of Foxe is seen in his statement, apparently a mere guess of Bale, that archbishop Fitzralph in the year before his death translated fragments of the New Testament into Irish and buried them in a wall of his cathedral where they were found in 1530.[2]

The evidence of More is of greater importance,[3] and, at first sight, would seem to be conclusive. Its value has been considerably increased by Miss Paues' discovery of an old English version of the larger portion of the New Testament written in Wyclif's day,[4] and it may have been to this that More referred. But while this much must be acknowledged, further investigation will convince the student that More, to whom it would be an anachronism to ascribe accurate linguistic knowledge, did

have been once in the Vatican, but of which there is no trace either there or in any other library (H. J. Wilkins, *An Appendix to J. W.*, 1916, p. 18). There is no reason to believe that either Caxton or lord Berkeley knew how to discriminate one old English version from another. But the tale is accepted by Bale, i. 518, Tanner, 720, Ussher, and others including *Camb. Lit.* ii. 74, 77. In 1387 Trevisa, writing his translation of the *Dialogue between a Lord and a Clerk*, is plainly ignorant of any such translation.

[1] Foxe, iv. 674 ; Deanesly, 441. [2] Bale, ii. 246 ; Foxe, ii. 766.

[3] Since this section was written the evidence of More has been discussed at length by Deanesly, c. 1.

[4] *Supra*, p. 172.

not know Purvey's Bible as such when he saw it, especially if the copy was one that omitted, as so many copies did, the heretical *General Prologue*.[1] Only when the *Prologue* was retained, as in the case of Richard Hun, 'the prologue' of whose bible contained 'heresies touching the blessed sacrament'[2]—More was present at his trial—did More confidently recognize that 'the book was written after Wyclif's copy'. He pours out his scorn upon what he calls the versions of the heretics, in complete ignorance of the fact that the nuns of the convent of Sion had a copy of the Wyclif version, presented in 1517, and that his friend Bonner possessed a copy of Purvey's version, while other copies belonged to Henry VI, of holy fame, who presented a copy to the Charterhouse, to St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol, the chantry of St. Nicholas in Holy Trinity, York, presented in 1394 by the chaplain John Hopton, and to other churches and orthodox men.[3] These 'Bibles fair and old' to which More refers were either, therefore, copies of the partial translations to which we have referred or else Purvey's version, which More mistook—as in fact did all writers until recent years—for a version even earlier than Hereford's, or for the original version itself. We may add that Purvey, writing in 1405 a tract in defence of English Bibles, was not able to quote any middle-English precedent. If such existed it is curious that so diligent a scholar should have been ignorant of it. To sum up the whole matter we may conclude that apart from the translation of the Anglo-Norman *Apocalypse* "the reasons for believing that any biblical version, or part of it, substantially preceded the Wycliffite ones are small. . . . Even the midland glossed gospels, almost certainly the earliest, were written through Wycliffite inspiration".[4]

We must briefly touch upon another matter. We have referred to the claim of cardinal Gasquet that Hereford's and Purvey's Bible was in reality a sort of authorized version made by some unknown orthodox writers, the reading of which was encouraged by the Roman Church. Protestant writers,

[1] For the omission of the *Prologue* see Deanesly, 261.

[2] More, *Works*, i. 235–40, 297–8.

[3] F. and M. i. pp. xxi, xxxii *n.*, lvii. Hopton's gospel may have been one of the northern verse gospels (*supra*, p. 174).

[4] Deanesly, 315, 439 f.; Foxe, iv. 671 f.

on the other hand, have often gone to the opposite extreme and assumed that the medieval church prohibited the circulation of vernacular scriptures.[1] For this last statement there is much that might be said in justification. There was the condemnation of the Waldensian translations by Innocent III in his correspondence in 1199 with the bishop of Metz, though this was never embodied by Gregory IX in the decretal *Cum ex injuncto* which forbade conventicles and lay preaching.[2] There was also the treatment, as Purvey himself points out, of Jakob van Maerlant, a Dutch poet who in 1271 translated, not the Bible itself, but Peter Comestor's *Historia Scholastica*—a translation known as the *Rijm bijbel*—and for this suffered much persecution.[3] But the truth of the matter is not found in any bare statement. Both sides may urge much in support, and yet may err from confusing the official decisions of the Church with its actual practice. On the one hand, it may be claimed that until the Reformation vernacular scriptures were not officially suppressed, provided the copy was without heretical taint or comment, especially if the translation was published side by side with the Latin text. We have referred to the number of French bibles. The French translation, says Wyclif, was made ' notwithstanding all lettings '. Upon these he grounded an argument for his own version : ' As lords in England have the bible in French so it were not against reason that they should have the same sentence in English '.[4] Other translations were made after Wyclif's day. Germany, with its seventy-two partial versions and fifty complete translations, eighteen editions of which, including four in Dutch, were printed before the great work of Luther, was not far behind France.[5] The author of *Piers Plowman* was not

[1] For an exhaustive discussion see Deanesly, cc. 2, 3.

[2] For this decretal and its history see Deanesly, 30 f.

[3] Deanesly, 71–3, 441.

[4] *Eng. Works*, 429. For *Apoc.* in French with early fourteenth-century commentary see James, *MSS. Corpus*, ii. 253–4, and for French Apocalypses in general Berger, *op. cit.*, c. 4.

[5] Gasquet, *op. cit.* 120. For early German complete translations see T. M. Lindsay, *Hist. Reformation* (1906), i. 149 f. ; Deanesly, 121 f., or the monograph of W. Walther, *Die Deutsche Bibelübersetzung des Mittelalters*, 3 vols. in one, Brunswick, 1889–92. The majority of the translations were by the Friends of God, and Brethren of the Common Life.

uttering heresy when he made Thought say that it was part of the work of Dobet to translate the Bible; he

> 'hath rendred the Bible
> And precheth to the people seynt Poules wordes'.[1]

In his *de Veritate Sacrae Scripturae*, written, it is true, in 1378 before the publication of his Bible, though Wyclif complains of interference with preaching he makes no mention of prohibition of the vernacular Bible. What the Church officially objected to were 'bare texts', i. e. texts without the Latin, or to appeals to 'God's law' as the one rule whereby the rites and doctrines of the Church should be judged. By many writers Latin was deemed one of the three sacred languages, the mere hearing of which gave an almost sacramental benefit, even if it were not understood. To translate from the sacred language into English—'the Angle not the angel speech' as Knighton sarcastically calls it—was looked upon as a desecration. 'It passeth my wit', writes the author of *The Chastising of God's Children*, 'for to show you in any manner vulgar the terms of Divinity'.[2] Palmer added the objection that English, as compared with Latin, was a harsh language, 'like the grunting of pigs or the roaring of lions'.[3]

There is a similar need of caution in the discussion of the condemnation or otherwise of "Wyclif's" version. The statement of Forshall and Madden, that "from the first the most active and powerful measures were taken to suppress (Wyclif's) version, and the manuscripts were burnt and destroyed",[4] must be received with reservations. Mr. Matthew is more accurate when he tells us that Purvey was fortunate in that "no formal condemnation of his English Bible was ever issued, or, so far as we know, attempted".[5] The lists of errors for which Wyclif was condemned at various times never contain either his defence of or his translation of vernacular scriptures. Before 1407 there was no fixed rule in the English

[1] *P. Plow.* (B), viii. 90–1; also in A and C. [2] Paues, *op. cit.*, p. xxix.
[3] Deanesly, 428. Cf. Trevisa in Higden, ii. 159.
[4] F. and M. i. p. xxxiii. Wyclif, it is true, talks in rhetorical phrase about 'codices of the law of God being burnt' (*Pol. Works*, ii. 700, 711). But I attach no historical value to this, especially considering the early date of the tract in question.
[5] *Eng. Hist. Rev.* x. 95. Cf. More's statement, *supra*, p. 188.

Church, and the practice varied according to the circumstances of the case and the character of the officials. Even Arundel, when archbishop of York, preaching at Westminster Abbey at the funeral in August 1394 of Anne of Bohemia, the queen of Richard II, praised her

' for notwithstanding that she was an alien born she had on English all the four gospellers with the doctors upon them. And he said she had sent them unto him, and he said they were good and true '.[1]

The four gospels in question can scarcely have been other than Purvey's version. We read also of a payment made on the 12th September 1380 on behalf of Richard II of £28 as part of

' the price of a Bible written in the French language, and for two volumes contained in two leather cases, one book containing the *Romance of the Rose*, the other book containing *The Romances of Percevall and Gawayn* '.[2]

But Anne and Richard were royal personages, from whose treatment we may learn nothing about the fate of bibles in the hands of common people. It is true that when the question of the condemnation of vernacular scriptures was raised in the parliament of 1395 in an attempt ' to annul the Bible that time translated into English and also other books of the Gospel translated into English '—the whole matter was part of a clerical counter-attack to the lollard knights and their *Twelve Conclusions*[3]—John of Gaunt, according to Purvey, made a remarkable protest,

[1] The original source (usually quoted from Foxe, iv. 671 f., where the author is not given, and thence copied by Ussher, *de Script.* 161, Lewis, 198) is Purvey, writing about 1405. See Deanesly, 437 f. and for the passage, *ib.* 445. Anne evidently tried to learn English by reading English gospels. In Wyclif, *Pol. Works*, i. 168, there is a reference to Anne which has led to much historical fiction. Wyclif imagines for the sake of his argument ' nam possibile est quod nobilis regina Anglie, soror Cesaris, habeat evangelium in lingwa triplici exaratum, scilicet in lingwa boemica, in lingwa teutonica et latina '. He adds : ' to treat her as a heretic on this account would be luciferian folly '. Hus, *Mon.* i. 1086, took over the passage bodily, though writing in 1411, seventeen years after Anne's death. Later writers, e. g. Neander, x. 348 ; Lechler, 461, following Bale, *Index Script.* 274, have treated the ' habeat ' as if ' habet ', and turned the supposition into a statement of fact. So also Deanesly, 20. A. Strickland, *Queens of England*, i. 598–9, enlarges this into Anne being " the nursing mother of the Reformation ", &c.

[2] Devon, 213, who mistranslates ' in idiomate gallico ' as Gaelic. For the romances in question see Wells, 51–74.

[3] The date seems fixed, as Deanesly, 282 *n.* points out, as after Arundel's sermon in Aug. 1394 and before his resignation of the chancellorship in 1396.

'saying this sentence: we will not be the refuse of all men, for sithen other nations has God's law, which is law of our beliefe, in their own mother tongue, we will have ours in English, who will ever it begrudge; this he affirmed with a great oath'.[1]

The absence of official condemnation did not, however, prevent unofficial persecution, especially by the friars, of those who held vernacular scriptures. Debate for and against their lawfulness went on in literary circles until the question was settled, for England at least, by the Constitutions of Oxford.[2]

'It is dangerous, as St. Jerome declares, to translate the text of Holy Scripture out of one idiom into another, since it is not easy in translations to preserve the same meaning in all particulars. . . . We therefore command and ordain that henceforth no one translate on his own authority any text (*aliquem textum*) [3] of Holy Scripture into English or any other language in a book, booklet, or tract, and that no one read any book, booklet, or tract of this kind lately made (*noviter compositus*) in the time of the said John Wyclif or since [4] or that hereafter may be made, either in part or wholly, either publicly or privately, under pain of the greater excommunication, until such translation shall have been approved and allowed by the diocesan of the place, or if need be by a provincial council. He who shall act otherwise let him be punished as an abettor of heresy and error.' [5]

The glosses against which this clause was aimed gave some ground for the Constitution. Glosses on the Bible, incorporated in the text, in these days of cheap, accurate, printed versions are almost impossible, though in the course of three hundred years one or two misprints have succeeded in obtruding themselves into the Authorized Version.[6] But to insert glosses in manuscripts was easy, and full of danger. Many of the glosses were the result of the inexperience of the translators; they indicate the gropings of the authors after what they deem to be the meaning. More serious was the heretical propagandism of Purvey's *General Prologue*. That the lollards

[1] From Purvey's *Determination* in 1405, printed in Deanesly, 282, 445, or Foxe, iv. 674.

[2] See Appendix U.

[3] Gasquet asserted that 'aliquem textum' "can only mean any passage". For disproof see Deanesly, 3 *n.*, 296 *n.*

[4] It is difficult to suppose that there is here no reference to Purvey's version.

[5] Wilkins, iii. 317.

[6] e. g. "strain *at* a gnat" instead of *out*.

were given to these glosses is shown in the attack against them of a popular writer :

> There the Bibelle is all myswent (gone wrong)
> To jangle of *Job* or *Jeremie*,
> That construen it after their intent
> For lewd lust of lollardie.[1]

The provisions of this Constitution gave the bishops all the powers they needed without committing the Church to the suppression of all vernacular translations, or to the condemnation in the abstract of Purvey's translation. Purvey's translation, in fact, was orthodox, as Dr. Gasquet claims,[2] apart from an occasional gloss[3] and from the *General Prologue* —which last, in consequence, many manuscripts omit. Some also have the tables of lessons added, and some contain only the Gospels and Epistles for the day. But though we may assume —for no licences have survived[4]—that licences to have copies of this Bible were given to rich and powerful laymen and to well-known priests, licences were not granted to the poor. This characteristic compromise thus issued in class distinction, or, as the bishops would have put it, in favouring education. The price also was prohibitive : ' four marks and forty pence for a copy of the Gospels '. But to have a copy without licence after 1407 was to have taken, as Lyndwood shows, the first step towards the fire, both for book and owner.[5] For whatever the theory of the Church, its practice was to suspect that the possession without licence of the vernacular scriptures by ' lewd ' laity was the sign of latent heresy. This was true even before 1407, though on the other hand the legacies of the Bible give warning against the extreme Protestant view, that the Scriptures, Vulgate included, were a sealed if not prohibited book for the laity.[6] No doubt the author of

[1] *Pol. Poems*, ii. 243, written after 1410.

[2] Deanesly, 15 *n.* points out that no medieval writer accused Wyclif of mistranslating the text.

[3] e. g. Luke xvii. 19 (Deanesly, 279 *n.*), overlooked by Gasquet. See also Luke vii. 22 (*supra*, p. 176, n. 1).

[4] Deanesly, 7 *n.*

[5] Foxe, iii. 721 ; *Provinciale*, 293.

[6] Legacies by the laity as well as clergy of the Bible or of portions of the Bible, probably the Vulgate, are not uncommon, e. g. Sir Philip le Despenser, 1401, ' unum librum de Evangel' ' (Gibbons, 99) ; lady Alice Bassett, 1412, ' unum librum vocatum Apocolips ' (*ib.* 110) ; lady Elizabeth Darcy, 1412,

the orthodox southern version almost contemporary with that of Wyclif exaggerates matters when he pleads in answer to the request of the 'brother' and 'sister' that a translation, if attempted, will involve him in peril—'We be so far fallen away from Christ's law that if I would answer to thy asking I must in case underfonge (receive) the death'[1]—at any rate if he were writing before the burning of Sawtre and the Constitutions of Oxford. But his statement is none the less an accurate representation of popular opinion, as we see from the refusal, through fear, of a translator of the Sunday Gospels to disclose his name. Licences were absolutely necessary, as we learn from the author of the *Mirror of our Lady*, writing in 1415:

'For as much as it is forbidden under pain of cursing that no man should have nor draw any text of holy scripture into English without licence of the bishop diocesan, and in diverse places of your service are such texts of holy scripture; therefore I asked and have licence of our bishop to draw such things into English to your ghostly comfort and profit.'[2]

Of this attitude of the medieval church we have abundant proof in the persecution of the lollards for possessing copies of the vernacular scriptures.[3] In the English version of the *De Officio Pastorali* the writer, probably Purvey, maintains that 'friars with their fautors say that it is heresy to write thus God's law in English and make it known to lewd men'.[4] In one of the sermons attributed to Wyclif, though possibly written by Purvey, there is a similar testimony:

'One great bishop of England, as men say, is evil paied (satisfied)

'unum librum voc. Bybill'—which looks as if English (*ib.* 118); John Honingham, rector of Waldegrave, 1417, 'my best Bible' (*ib.* 125); in 1409, Robert Stonham, vicar of Okham, a bible given him by Thomas Merks, the deposed bishop of Carlisle (*ib.* 139). Cf. also *ib.* 143. Since I wrote the above note Deanesly, *op. cit.* 391 f. has printed an analysis of 7,578 wills to show the relative frequency of English, French, and Latin bibles. The results, p. 398, are: 6 orthodox possessors of English bibles, 3 of which were before 1408; 11 lollard possessors, at least, in Foxe; 9 French bibles, 110 Vulgates.

[1] Paues, *op. cit.* 5.

[2] *Myroure of our Lady*, ed. J. H. Blunt, E.E.T.S. (1873), p. 71. Cf. *ib.*, p. 3, 'Of Psalms I have drawn but few, for ye may have them of Richard Hampole's drawing and out of English Bibles, if ye have licence thereto'.

[3] The following references are all taken from official documents: Foxe, iii. 539, 587–8, 595, 597, 599; iv. 134, 135, 178, 184, 186, 221, 223, 226, 229, 235, 237. Cf. also Knighton, *Chron.* ii. 315.

[4] *Eng. Works*, 429. The chapter has no counterpart in the Latin. Cf. *ib.* 159.

that God's law is written in English, to lewd men ; and he pursueth a priest for he writeth to men this English, and summoneth him and travaileth him, that it is hard to him to rowte (breathe) '.[1]

In another lollard tract, written after 1383, *Fifty Heresies and Errors of Friars*, the writer states :

' Thus they (the friars) pursue priests (i. e. " poor priests "), for they reprove their sins as God bids, both to burn them, and the Gospels of Christ written in English, to most learning of our nation.' [2]

To the same effect are Wyclif's statements :

' And from the same is their folly evident who desire to condemn the Scriptures as heretical because they are written in English. . . . Our pharisees and satraps state that a man ought not to preach nor collect the Gospel in the vulgar tongue, lest perchance suspicion be aroused from its translation into English.'

In one of his last works he tells us :

' to-day it is considered very shocking that the Gospel is translated into English and preached to the people. . . . Those who preach the Gospel in the form and language in which they are better understood are brought low ; for friars, bishops and their abettors are shocked that the Gospel should become known in English '.[3]

In another passage Purvey is even more explicit. Speaking of the efforts of bishops and friars to prevent the people from knowing ' God's law in their mother tongue ' he refers to their making for this purpose

' statutes stable as a stone and they get grants from knights to confirm them—well I wot that knights took gold in their case. . . . O Christ Thy law is hid. When wilt Thou send Thine angel to remove the stone and show Thy truth to Thy folk ? ' [4]

We are also told that ' the friars curse grammarians that English the gospels '.[5]

Hus also tells us a tale which he heard from Nicholas Faulfiss.

[1] *Sel. Eng. Works*, i. 209. To refer this to the experiences of Purvey (*supra*, p. 163) seems more natural than to ascribe to Wyclif. So also the reference to ' knights ' and ' their will to read in English the gospel of Christ's life ' (*ib.* i. 209) must be later than Wyclif.

[2] *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 393 ; cf. 405. For the writer, probably Purvey, see *supra*, i. 330.

[3] *Pol. Works*, i. 126, 168 ; *Op. Evang.* ii. 36, 115.

[4] *Sel. Eng. Works*, i. 129. I know of no incident in parliament in Wyclif's life to which it could refer. Not so in Purvey's. See *supra*, p. 193.

[5] *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 405.

When Faulfiss was in England in 1407 he dined with a cook whom a bishop reproved for 'reading the Scriptures in the English tongue contrary to orders'. The cook defended himself, to the bishop's disgust, by a quotation from the Bible. 'Do you know to whom you are speaking' growled the bishop, 'do you dare to answer me, with your quotations from Scripture!' The cook replied that 'as Christ heard without anger the Devil quoting Scripture, why will not you who are less than Christ, hear the Scripture from me'?[1] Of more value is the evidence of the author of *The Chastising of God's Children*, written for a nun on 'the matter of temptations', before the passing of the Constitutions of Oxford:

'Some now in these days use to say in English their Psalter and Matins of our Lady and the VII Psalms and the Litany. Many men reproveth to have the Psalter or Matins or the Gospel in English or the Bible, because they may not be translated into no vulgar word by the word as it standeth without great circumlocution after the feeling of the first writers which translated that into Latin by the teaching of the Holy Ghost. Nevertheless I will not reprove such translations, nor I reprove not to have them in English, nor to read in them where they may stir you to more devotion and to the love of God. But utterly to use them in English and leave the Latin I hold it not commendable and namely (especially) in them that be bound to say their Psalter or Matins of our Lady. For a man's confessor giveth them in penance to say his Psalter without any other words, and he goeth forth and say it in English and not in Latin as it was ordained. This man, I ween, doeth not his penance.'[2]

We are not dependent on Wyclif's statements for proofs of the undefined though real antagonism of the medieval church, especially of the friars, to vernacular bibles. In 1396 John Croft, a Herefordshire squire, was forced to swear that he would neither read nor own 'English books extracted from holy scripture according to the bare text, with evil intent, by certain persons commonly called lollards'.[3] In 1401 William Butler, a Franciscan regent at Oxford, afterwards the thirtieth provincial minister,[4] of whom Leland speaks as 'the flower of

[1] Palacký, *Doc.* 721, 729. For Faulfiss see *supra*, i. 18.

[2] From MS. in Trin. Coll. Camb. B. 14, 19 (James, i. 419), quoted in Paues, *op. cit.* xxviii.

[3] *Reg. Tref.* 148. For Croft see *Pat. Ric.* ii. 540, iii. 301, 308, 346, v. 22.

[4] *Mon. Franc.* i. 538, 561. Probably elected 3 May 1406, see Little, 254, for the circumstances, and for his life *D. N. B.*, which gives a summary of his

the university in his time', determined in the schools 'against the translation of the Scriptures into the vulgar tongue'.[1] According to a statement assigned to Purvey by Bale, Butler's determination was written in defence of an order condemning English bibles to be burnt.[2] But no such order had been issued at that date, though, no doubt, such irregularities may have occurred, and would not have been punished by either the civil or ecclesiastical authorities.[3] Butler's main contentions were (1) that the use of the vernacular would lead to errors in the copies, whereas Latin copies, being read in the universities, were easily corrected; (2) that in the celestial hierarchy the angels of lower degree must depend for their illumination upon the angels of higher degree. This argument in the language of Dionysius the Areopagite is stated elsewhere in Pauline terms,that if every one read vernaculars the foot would become the eye. (3) Butler further urged that the teaching of the Apostles was not by books but by the power of the Spirit. Butler's claims were set forth four years later with equal firmness though less ability by the Dominican Palmer.

The fact that Purvey's Bible was never completely printed until 1850 is significant of much.[4] In his effort to substitute the Scriptures for tradition Wyclif's fatal foe was not the hostility of the Church so much as the lack of the press. Nor was its effect at all considerable upon the later versions. In

Determination. Bale, i. 536–7 and Leland, *Comment*. 409 state that he was buried at Reading, to which he had retired for quiet, possibly after the result of a disturbed rule. The year of his death is not known; Pits gives 1410, but this is widely wrong.

[1] Bale, *Index Script*. 119, gives the incipit as 'Utrum sacre scripture canon pro vulgari' and gives Queen's, Oxford, as the place. The work is not in James, Bernard, or Coxe. Little, 254, pointed out that it existed at Merton (cf. Tanner, 114), and this MS. (68 ff., 202–4), the first page of which has been cut out, has been printed by Deanesly, 401–18. Bale, *Index Script*. 119; *Script. Cat*. i. 537, assigns also to Butler a work *de Indulgentiis* and gives Reading friary as the place. It is not in Leland, *Coll*. iv. 57.

[2] Bale, i. 537.

[3] Deanesly, 399, gives more credence to the statement than I would allow

[4] Purvey's New Testament was, however, printed by J. Lewis in 1731, H. Baber, 1810, and in 1841 by S. Bagster in his *Hexapla*; in each case attributed to Wyclif. The "Wyclif" translation of the New Testament was first published in 1848 by Lea Wilson. Of the Old Testament, Adam Clark had printed the Song of Solomon in his *Commentary*, 1810. An edition of the New Testament with glossary, &c. was printed by W. Skeat in 1879 and a similar edition of parts of the Old Testament in 1881. Wyclif's own version, i.e. the one in the *Sermons* (see *supra*, p. 176), has never been published separately.

spite of the dictum of Marsh that " Tyndale is merely a full-grown Wyclif ",[1] Tindale was not really, as in fact he himself protests, ' holpen with English of any that had interpreted the same or such like thing in the Scripture beforehand '. In later years the existence of " Wyclif's " version seems to have been forgotten, or at least its authorship to have become unknown. Ussher, as we have seen, officially assigned it to John of Trevisa. In the next century Wesley could speak of " William Tyndale's Bible " as " the first English translation of the whole Bible." [2] Wyclif's versions—the same might be said of much of his work—stand isolated and lonely, not so much links of continuity with the present as pillars of witness testifying to one of God's kings who against such odds builded this monument to the glory of God. For just as the country was not ripe to receive his teaching, the English language was not yet sufficiently mature to welcome as its own Wyclif's gift of a vernacular Bible.

[1] Marsh, *op. cit.* 627.

[2] *Works*, vii. 46 (Sermon xci). Wesley never mentions Wyclif at all; a fact significant, considering the width of his reading, of Wyclif's treatment by posterity. Wesley had evidently never read the biography by Lewis (1720), and may have been misled by Lewis printing the New Testament only.

VI

THE POOR PREACHERS

§ 1

THE translation of the Bible and the publication of English tracts formed part of a larger purpose. Before either had been commenced Wyclif had devised another means for spreading his teaching. In his early days he had allied himself with the friars. He now copied the methods of St. Francis. From Oxford, as from Assisi two centuries before, Wyclif, like Wesley four centuries later, sent out as early, probably, as the year 1377—certainly before the Peasants' Revolt, in which they were accused of playing a part [1]—his order of 'poor priests' or 'itinerant preachers',[2] who in the highways and byways and by the village greens and graveyards, sometimes even in the churches, should denounce abuses, proclaim the true doctrine of the Eucharist,[3] and teach the right thinking from which, as he deemed, right living would follow. It was for

[1] See Wright, *Pol. Poems*, i. 231–52; *Rot. Parl.* iii. 124–5; *Eulog. Cont.* iii. 351; Walsingham, i. 324. This early date of 1377 removes the objection that Buddensieg felt to the dating of *de Daemonio Meridiano* in 1377 (see *Pol. Works*, ii. 414 and *supra*, i. 278). For early references to the Poor Priests see *ib.* ii. 419, 424 (about 1377); *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 204–7, and also the many Latin sermons, evidently written at Oxford, which are stated to be for their benefit. The date of the Poor Priests would be more certain if we could date some of the tracts. For instance, *Lincolniensis* (*Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 230) protesting against the imprisonment of Poor Priests is probably later than Wyclif (*supra*, i. 330). Allusions to imprisonment 'for truth's sake' are too often assumed to refer to Poor Priests. This cannot be the case in the early *Lay Folks' Cat.* 75. Loserth traces a reference to Poor Priests in *Serm.* iv. 437 (see *ib.* iv. p. vii).

[2] Absence of uniform title would seem to show growth to meet contingencies and not the plan of an order: 'Poor priests' (*Trial*, 314; *Eng. Works*, 229, 245; *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 231, 272, 391); 'Poor clerks' (*Eng. Works*, 237); 'Poor priests that preach' (*ib.* 276); 'simple men' (*Sel. Eng. Works*, i. 205); 'idiotae et simplices' (*Serm.* ii. 202); 'trew men' (*ib.* iii. 393; *Eng. Works*, 105); 'trew priests' (*Sel. Eng. Works*, i. 176; ii. 173, 182; iii. 375); 'faithful priests' (*Off. Past.* 35); 'sacerdotes fideles et pauperes' (*Trial*, 379), and officially in general terms as 'itinerant preachers' (Wilkins, iii. 159).

[3] *Eulog. Cont.* iii. 355.

these 'poor priests' that Wyclif prepared his tracts and skeletons of sermons,[1] and undertook his paraphrase of the Bible, his postillisations of the Sacred Canticles,[2] possibly also the tractate on the *Great Sentence of the Curse*.[3]

The student should guard against a frequent error. It is not denied that after Wyclif's death and the banishment of lollardy from Oxford many of the lollard preachers were laymen. But in Wyclif's lifetime we believe that this was not so, though no doubt towards the close Wyclif was drifting in that direction. The silence of Wyclif's enemies is sufficient proof of the contrary; even Courtenay in his edict against them only calls them 'unauthorized preachers,'[4]—i.e. unbeneficed clerics without a bishop's licence, a licence be it remembered that was only valid for the bishop's own diocese.[5] Some, no doubt, like Wesley's Holy Club, were men of university culture, students, like the lollard Thorpe, attracted by Wyclif's enthusiasm; the majority, especially after Wyclif's expulsion from Oxford, were simple, unlettered clerks;—'an unlettered man', he said, 'with God's grace can do more for building up

[1] See *Sel. Eng. Works*, i. 3, 6, 9, 53. The MS. (74 Δ 4. 12) at Sidney Sussex, Camb. gives some of the lollard amplifications.

[2] In *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 5–81. Of these Arnold (*op. cit.* 4) thinks the first seven may be by Richard Rolle, the last five by Wyclif. There is nothing lollard in the first seven, but that is no reason why they should not be early expositions by Wyclif. The last five contain lollard views, and the references to Holywood's *de Sphaera* (iii. 64) and scientific explanations (68) are in Wyclif's style, as also such sentiments as 'love and good life be needful to right belief' (72). There is also some agreement in these with the "Wyclif" version, totally lacking in the seven.

[3] *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 267 f. Whether this is by Wyclif or, probably, by Purvey is immaterial. The *Great Sentence* and its exposition formed part of the Peckham–Thoresby minimum. See *Jacob's Well* (ed. A. Brandeis, E.E.T.S. 1900) 13 f.; and a lollard version was needful. The so-called *Epistola ad simplices sacerdotes* (*Op. Min.* 7; poorly in *Ziz.* p. xli, where it is called by Shirley a "circular") is neither a letter, nor specifically for Poor Priests (Loserth in *Op. Min.* p. v.) We may note that a special tract for these Priests was made up from *Serm.* ii, nos 27, 28, 31, 32, and 33, and called *de Sex Jugis*. It is printed in Lechler (Ger.), App. ii. 601 f.

[4] Wilkins, iii. 158. Cf. *Op. Min.* 77; *Ziz.* 275–6. Lay preaching was condemned by *Decret. Greg. IX*, l.v. t. vii, cc. 12, 14. Cf. Friedberg, *Corp. Jur. Can.* ii. 784–9. Wyclif himself says 'priests have leave of Christ, *when they be priests*, to preach truly the Gospel' (*Sel. Eng. Works*, i. 176).

[5] The student should remember that in theory in the medieval church all preaching was 'ratione prelationis', i. e. all save the 'bishop and curate' were in theory the bishop's auxiliaries. For specimens of bishop's licence see *Reg. Wykeham*, ii. 326. After 1409 they became very infrequent, only 14 for the great diocese of Exeter between 1420 and 1440 (*Reg. Lacy*).

the Church than many graduates'.[1] These in the absence of licence had been 'ordained' preachers to warn men of sin by 'Jesus Christ bishop of our souls'.[2] Many of these Poor Priests, possibly, had some small means of their own, for if ordained as presbyters they would have had to prove their 'patrimony', unless indeed as part of the movement Wyclif and his wealthier friends had given guarantee for their 'title'.[3] "To be poor without mendicancy, to combine the flexible unity, the swift obedience of an order, with free and constant mingling among the poor, such was the ideal of Wyclif's Simple Priests."[4] Special stress was laid by Wyclif upon their teaching the people the Lord's Prayer, the Commandments, and the Seven Deadly Sins in their mother tongue,[5] in this following the lead and, possibly, using the manual of archbishop Thoresby. Clad in russet robes of undressed wool reaching to their feet (a garb which Wyclif had assumed at Canterbury), without sandals,[6] purse, or scrip, a long staff in their hand, dependent for food and shelter on the goodwill of their neighbours, their only possession a few pages of Wyclif's Bible (especially the translation of the gospels and epistles for the day[7]), his tracts and sermons, moving constantly from place to place like the early Methodist preachers in their "circuits"—for Wyclif feared as Wesley also feared lest they should become 'possessioners', tied to one place like a dog,[8]—given not 'to frequenting

[1] *Dial.* 54. Cf. *Op. Min.* 332–3; *Blas.* 243. In *Off. Past.* 36, Wyclif says that they were described by 'quidam scholastici' as 'stolidi atque rudes'; cf. *ib.* 45, 'nobis rudibus'.

[2] *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 106. Notice the 'ratione prelationis' implied in Jesus as 'bishop'.

[3] For this matter, usually overlooked, see *infra*, App. O. iv.

[4] Shirley in *Ziz.* p. xl, who assumes without warrant that until suppression they were "under episcopal sanction".

[5] *Pol. Works*, i. 126; *Op. Evang.* ii. 36; *Op. Min.* 75; *Serm.* i. 197.

[6] Cf. Knighton, ii. 181. This description of Wyclif's Preachers (cf. *Sel. Eng. Works*, i. 177) has been extensively copied from Wood, *Univ.* i. 493, who quotes Woodford, *Responsiones contra Wyclif*, cf. 12. Wood is sceptical, inasmuch as Wyclif ridiculed the friar's dress. But this was after his quarrel; see also Walsingham, i. 324. Woodford's details, girdles 'adorned with silver', heavy furs, 'shirts of fine linen' were the exaggerations of malice, luxuries which Wyclif denounced. We may add that russet robes were of sufficient value to be left by will (Gibbons, 59, in 1384).

[7] Cf. *Eng. Hist. Rev.* x. 97, and *supra*, p. 176.

[8] *Eng. Works*, 252, where it is also pointed out that by this vagrancy they could escape persecution more easily. Cf. Wyclif's protest against settling in comfortable places (*Serm.* ii. 277).

taverns, hunting, or to chess',[1] but 'to the duties which befit the priesthood, studious acquaintance with God's law, plain preaching of the word of God, and devout thankfulness', Wyclif's 'poor priests', like the friars before them, soon became a power in the land. How great must have been the influence of 'these wolves in sheep's clothing', as Courtenay called them, is evident from the panic-stricken exaggeration of the chroniclers that 'they went over all England seducing nobles and great lords', and that in consequence in Leicester 'every second man you met was a lollard'.[2]

The institution of the Poor Preachers 'who proclaimed the Gospel without desire of gain' met from the first with the bitter opposition of the friars, and was one of the causes which led to the breach of the previous alliance.

'Preach openly to the people,' wrote Wyclif, 'that God telleth (counteth) more by works of mercy which be in a man's soul than by offerings or by dimes or other goods given to friars and thou shalt have enemies anon to bear heresy on thee.'[3]

He was writing from experience. The friars maintained that Wyclif's 'Simple Priests' were 'heretical idiots who know not the sense of Scripture, since the treasure of the Lord is hidden with the friars'.[4] In this the friars could also count on the support of the secular clergy who had neither the learning nor the wit to deal with the questions that the Poor Preachers raised. The bishops too tried to stamp them out by insistence on their licence. This Wyclif resisted as a device of the father of lies, for the apostles, especially St. Paul, sought no such authority from St. Peter.[5] Of the peril of 'imprisonment,

[1] *Op. Min.* 7. For a lament of Hus over his own chess-playing see Palacký *Doc.* 74, Cf. *Eng. Works*, 152.

[2] *Eulog. Cont.* iii. 351, 355; Knighton, ii. 191, cf. 185 'majorem partem'.

[3] *Sel. Eng. Works*, i. 398.

[4] *Pol. Works*, i. 371–2; cf. *Eng. Works*, 85. For other references to persecution by friars see *Serm.* i. 289; *Blas.* 40, 73; *Dial.* 10; *Sel. Eng. Works*, ii. 183; iii. 375, 391, 393; *Eng. Works*, 5, 9, 16, 23, 27 (not Wyclif's). By monks: *Eng. Works*, 119, 124, 130, 134, 135, 137 (not by Wyclif). For references to persecution of Poor Priests in the last two years of Wyclif's life see *Trial.* 258; *Serm.* iii. 131; *Pol. Works*, ii. 461 (Ap. 1383); i. 255 (July 1383) in which he blames the friars; i. 95, 227 (both written in June 1384, see *infra*, p. 306) in which he ascribes some protection to John of Gaunt. For the extension of persecution to the North of England on 8 Dec. 1384 see *Cal. Pat.* ii. 487.

[5] *Pol. Works*, ii. 405–6; *Op. Min.* 77; *Serm.* ii. 281–2; cf. *Eng. Works*, 70, 85, 105.

privations and censures' to which the Poor Priests were exposed, Wyclif speaks as early as 1377,[1] and the danger increased with the increase of Courtenay's vigilance, especially, as Wyclif tells us, in the dioceses of London and Lincoln.[2] With characteristic exaggeration Wyclif writes as if some had suffered death by burning or strangling.[3] The use by the bishops of the writ *significavit* especially stirred him to wrath. In an interesting tract, part of which he preached as a sermon in 1382, Wyclif protests against this law.[4] He maintains that the usage is 'neither founded on the law of God nor canon (*papali*) law'. By it 'the king and our realm are made the torturers of the poor'. Its intention is 'to drive out simple men from their livings and to entangle secular lords in a network of guilt'. Wyclif expressly put forward as a political principle[5] that every excommunicated person should have a right of appeal to the king and his council, before whom also the prelates should be made to justify their excommunications under penalty of a fine and to contribute to the costs. It is monstrous, he writes, that 'Antichrist should force kings to imprison Christ's servant without knowing the cause'. It is only cowardice that prevents secular lords 'from forbidding the imprisonment of the Lord's faithful, and from liberating from gaol those thrown in by the craft of the devil'. His final prayer is that 'God in His grace will raise up for the king from his ministers a leader who will show up the folly of this law and procedure'. We note that not even at the Reformation was Wyclif's prayer fulfilled, though both law and procedure were somewhat curtailed by Elizabeth's legislation in 1562–3.[6] In all this Wyclif was thinking of actual attacks upon his Poor Priests from men who thus 'incur a horrible excommunication from Christ'.[7]

[1] *Pol. Works*, ii. 419, 424. For later references by Wyclif to the opposition of bishops see *ib.* i. 126; *Sel. Eng. Works*, ii. 50; iii. 179; *Off. Past.* 36; also, by Purvey, *ib.* iii. 272, 273, 274, 324, 334; by Hereford, *ib.* iii. 144, 231; by other lollards, *Eng. Works*, 79, 85, 87. General references are also found in *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 109, 293, 294; *Eng. Works*, 109 f., 237, 252.

[2] *Trial.* 379.

[3] e. g. *Sel. Eng. Works*, i. 201, 205, 211; *Serm.* ii. 158; *Blas.* 73.

[4] See *Op. Min.* 92–7; *Serm.* iii. 206–12, and cf. his previous protest *Off. Reg.* 169, 175, 205. For other protests see *Eng. Works*, 36, 95.

[5] Wyclif writes 'Unde quidam sagax politicus fertur (not 'fecit' as *Op. Min.*) dixisse'. The reference is to Wyclif himself and his suggestion in *Eccl.* 156. Cf. a similar personal reference, *supra*, i. 233 f. and *Ziz.* 482.

[6] See Makower, 452.

[7] *Serm.* ii. 451–2; *Blas.* 110.

§ 2

Wyclif's Poor Priests were above all preachers; they studied, writes a hostile chronicler, 'the compilation of sermons'.[1] In Wyclif's eyes preaching was the most important duty of the clergy. Even in his Oxford days Wyclif had not neglected the pulpit. Four volumes of his Latin sermons have come down to us, some of which were delivered before the university in St. Mary's.[2] From the contents and form of many of the sermons, their frequent reference to questions of logic and metaphysics, their quotations from Canon Law, it is evident that the preacher had before him masters and students, as indeed was noted long ago on the margin of a Vienna manuscript. As usual with Wyclif the sermons are impersonal. There are but few references to current events, here and there a chance mention of Oxford, while one of the sermons was delivered at the conferment of a doctorate.[3] Of many of these sermons English adaptations or paraphrases were made either by Wyclif or, more probably, by one of his disciples working under his direction.[4]

Wyclif's Latin sermons belong to different periods, and so give us insight into the course of Wyclif's development. Many belong to the latest years of his life. A number were written after the Blackfriars synod of 1382 and are directed against their decrees, and some have Spenser's Crusade as their theme.[5] But one collection, usually called the *Sermones Quadraginta*,[6] consists of discourses delivered before 1378, three of which can be dated as delivered on the 28th August 1372, the 23rd November 1376, and the 6th December 1377.[7] This volume shows

[1] *Eulog. Cont.* iii. 355. [2] *Serm.* iv. 391 mentions this. Cf. iv. 262 f.

[3] *Serm.* iv. 511–15, see especially p. 515 with its blessing of the candidate.

[4] Cf. *Sermones* and corresponding sermons in *Sel. Eng. Works*.

[5] In *Serm.* vol. iii, for Blackfriars; vol. iv, sermons 13–16, 63 (Spenser).

[6] The four oldest extant catalogues of Wyclif's writings, found in four Vienna MSS., dating from the beginning of the fifteenth century, agree in giving this collection the title *XL Sermones compositi dum stetit in scholis*, in contrast with another collection which is entitled *Sermones XX. compositi in fine vitae suae*. (See *Pol. Works*, i. pp. lix f., lxxvi.)

[7] We are able to date some sermons from Wyclif pointing out that the Sunday in question, from whose gospel or epistle for the day he has taken his text, coincides with a saint's day. Thus in *Serm.* iv. 403–4, he tells us that the day is St. Augustine's (Aug. 28). This fell on a Sunday in 1372, the year

us Wyclif in the prime of his influence in the university. The sermons it contains, almost without exception, are orthodox. As a fifteenth-century scribe pointed out :

' the Wyclif of these sermons was quite another man than was to be found in the remaining works ; for except in a few passages his teaching perfectly corresponds in faith, rites, and method of speech with that of the church.' [1]

Here and there we see marks of the later Wyclif, as in his teaching that brotherly correction belongs not to the clergy but to the laity. But such passages may have been inserted in the later revision.[2] The *Quadraginta Sermones* are thus very different in character from the late *XXIV Sermones Mixti*.[3] In these, as in the first two and the last two sermons of the volume in which they are found,[4] the prevailing note is his war against the abuses of the Church. They reiterate once more all his familiar doctrines with special denunciation of the papal crusades—Peter when he was in his dungeon did not summon the Church to set him free—and of the friars with their ' noisy begging ', ' sons of Satan ' who instead of living by the work of their hands plunder the realm, and who should be swept away.[5] We are not surprised that these sermons had a great circulation in Bohemia, where they were freely copied by Hus—to whose authorship in fact they were assigned—and that they were burnt at Prague in 1410.[6]

Some of the Latin sermons were written as models for Wyclif's preachers, if we may judge from the notes appended pointing out how they may be expanded or that they ' must be adapted according to time and place.' [7] Probably also the

in which Wyclif took his doctorate (*supra*, p. 203). He further states that the sermon is preached ' apud scholastices '. Similarly *Serm.* iv. 217, St. Nicholas' Day (6 Dec.). This fell on a Sunday in 1377. Loserth's note that this sermon should be dated in 1383 is an error, for it is clearly an early sermon ; see the tale about St. Nicholas on p. 217. *Serm.* iv. 474, ' St. Clement's Day ', 23 Nov. fell on a Sunday in 1376 ; iv. no. 1 was evidently written soon after Richard's accession (p. 11).

[1] *Serm.* iv. 197 *n.* [2] *Ib.* p. vii. See *infra*, p. 208.

[3] Some of these are earlier, e. g. *Serm.* iv. 58 f. should be dated as 1378–9 for Wyclif still sides with Urban (p. 61).

[4] *Serm.* iv. 1–24, 492–505, which belong to the same period.

[5] *Ib.* 9, 13, 40, 52, 107, 118, 121. For denunciation of the papacy, *ib.* iv. 15, 127, 137–46, 195, 504.

[6] Loserth, *Wiclif and Hus*, 115 ; *Serm.* i. pp. xxiii f. ; Palacký, *Doc.* 380 f.

[7] So the Lambeth MS. written c. 1400. See *Serm.* iv. pp. viii–ix. If so

English translations were made for their benefit quite as much as for Wyclif's parishioners at Lutterworth. Ten of his sermons, originally in Latin but also translated, were composed at the instance ' of a devout layman '—would that Wyclif had given us his name![1] But all his Latin sermons, whether late or early in origin, were edited in their present form by Wyclif himself after he had left Oxford, when he determined

' to use the leisure I now enjoy from scholastic exercises in the end of my days for the special edification of the Church, by collecting together my plain sermons for the people.' [2]

In his insistence on preaching Wyclif was acting in the interests of the seculars. He was averse to their leaving this duty to the Franciscans and Dominicans. He was not satisfied with the minimum of pulpit ministration laid down by Peckham and Thoresby. Wyclif believed that more should be expected from the seculars than that they instruct the people in the Creed, the Commandments and the Pater Noster three or four times a year. He would have removed by adequate preparation the stricture passed by Langland, that the parish priests were ' dumb hounds ', who could better track hares in the field than case-endings in the Psalter.[3] In an early sermon he insisted that he who failed in his pastoral office was a thief. His ideal was a priest in every parish ' teaching both in deed and sermon the faith of Christ ', with all the strength of which he was capable.[4] Such priests should need no bishop's licence, for preaching was their chief duty, the most excellent form of mercy, of more value than ' to say matins and mass and even-song by Salisbury use '.[5] Wyclif also was at one with the theory, though not the practice, of the Church in laying stress upon preaching as one of the chief functions of the bishop, and not the looking after the state of churches, cemeteries, and rectories

this is a proof that many of the Poor Priests were men of culture, for the average priest did not understand more Latin than was necessary for his services.

[1] *Serm.* i. 89 f. Cf. *Sel. Eng. Works*, i. 92, 95, 106 &c. for the sermons.

[2] *Serm.* i. 1. Hence late ideas often intrude into an early sermon.

[3] *Piers Plow.* B x. 287. Gasquet's attempt to show that this was a slander (*Old Eng. Bible*, 187–8) seems to me to lack proof. Cf. Owst, *op. cit.* c. 1.

[4] *Serm.* ii. 279; iv. 359, 503. Cf. i. 377.

[5] *Ib.* ii. 115; iii. 74–5; iv. 271; *Pol. Works*, ii. 405, 607; *Op. Evang.* i. 42; *Off. Past.* 32; *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 202.

which could be better done by a 'lay seneschal', or the pronouncing excommunication 'after the art of the devil'.[1] 'Mute prelates', whom he compares to 'dumb idols' or 'waterless clouds', were 'the ruin of the Church', for 'evangelical preaching' alone could stop the growth of sin, and is 'more precious than the administration of any sacrament'. By preaching, Christ effected more than by all His miracles.[2] In his protest against dumb bishops Wyclif was not alone. He would have had the sympathy of Peckham and Gascoigne. In 1388 Thomas Wimbledon at St. Paul's Cross pictured such bishops at the day of Judgement suffering interrogation: 'Say whom hast thou converted from his cursed living by thy devout preaching?'[3] Nothing in fact is more astonishing than the freedom with which friars and obscure clerics, in sermons still extant in manuscript, rebuked the negligence in this matter of their prelates.

The student must beware of supposing that Wyclif's preaching in the vernacular was a novelty.[4] Of Chaucer's 'pore Persoun of a toun' we are told

That Christes gospel gladly wolde he preche.

It were absurd to suppose that he declaimed in a language which his flock did not understand. Only sermons intended for clerks were delivered in Latin, and many sermons written in Latin were delivered in the tongue of the people.[5] The open-air pulpit at St. Paul's Cross was a great instrument of popular

[1] *Serm.* i. 268; ii. 305; iv. 359, 403; *Ver. Script.* i. 187.

[2] *Ib.* 316; ii. 179, 239; *Pot. Pap.* 209; *Op. Evang.* ii. 375; *Off. Past.* 32–3.

[3] Foxe, iii. 296. No sermon was more copied and printed than this. The 1st ed. is by J. King (c. 1550); a 15th ed. in 1635. Thomas Wimbledon, chaplain of Sir John Sandes, was licensed to preach in 1385 (*Reg. Wykeham*, ii. 370). Mere chaplains did not often preach at St. Paul's Cross.

[4] A leading work on medieval preaching is *La Chaire française au moyen âge* (2nd ed. Paris, 1886) by the eminent scholar A. Lecoy de la Marche, who deals chiefly with the thirteenth century. He adds a very complete bibliographical appendix with list of MSS. and editions. For eminent secular preachers see *ib.* 41–105. The reader may also consult Manning, *The People's Faith in the time of Wyclif* (1917), c. 2. Since this chapter was written I have examined in MS. the admirable university thesis by Dr. G. R. Owst, *Medieval Preaching in England*, which will shortly be published. He deals so exhaustively with the subject that I have cut out much that I had written.

[5] de la Marche, 235, 249. Both Fitzralph and Waldby preached sermons 'in vulgari' and then translated them into Latin for publication.

appeal. The friars also had made vernacular preaching the secret of their success, and there were many secular priests that sought to follow their example It was not a novelty for which Wyclif pleaded—as Wesley pleaded for a novelty when he preached to the crowds in Moorfields or Kennington—but the wide extension among the secular clergy of something already recognized and practised by Fitzralph, Waldby, and Brunton among the leaders of Wyclif's day. That in this Wyclif voiced a popular demand is beyond dispute. We never find in the Middle Ages complaints that there was too much preaching, or that the people would not hear. Possibly this was because preaching by the average cleric was rare. Myrc, for instance, never mentions it as one of the duties of the holy ay.[1]

In his preaching, as in his theology and politics, Wyclif based everything on the Scriptures. To the objection that the Scriptures were difficult to understand Wyclif urged that this was only an additional reason for their study. The difficulty that ' few curates have the Bible and expositions of the Gospel ' [2] Wyclif tried to meet by his translation and glosses. Wyclif also showed his fidelity to the Bible by his general refusal to adopt " taking a text ". The use of " texts " was a new thing in the medieval Church. The older way was to ' postillize ' or expound a chapter. Gascoigne, who was in favour of the older method, claimed the authority of St. Augustine ' who preached 400 sermons to the clergy without any theme or taking of a text, et sic ego predicavi '.[3] In this also Wyclif, especially in his English sermons, was one with him. But Wyclif's evangelical instinct is seen in his insistence that the preacher needs something even deeper than the knowledge of the Bible. This is well brought out in a fine passage introductory to a disquisition on the methods of preaching :

' O marvellous power of the Divine Seed ! which overpowers strong warriors, softens hearts hard as stone, and renews in the divine image men brutalised by sin, and infinitely far from God. Plainly, so mighty a wonder could never be wrought by the word of a priest, if the heat of the Spirit of Life and the Eternal Word did not above all things else work with it.' [4]

[1] See Myrc, *Instructions*, 889 ; Owst, c. 1 ; Manning, 19.
[2] *Eng. Works*, 145.
[3] Gascoigne, 44
[4] *Serm.* iv. 265.

PREACHING AT ST. PAUL'S CROSS

From an engraving after the picture in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries of London

In Wyclif's judgement lack of preaching based upon the Word alone, was the cause of the spiritual deadness of the age; it was as if one were to prepare a meal without bread. God's Word, especially the Gospels, is the seed which brings regeneration and spiritual life. The Church of Christ grew mighty when the Gospel was preached by the apostles, whereas now the Church is decreasing for the want of this spiritual seed, for men preach not to sow Christ's word but to show their cleverness. If the prophets prefaced their prophecies with 'Thus saith the Lord', and if the apostles proclaimed the word of the Lord, so must we too preach God's Word, and proclaim the Gospel. There is one point in particular to which Wyclif draws attention—Christian men who preach the Gospel must give the first place to Gospel history, for in that history is grounded the faith of the Church.[1]

Wyclif's judgement on the preaching of his times is interesting. But when he protests that 'many men preach themselves and leave to preach Christ' he points to a fault common in all ages. Nor are preachers who select 'fat places' where they can make most profit altogether unknown.[2] According to Wyclif, even when the Word was preached fearlessly there were often found two faults which prevented effectiveness. The one was the minuteness of the logical distinctions and divisions under which the truth was buried. Preaching, even prayer also, was looked upon as a syllogistic exercise in which the end was forgotten in the means. 'Oh! if the Apostle', he exclaims, 'had heard such hair-splitting how he must have despised it'.[3] The second fault was the excessive use of rhetoric and poetic ornament, of swelling words and 'heroic declamation', under the plea that theology demanded the noblest literary forms. Such a method in Wyclif's judgement savoured of vainglory and a desire to take precedence of others. He pleads:

'Not so, brothers beloved. Let us rather follow the example of our Lord Jesus Christ, who was humble enough to confess: My doctrine is not Mine, but the Father's who sent Me. He who speaketh of himself seeketh his own glory.'

[1] *Serm.* ii. 159; iv. 265, 343; *Sel. Eng. Works*, i. 332.
[2] *Sel. Eng. Works*, ii. 19; *Serm.* ii. 277.
[3] *Ib.* iv. 28.

Wyclif would have nothing to do with those who claimed that wisdom only becomes perfect when adorned with eloquence:

'This ornamental style is little in keeping with God's Word. The latter is rather corrupted by it, and its power paralysed for the conversion and regeneration of souls. God's Word, according to Augustine, has a peculiar and incomparable eloquence of its own, in its very simplicity and modesty of form.'

He quotes with approval the sentence of Grosseteste that heroic declamation was like a nurse presenting a dry breast to a bairn.[1]

To the question How ought the Word to be preached? Wyclif replies that 'the truth which edifies ought to be uttered aptly' and adapted to the comprehension of the hearer.[2] The end of every sermon should be devotion and the saving of the soul. But means are better adapted to the end the shorter the way by which they attain. In sowing the seed this is best done by

'a humble and homely proclamation of the Gospel: for a flowery, captivating style of address is of little value compared to right substance. Christ promised to his disciples that it should be given to them *what* they ought to say. The *how* would follow.'

Abstruse questions, by-paths of exegesis, above all 'doubts of schools', should be put aside, at any rate in sermons for the people. One thing however must never be wanting, genuine devout feeling, for

'if the soul is not in tune with the words how can the words have power? . . . In every proclamation of the gospel the true preacher must address himself to the heart, and by illuminating the mind of his hearer, incline him to obedience.'

From all this it follows that the sermon must be in the mother-tongue.[3]

The student who turns from these glowing precepts to Wyclif's actual sermons will be disappointed, even if he bears in mind that there is nothing which so changes from age to age as the standard of effective pulpit oratory. In place of the plain,

[1] See the interesting *Serm.* iv. 262–75, a sort of tractate on preaching, delivered, I think, to fellow-clergy (see the last clause) possibly Poor Priests.
[2] *Pol. Works*, i. 310; *Serm.* i. 35, 128, 197; iv. 268; *Ver. Script.* ii. 241.
[3] *Serm.* ii. 230; iv. 115, 257, 270; *Ver. Script.* ii. 243.

evangelical style he will find in the Latin sermons hard scholastic formulae, definitions and argumentation, some justification for which will be found in the Oxford audience before which many were preached. In the English sermons the modern reader may be repelled by the method of postillization. He should consider it from the standpoint of a teacher trying to instil into a rude congregation knowledge of the Bible. For above all else Wyclif was a teacher both by training and from his sense of the need of the age. In this, beyond doubt, he was successful. That he so often turned the pulpit into a platform from which he lashed bishops, monks, and friars was deemed by Wyclif to be part of his teaching. His sermons lack also the note of evangelical appeal. Only here and there—in a Latin sermon for Good Friday which has come down to us [1] and in others all too few—does Wyclif escape from controversy into that more spiritual atmosphere where dwell the saints of all ages. As a good example we select the following in English :

' Lift up, wretches, the eyes of your souls and behold Him that no spot of sin was in, what pain He suffered for sin of man. He swat water and blood to wash thee of sin ; He was bound and beaten with scourges, the blood running adown by his sides, that thou shouldest keep thy body clean in His service ; He was crowned with sharp thorns that thou shouldest think on Him and flee all cursed malice ; He was nailed to the cross with sharp nails through hands and feet and stung to the heart with a sharp spear that all thy five wits should be ruled after Him, having mind on the five precious wounds that He suffered for man.' [2]

But Wyclif rarely becomes so full of passion.

§ 3

If we would understand Wyclif's position as a preacher and trainer of preachers we should remember that Wyclif's insistence on serious exposition of the Bible was a departure from the current practice of the friars and other popular preachers. Wyclif's sermons, in fact, are as revolutionary as his theology. They are the sermons of the Reformation age rather than of

[1] *Serm.* iv. 338.

[2] *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 107. The English spelling has been modernized. See also *ib.* iii. 97 and *Serm.* iv. 338.

medieval times. In their form—leaving out their content altogether—they savour more of Geneva or Scotland; they have all the severity of the Puritan, and were part of Wyclif's protest against the corruptions of the day. This may easily be overlooked by the student unfamiliar with the methods of the medieval pulpit, who, in consequence, will fail to appraise Wyclif's isolation in this matter from the drift of his age. For in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries it was the fashion to preach from the legends and tales of the saints, or to base the discourse on facts of natural history or even upon fables. Preachers, it is true, could allege the example of St. Francis. One of the charms of this saint lay in the naturalness with which he used the incidents of daily life as texts for his sermons, in this following the Master. St. Dominic, also, we are told in his life by Brother Jordan, 'made great use of anecdotes (*exempla*) whereby the souls of his hearers might be swayed to the love of Christ or to contempt of the world'.[1]

The method which the simplicity of St. Francis could use as an evangelical appeal became too often after the decline of medieval preaching[2] a vulgar attempt to secure popularity. The Church set itself to compete with actor and acrobat for the ear of the groundlings. We hear of preachers, especially friars, who garnished their sermons not only with legends of the saints but with insipid stories, 'tragedies, comedies, fables', coarse buffooneries, unwholesome illustrations, tags of poetry, interpretation of dreams, glossing the Gospel as they pleased 'for profit of their wombs'.[3] The medieval anecdote was generally interesting but sometimes coarse,[4] and the 'moral' was not allowed to dominate too much. No tale was deemed too preposterous if only it would hold the people's attention. The multitude was amused, the collection was good, the sale of indulgencies satisfactory, and the 'penny-preacher'[5] could go

[1] Quétif, i. 23, in *Vita edita a Jordano*.
[2] On this decline see de la Marche, 14, and cf. Dante, *Paradiso*, xxix. 103–20.
[3] *Piers Plow. Prol.* 60.
[4] For pulpit coarseness see *Jacob's Well*, 185, 263.
[5] A favourite lollard epithet (*Eulog. Cont.* iii. 355). But it can be traced to Berthold of Regensburg († Dec. 1272). See his sermons, ed. F. Pfeiffer, *Berthold v. Regensburg* (2 vols. 1862), i. 393, of which selections are in Coulton, *Med. Garner*.

on his way rejoicing, for there were friars of whom it was said that they would preach more for a bushel of wheat than to bring a soul from hell '.[1]

The illustrative matter of popular medieval preaching was four-fold: legends, especially the legends of the saints; anecdotes (*exempla*); fables; and illustrations taken from natural history or from the properties of things.[2] All these were developed by the friars, and in Wyclif's day had a large manuscript literature of their own. In England a great stimulus had been given to the use of fables in preaching by the verse collections of Walter de Mapes, chaplain of Henry II and archbishop of Palermo.[3] The popularity of this work, brought out in 1175, was extraordinary. Manuals for preachers abounded,[4] especially manuals to help in catching the people's ear. One of the most popular was called *Dormi Secure*, 'Sleep Soundly'—the reference is to the anxious preacher, not to the congregation. This was compiled either by Richard Maidstone,[5] the confessor of John of Gaunt, or, more probably, by John of Werden (†1437), a Franciscan of Cologne. Twenty-five editions were printed before 1500.[6] *Dormi Secure* was really an outline book of sermons collected from various sources, embellished with materials from books on natural history. One of the most popular of the books of *exempla* was published about 1275 by an anonymous Warwickshire Franciscan[7] whose long residence in Ireland as lecturer in the friary at Cork had taught him to discern a good story from a bad. Some preachers were noted for their anecdotes; we may instance the celebrated Jacques de

[1] Wright, *Pol. Songs*, 331; Wyclif, *Op. Min.* 331–2. On the fly-leaf of the manuscript of the *Pore Caitif* in St. John's College, Cambridge (James, *op. cit.* 230) is a poem of the fifteenth century against the friars:

Thou that sellest the word of God
Be thou barefoot, be thou shod
Come never here.

For Wyclif on the sale of sermons see *Pol. Works*, i. 222; *Blas.* 235.

[2] The classification of de la Marche, 302.

[3] On Walter's fables see L. Hervieux, *Les Fabulistes Latins* (eds. 1884, 1893), i. 472–684.

[4] For thirteenth-century manuals see de la Marche, 332.

[5] See *supra*, pp. 138, 175.

[6] Hain, ii. 15955–15979; Coppinger, ii. 290, who attributes them to John of Werden. Sometimes attributed to Matthew Heer (Crane, p. lxiv *n.*).

[7] Published by Little, *Liber Exemplorum ad usum Praedicantium* (1908) with valuable notes.

Vitry (†1240), whose *Sermones Vulgares*,[1] preached between 1210 and 1228, have recently been brought to notice.[2] They long served, as the numerous manuscripts show, to instruct and delight. Another collection, chiefly of fables with a few *exempla* thrown in, known as the *Parabolae*, was the work of an Englishman, Odo of Cheriton,[3] a village near Folkestone. Odo, it is said, became in his old age a Cistercian. His chief work, whose influence was considerable, was written at the commencement of the thirteenth century,[4] and is noteworthy for its stories of Reynard the Fox. An abridged edition by John of Sheppey, bishop of Rochester, was brought out in Wyclif's day.[5] About 1320 another English Franciscan, Nicholas Bozon, who preached in 'the French of Stratford-atte-Bow' penned his *Contes moralisés*.[6] This work is by no means confined to anecdotes and fables, but includes short sermons in verse on moral subjects. Alphabetical collections of tales, arranged to suit the preacher, also abound, for the most part anonymous, though the author of one of the most famous is known, Étienne de Besançon,[7] who in 1291 became provincial of the French Dominicans.

[1] For a list and their texts see Crane, pp. xli–vi. Selections have been printed by Pitra, *Analecta Novissima Spicilegii Solesmensis* (1888), ii. 344–61. A list of the *exempla* in Vitry is in *ib.* 443 f.

[2] *Exempla or Illustrative Stories from the Sermones Vulgares of Jacques de Vitry*, ed. T. F. Crane (London, 1890), with introduction and notes and short life of de Vitry. Some of the *Exempla* were printed by T. Wright in his *Latin Stories* (Percy Soc. v. 8), but without knowing the source. For manuscripts see de la Marche, 514, and for general account *ib.* 53 f.

[3] For Odo see *D. N. B.* or Hervieux, *op. cit.*, *infra*, iv. 1–31. In Tanner, pref. p. xxxv, he appears as 'Odo Tyrentona', but rightly on p. 560. He died before Oct. 1247, see *Inquis.* i. 22 (N. S.), or *Arch. Cant.* ii. 296. His possession of property, worth £16 a year, renders improbable the statement of Bale, i. 221, that he was a Cistercian (in Bale, *Index Script.* 314, a 'Premonstratensian'). But see Hervieux, *op. cit.* iv. 27. For manuscript of his *Homilies* see James, *MSS. Trin.* i. 486.

[4] The first complete edition was published by Hervieux, ii. 587–713. See also *ib.* iv. 173–255. For a printed ed. of the Corpus Coll. MS. (James, *op. cit.* ii. 354), see also Hervieux, iv. 265–343. Odo was extensively translated. There was a French version made in the thirteenth century (*D. N. B.*) For the numerous MSS. in the libraries of England (especially Brit. Mus.), France, Germany, see Hervieux, i. 667 f.

[5] See Hervieux, iv. 161 f. The manuscript, bought by William Rede from Sheppey's executors and presented to Merton Tanner, 666), has been published by Hervieux, iv. 417–50.

[6] ed. P. Meyer and L. Toulmin-Smith, with introduction (Paris, 1889). For an account of Bozon see *Eng. Hist. Rev.* vii. 30–6. His Passion Sermon was printed by T. Wright, without note of authorship, in Langtoft's *Chronicle* (R. S.) App. 2.

[7] Quétif, i. 429; de la Marche, 502.

Another alphabetical collection with 572 stories under 91 headings was made by an Englishman who added to the tales from Caesar of Heisterbach and from Jacques de Vitry anecdotes of local character, rich in allusions to English medieval superstitions.[1] A famous work of this sort was the *Scala Celi* or *Ladder of Heaven* of friar John Gobii of Alais in France, written in the middle of the fourteenth century.[2] With the invention of printing most of these collections became un known, giving place to a few compilations of enormous popularity such as the *Promptuarium* of John Herolt.[3]

The use of fables by preachers developed a kind of book called Bestiaries[4] in which the prominent part is taken by beasts, birds, and fishes, ending with the inevitable moral. In some Bestiaries no attention whatever is paid to the nature of the animals brought on the scene, and they utter the most incongruous lessons. In others there is a groping after natural history, in which use was made of a curious second-century work of Alexandrian origin called the *Physiologus*, or rather, for the *Physiologus* was written in Greek, of the quotations therefrom in the Fathers.[5] Of the books of moralized natural history the earliest is the *Bonum universale de apibus* of the Belgian Dominican, Thomas of Cambray,[6] written about 1250. Each chapter gives some detail, true or imaginary, on the history of the bee applied to the duty of clergy or laity. In a similar book called *Formicarius*, written early in the fifteenth century by John Nyder of Swabia, the ant takes the place of the bee.[7]

[1] Crane, p. lxxii *n*.

[2] *Ib.*, pp. lxxxvi–lxxxix.

[3] 34 eds. printed before 1500. See Hain, ii. 8473 f.; Coppinger, i. 293 f.; Reichling, see index, adds four others. Many eds. in Brit. Mus., some called *Sermones Discipuli*.

[4] For a Bestiary in detail see James, *MSS. Corp.* i. 43. See also James, *MSS. Caius*, 113; *MSS. Trin.* iii. 101.

[5] For the *Physiologus* see Taylor, i. 76–7, who refers for fuller details to Lauchert, *Ges. des Physiologus* (Strassburg, 1889).

[6] Crane, pp. xc–xci; Quétif, i. 250; Tanner, 326 *n*. For the rare editions before 1500 see Coppinger, (2), ii. 125. The earliest is Cologne, 1473 or 1472 (Panzer, iv. 101). Useful editions are those by George Colvener, Douai, 1597, 1605, 1627, with biography.

[7] Crane, p. xci; also K. Schieler, *Magister Johannes Nider* (Mainz, 1885). For his *Formicarius* see *op. cit.*, 372 f. For his *Consolatorium timorate conscientie* see James, *MSS. John*, 211. The biography of Nyder in Quétif, i 792, is taken from Nyder's own account in his *Formicarius*. Nyder died at Nuremberg, 13 Aug. 1438 (Schieler, 361), and his *Formicarius* was written at the time of the council of Basle (*op. cit.* 379), and not as Crane states about 1385.

From bestiaries we pass by an easy transition to " properties ", based upon the idea that ' the properties of things ' will enable us to understand the enigmas of scripture. " Properties " as a pulpit aid thus combine primitive physics with a primitive type of Butler's *Analogy* or Drummond's *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*. Of books of " properties " the most important was the work of an English Franciscan, Bartholomew ' Anglicus ', often erroneously called Bartholomew Glanvill,[1] whose *de Proprietatibus Rerum*, composed before 1260, is a vast collection in nineteen books of the natural history and science of the day. In compiling his work, Bartholomew professes to have read over one hundred different authors. Bartholomew's work, the encyclopædia of the Middle Ages, was written in Latin, but was soon translated into several languages, the English version of John Trevisa being finished on the 6th February 1388.[2]

In Wyclif's day these collections of tales had passed into systematic treatises for the use of preachers, containing a large number of *exempla*.[3] The earliest was the *Liber de Septem Donis Spiritus Sancti* of the Dominican Étienne de Bourbon in the thirteenth century, a popular work written by an inquisitor who had taken part in the Albigensian crusade.[4] Two other works of the same class were written by men whom Wyclif would know, Robert Holcot and John Bromyard. Holcot's *Wisdom of Solomon*[5] is a vast collection of *exempla* and citations all embedded in elaborate metaphors.[6] Many of the anecdotes it contains still continue to do duty. Bromyard's *Summa Predicantium*, written after Wyclif's death, is the most important of all medieval " preacher's helps ". One hundred and eighty nine topics are treated, illustrated by *exempla* culled from every imaginable source, given in brief versions to be

[1] *D. N. B.* The accounts in Leland, Bale, Tanner need care.

[2] In *D. N. B.* following Bale, *Index Script.* 260, also Babington in Higden, i. p. lv, given as 1398. But see Tanner, 720. Printed by de Worde in 1495 (? 1491) ; also eds. in 1535, 1582. Possibly Shakespeare was acquainted with it (Douce). For eds. of original before 1500 (earliest, Basel, 1470), see Hain, 2498 f. ; Reichling, iv. 133.

[3] *Jacob's Well* may be put in this class.

[4] de la Marche, 502, and for his life, *ib.* 113 f.

[5] Hain, ii. 8755–62 ; Coppinger, (1), 261. There are in the Brit. Mus. the eds. of 1483 (Spires), 1489 (2 eds.), 1494 (with autograph of Cranmer), and some later eds.

[6] Crane, xcviii–xcix.

expanded as the preacher found fit.[1] In addition Wyclif may have known the serious though popular compendium, *Margarita Doctorum*, of the Oxford Franciscan John Wallensis.[2]

We have said nothing of the use by preachers of the legends of the saints. These tales, generally unredeemed by either poetry or inner truth, were intended to exalt the saint and obtain on his " day " a good collection, not so much by the record of holiness as by the story of impossible marvels.[3] Myrc's *Festial*, one of the most valuable English books of the Middle Ages in the insight it gives into the type of preaching which drew out the devotion of the people, is full of these legends.[4]

We have dwelt at some length upon the methods of the medieval preachers, and the wide popularity of their works as evinced both by manuscript and early printed editions. Only thereby can we rightly appreciate Wyclif's place as a preacher. For with all these means of securing interest, Wyclif, puritan in this as in all else, will have nothing to do ; they seemed to him ' lying and ludicrous ', a detraction from the dignity and effectiveness of the message.[5] He quotes Odo of Cheriton, it is true, but not for the sake of his *exempla*.[6] Nor does Wyclif give us in his sermons any sidelight on the social conditions of the age. Unlike the preachers of his times, from whose sermons we could reconstruct their environment,[7] he rarely illustrates from current manners.[8] In all this we notice once more the aloofness of his character. Preachers who effectively use anecdotes are usually men with marked sympathies or keen powers of observation. But Wyclif in preaching could not

[1] Printed at Nuremberg and Basel in 1485 (Hain, i. 3993–4), also 1518 at Nuremberg and Paris. Probably not finished until after Valentine's day 1409, i. e. 1410. See note at the end of his *Distinctiones Theologicae* in Bodleian.

[2] Little, 145. Four printed eds. before 1500.

[3] e. g. *Festial*, 240 f.

[4] *Ib.* (E.E.T.S. 1905), 19, 38, 43, 60, 203, &c. One of the best tales is on p. 26. There is great frankness in dealing with ' lechery ' &c.

[5] For Wyclif's protest, generally coupled with friars, see *Pol. Works*, i. 97, 310–11, 372 ; *Sel. Eng. Works*, i. 282, 332 ; ii. 166, 173, 191, 301 ; iii. 123 (Hereford's), 180, 299 ; *Eng. Works*, 16, 26, 50, 59, 124, 153, 225, 438, 443, 445 ; *Serm.* ii. 57–9, 448 ; iv. 265 f. ; *Op. Evang.* i. 349 ; *Op. Min.* 331, 432 (a protest against laughter) ; *Trial.* 365. Cf. *Plowman's Crede*, l. 59.

[6] *Supra*, pp. 99, 103 *n.*

[7] de la Marche, 341–9. Cf. list of medieval games in *Jacob's Well*, 105.

[8] *Serm.* iv. 229, as an exception refers to a London custom of hanging a ' ponderous whetstone round the neck of scandal-mongers '. Wyclif says it was disused.

descend from his professional chair. Even his illustrations are from the study of optics. He will not allow the use of poetry To those who appealed to the poetical form of several books of the Old Testament, and argued that a preacher might be guided by this precedent, especially as poetry has a charm of its own and helps the memory, Wyclif replied that ' It is one thing to sing a spiritual song, and another to speak a word of warning '. The use of rhythm, by distracting attention from the inner meaning, seemed to him ' the leaving Christ's Gospel ', ' the docking of God's word and tattering it '.[1] He is specially indignant with the friars whom he accused of ' preaching japes to beg better ', and whose constant use of anecdotes, fables, properties, seemed to him the adulteration of the word of God.

For this rejection of all popular methods of appeal Wyclif and his Poor Preachers paid the penalty by failing to win over the masses of the people. The sermons of his contemporaries, as our brief review has shown, passed through edition after edition. Wyclif's sermons, on the contrary, even when the Reformation had predisposed men to his teaching, slumbered unheeded in a few manuscripts, or were regarded as the sermons of Hus. Wyclif, in fact, in this as in other matters trusted too much to the pure intellect ; he did not sufficiently realize the value of the emotions and imagination, especially in an age when the lives of the poor were deadly monotonous. The tales of the friars often carried the congregations out of themselves and introduced them to a larger if not always more spiritual world. Wyclif appealed only to the higher light and life. Where these were lacking Wyclif failed to touch his hearers, for he was not consumed with the passion for " saving souls ". His main concern was right thinking, from which he deemed right living would inevitably flow. The astonishing thing is not that his influence was small but that it was so great that a genuine religious flame of lollardy, lighted at his torch, lasted here and there among the lower classes in the towns and villages of eastern and southern England right down to the Reformation.

[1] *Serm.* iv. 269 ; *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 180. For optical illustrations, *ib.* i. 268 ; *Serm.* ii. 386 ; iv. 210, and cf. *supra*, i. 100.

VII

THE PEASANTS' REVOLT

§ 1

Wyclif and his Poor Priests were busy proclaiming his theories and doctrines when there broke out in June 1381 the insurrection of the peasants. The story of the Rising,[1] the egoism of the various leaders and the consequent lack of co-operation, the savage fury disguised under legal form with which the conquerors pursued their victims—" without mercy on the part of the victors, without hope for the vanquished " [2]—and the general futility of the whole struggle are twice-told tales that must be read elsewhere. But some study of the causes of the Rising, however brief, is essential, for only thus shall we realize the general discontent to which lollardy made a strong appeal, and the emphasis that Wyclif's followers laid upon social betterment. The study will also enable us to understand the effect of the Rising upon Wyclif's fortunes.

The importance of the revolt cannot be measured by its duration. Only a month separated the small riot at Brentwood and among the Thames fishermen near Barking with which the Rising started [3] from the final skirmish in East Anglia. But between the 30th May and 28th June 1381 half England had been aflame. We have records of disturbances in places as far apart as York, Beverley, Scarborough, the Wirral, and Salisbury, Bridgewater, East Anglia, Kent, Sussex, Herefordshire, Gloucestershire.[4] The causes of this ' hurling time ' were hidden from the chroniclers who saw in it merely the result of an unpopular tax. But the poll-tax, though needlessly oppressive in its incidence, was the occasion, not the cause of

[1] See Appendix S for sources.

[2] Réville 20 against Petit-Dutaillis 302. For the hundreds of exceptions to the general amnesty of 13 Dec. 1381 (Rymer iv. 136), see *Rot. Parl.* iii. 111–13, 139*b*.

[3] *Eng. Hist. Rev.* xiii. 509–10 (*Anon. Chron.*).

[4] See Réville, 233, 253–69, 271–4, 282–8; *Pat. Ric.* ii. 28, 66, 73–5, 77, 136–7, 143, 209, 270, 409; *Arch. Cant.* iii. 65–96; Powell, *op. cit.* 13 f.

revolt. For months previous there had been symptoms of anarchy, armed 'routes' on the highways, houses broken into and ladies carried off to ransom.[1] But these were common disorders. Nor was the disturbance confined to the summer of 1381. On Monday the 30th September 1381 renewed trouble arose at Boughton in Kent. The origin was a rumour spread by 'pilgrims from northern parts who had come to Canterbury', that John of Gaunt had freed his bondmen. In consequence 'they conspired together to make him King' and delegates were dispatched to Sussex and Essex to rekindle the conflagration.[2] In the winter of 1382 there were risings in many parts of England, including Devon and Cornwall, and special justices were empowered to put down all meetings that were 'suspicious or in excessive number'. At Lewes 'insurgents' broke into the castle, 'consumed ten casks of wine, value £100', and destroyed the 'rolls, rentals and other muniments' of Richard, earl of Arundel. Trouble also arose at Salisbury, where there was a general insurrection against the justices of the peace, pardon for which was granted in July 1391. In 1392 there was a repetition of the trouble in south Yorkshire. The cause was in reality the same as in 1381, "an ideal of independent manhood which could not tamely endure slavery and wrong". Serious riots also broke out in Oxfordshire and Berkshire (Palm Sunday 1398), as well as at Wellington in Somerset, among the tenants of the bishop of Bath and Wells.[3]

The older historians attributed the Rising to the poll-tax. There is no reason to impute unjust intention to the authors of this tax; their sin lay in the common ignorance of economic facts. We have an illustration of this ignorance in the proposals for taxation in 1371. Parliament, under the lead of the new lay ministry, blithely voted £50,000 to be raised by a levy of 22*s.* 3*d.* per parish, the wealthier parishes to assist the smaller.[4] As Parliament was assured that there were 40,000 parishes in England [5] the raising of the sum seemed simple. But when the

[1] *Rot. Parl.* iii. 75, 81, 83, and cf. Réville, 47 *n.*; *Pat. Ric.* ii. 284.
[2] *Arch. Cant.* iv. 67–86; *Pat. Ric.* ii. 79–80, 237, 265.
[3] Powell, *Lollards*, 19–23; *Pat. Ric.* ii. 136, 244, 259; iv. 462; Réville, 285.
[4] *Rot. Parl.* ii. 304. See *supra*, i. 212.
[5] For similar exaggeration at Constance (52,000 parishes and 110 dioceses) see Hardt, iv. 53–103, and cf. Worcester, *Itin.* 132; Arnold, *Chron.* 139; James, *MSS. Caius*, i. 341.

commissioners set to work they discovered that instead of 40,000 parishes in England there were but 8,600.[1] As the summoning of Parliament to meet again would have been 'burdensome', a council was held at Winchester on the 8th June, to which half the representatives of the late Parliament were recalled, to set matters straight. There they met a few bishops and lords.[2] As a result the levy per parish was altered from 22*s.* 3*d.* to 116*s.* each, and on the 17th June the deputies went home with thirteen days' pay in their pockets, leaving a disgruntled nation to bear the effects of their miscalculation.

Similar economic ignorance was shown in the poll-tax of 1381. On the 5th November 1380 Parliament met at Northampton in the new dormitory of the priory of St. Andrew's.[3] Wyclif, who was keenly interested in all that concerned the taxation of the Church, may have ridden over either from Oxford or Lutterworth. The main subject was finance. The Commons agreed to raise £100,000 to meet the deficit, if the clergy who owned, they said, one-third of the land would pay one-third of the total. The clergy replied "that they had never made their grant in Parliament, but if the laity would charge themselves they would do their duty. They were probably anxious to avoid giving the party at court which listened to Wyclif any opportunity of attacking them".[4] And so they waived their class privileges in prospect of coming trouble. In 1379 the poll-tax had been graduated; ten marks for a duke, six marks for an earl or the mayor of London, two pounds for barons, provincial mayors, aldermen of London, down to fourpence a head on all adults over fourteen years of age.[5] As the yield in 1380 had only been £22,000, of which London's contribution had been £629 18*s.* 8*d.*,[6] and as the laity

[1] Stow, *Ann.* 268–9, gives the number in each county and their assessment. To the total add 10 in Chester and 87 in Cheshire not counted or assessed. The total assessment was £50,180 8*s.* 0*d.*

[2] *Rot. Parl.* ii. 304; *Close Ed.* xiii. 297–9, 316; *Dig. Peer.* iv. 650–2; *Pat. Ed.* xv. 119–20; *Reg. Brant.* i. 181.

[3] Walsingham, i. 449; *Chron. Ang.* 280–1; *Rot. Parl.* iii. 88 f. Parliament rose on 6 Dec. Owing to the decay of the castle Richard was lodged at Moulton (Markham, i. p. xxviii). See also R. M. Sergeantson, *The Priory of St. Andrew* (1905).

[4] Stubbs, ii. 470; Wake, 312; *Rot. Parl.* iii. 90.

[5] *Ib.* 57, on 27 May 1379.

[6] *Ib.* iii. 72–3; *Letter Book H*, 129–31, with which cf. *ib. G*, 284–5.

had now undertaken to raise £66,000, the tax was trebled, an average per parish of one shilling a head on all adults over fifteen years of age. The intention of Parliament was that the tax should be graduated, each parish to do its own assessment, ranging from sixty groats for a knight and his wife down to one groat. In some parishes, no doubt, this would work fairly. In small towns, Lutterworth for instance, there were substantial tradesmen, the Feildings and others, who would ease the strain for the poor.[1] But in a parish where all were poor, or there was no resident squire, worse still where the squire was a petty tyrant, graduation was impossible. Falsification of the returns [2] became the sole refuge of the carters and shepherds who out of an income of a mark a year were expected to contribute a shilling. The absentee, whether landlord or peasant, escaped altogether, for the act did not provide, as in 1440, that the resident clergy should inquire whether other persons amenable to the tax were residing in the parish concerned.[3] Even in London, though the tax was trebled, the yield was only half as much again as in 1379.[4]

There was a similar discontent in the ranks of the clergy. In May 1379 the clergy had assessed themselves in sums ranging from ten marks a head for archbishops and six marks for bishops and mitred abbots, priors who were peers of the realm, and priors of cathedral churches, £3 for all other abbots, down to a shilling a head for monks and nuns the annual value of whose convents was not £40, and fourpence a head for all unbeneficed priests and mendicants.[5] With still less fairness, Convocation

[1] See *infra*, p. 300, and cf. Powell, *Rising*, 13.

[2] For example, see Oman, *Revolt*, 26–7 ; *Eng. Hist. Rev.* xxii. 162 ; Powell, *Rising*, 6. The taxable population was returned in 1377 at 1,355,201, in 1381 at 896,481 ; Norfolk and Suffolk were reduced from 160,352 in 1377 to 96,436 ; Kent, from 56,557 to 43,838. Cf. London, *infra*, n. 4.

[3] *Privy Council*, v. 421.

[4] *Letter Book H*, 164, the receipts being £1,019 17*s.* 0*d.* from 20,397 persons. In 1377 the taxable population was 23,314. According to an undated record in Arnold, *Chron.* 46–8, a fifteenth in London brought in £733 6*s.* 8*d.*

[5] Wilkins, iii. 141–2, 145 (out of its place) ; *Reg. Brant.* i. 203–5 ; *Reg. Wykeham*, ii. 302–3. Levied even on inmates of exempt hospitals, e. g. St. Thomas, Southwark (*Charter Rolls*, v. 304). But unbeneficed clerks at Oxford secured exemption (*Collect.* iii. 146 ; *Close Ric.* i. 219, 28 Oct. 1379), renewed at Gloucester, 6 Feb. 1380 (*Cal. Pat.* i. 426 ; *Collect.* iii. 148) and on 16 March 1381 (*Cal. Pat.* i. 606). Beneficed clergy, e. g. Wyclif, at Oxford paid at their benefice (*Pat. Ric.* ii. 98). For the order on 12 March to bishops to collect the tax fully set out, see *Cal. Fine Rolls*, viii. 391–2.

granted in February 1380 a subsidy of sixteen pence in every mark, a crushing burden on the poorer benefices. Nine months later, 1st December 1380, Convocation met at Northampton, first at All Saints Church,[1] and then, as the place was too small, at the Franciscan priory. With a complete disregard of justice the assembly decided to levy a flat rate of half a mark a head on all ranks of the clergy, wealthy pluralists and poor vicars alike, and one shilling for deacons, acolytes, and other 'inferiors' above sixteen years of age.[2] Little wonder that so many of the 'inferior' clergy joined the ranks of the rebels, oftentimes in fact becoming its most violent leaders.[3] They were stirred to action by their sympathies with the wrongs of the class from which they sprang, by their own grievances, and in some instances, we fear, e. g. John Wrawe who started the rising at Sudbury, by the desire to fill their own pockets.[4] Wyclif's Poor Priests, as they roamed from village to village, would find in many vicarages the welcome of discontent.

But the tax was only the occasion of revolt. There were many other causes at work, political or economic. There was a general belief in the negligence and corruption of the government. "In 1381 the English saw traitors everywhere like the French republicans in 1793". Disbanded soldiers tramped the highways ready for any desperate enterprise.[5] The new treasurer Hales became the best-hated man in the realm. So

[1] For this church see monograph by Sergeantson (1902).

[2] Wilkins, iii. 150; cf. *Reg. Brant.* i. 206; Wake, 312.

[3] The following list may be of value for students. John Ball (*infra*, p. 236); John Wrawe, parson of Ringsfield (*Chron. Ang.* 302; *Rot. Parl.* iii. 111; Réville, 75 *n.*); Geoffrey Parfray, vicar of All Saints, Sudbury, and his chaplain Thomas, who led the attack on Thetford (*ib.* 76 *n.*; *Rot. Parl. l.c.*; Powell, *Rising*, 12, 129); Simon Dominic, v. of Mildenhall (*ib.* 14); John Smith, p. of Stansfield, Walter, p. of Ixworth who joined the Bury rebels (*ib.* 16); Nicholas Frompton, v. of Bridgewater (*Pat. Ric.* ii. 74, 96, 270); John Michel at Ely (Powell, 48); John Taylor of Essex (*Rot. Parl.* iii. 111); William Swepston, p. of Ketelby, who 'raised unlawful assemblies' at Wartnaby against the Hospitallers (*Close Ric.* ii. 3, 5); John Battisford, p. of Bucklesham (Powell, 22, 127; Réville, 79 *n.*; *Rot. Parl.* iii. 111); John Clark 'chaplain' (Réville, 227); Hugh, p. of Puttenham, Hertford (*Pat. Ric.* ii. 87); David Carlisle, St. Mary's, Salisbury, led a band of rebels to drive out a rival parson (*Pat. Ric.* i. 632; ii. 75). See also *Close Ric.* ii. 3, 'many clerks'; and, probably, William Grindcob, the leader at St. Albans (Walsingham, i. 468).

[4] See his declaration in Réville, 175–82.

[5] Petit-Dutaillis, *Stubbs*, ii. 273; *Pat. Ed.* xii. 453, printed in full in *Eng. Hist. Rev.* xxvii. 234–7.

unpopular also was John of Gaunt that his duchess was refused admission into his castle at Pontefract, while a large force of insurgents was dispatched north to capture him. So he retired to Holyrood Abbey on a safe conduct from the Scots. There he examined his past life and was comforted by his good conscience, his relations to Katherine Swynford alone troubling him.[1] Probably he was more upset by the news of the burning of his palace at the Savoy [2] on the 13th June, and of the execution on Tower Hill the following day of Sudbury and Hales. In his account of this crime Courtenay called the murdered archbishop ' pugil Crucifixi '. But it was not as the champion of the Crucified but as the Chancellor of England that he had suffered the blind vengeance of the people.[3]

More important than the political were the economic causes of revolt. Too much must not be made of the effects of the Black Death and the revolution in methods of agriculture and systems of tenure which it was supposed to inaugurate. There are no grounds for believing that the restoration of the *corvées* or *opera* was attempted on any large scale ; in fact on many manors we see the precise opposite, the commutation of service for rent.[4] But where the services had not been abolished we see the hatred in which they were held by the systematic destruction of the court rolls.[5] The abolition of villeinage was one of the peasants' demands,[6] and where villeins were few, as in Lincolnshire, the disturbance was but slight.[7] We must remember also that except on the manors of ancient demesne—manors, that is, that had belonged to the Crown at the time of the Conquest—there was no protection for the villein in the king's courts against the arbitrary acts of his lord, save indeed

[1] Knighton, ii. 143–8 ; Walsingham, ii. 43.

[2] Details in Réville, 199 f.

[3] See Wyclif's comment, *infra*, p. 243. For Courtenay's account see *Reg. Brant.* i. 454 ; cf. also *Reg. Wykeham*, ii. 324–6. For Sudbury's head, in the vestry of St. Gregory's, Sudbury, see *Jour. Brit. Arch. Soc.* (N. S.) i. 126–47.

[4] See Appendix S § II, and Levett, 118–19, 146–7, 203, 210 ; Page, 39 f., 57 ; *Eng. Hist. Rev.* xv. 33 f., 775 f. But there were cases of harsh enforcement, see *Vict. Co. Mid.* ii. 82 ; *ib. Glos.* ii. 145 ; *Close Ric.* ii. 491 ; Page, 55 *n.*

[5] e. g. *Vict. Co. Essex*, ii. 317 ; *ib. Mid.* ii. 80, 84 ; *ib. Norf.* ii. 484–5 ; *Eng. Hist. Rev.* xv. 35 ; *Close Ric.* ii. 27, 75, 78, 89, 317, 468 ; *Arch. Cant.* iii. 74, 78–81 ; Powell, *Rising*, 24–5, 32, 33, 36.

[6] *Arch. Cant.* iii. 71–2 ; *Eng. Hist. Rev.* xiii. 519.

[7] *Pat. Ric.* ii. 74. But in Kent, where there were no serfs (Page, 5, 43) except in Thanet, the revolt had its centre ; see *infra*, p. 229.

in the matter of life and limb.[1] To the villein, custom was everything; the law scarcely existed save in the odious form of the Statute of Labourers. Nor must we forget that the same man might be both freeman and yet for practical purposes a villein, freeman in respect of his status, and yet a villein inasmuch as he had taken land that was held in villeinage, for which he was obliged to discharge the requisite 'works' on the lord's demesne. Add also that "the typical tenant in villeinage did not know in the evening what he would have to do in the morning; he might know the amount of labour that would be required of him, but he did not know how it would be applied"—a fact in itself that supplied all the elements for a blaze. Nor could he forget that the *opera precaria* or 'boon works' which had at one time been rendered as a favour to the lord had been hardened by custom into a regular part of the villein's obligation. Lastly, one cause of disaffection was the jealousy with which peasants in bondage looked on another peasant who in some way or other had procured exemption from these *corvées*.[2]

A more serious cause of trouble was the attempt of Parliament in a series of ordinances [3] to rob the labourer of the wages which the laws of supply and demand would have given him, by forcing adults under sixty to work for their present lord at the rates current before the Black Death. For skilled labourers in London the pay was fixed at sixpence a day 'to be firmly observed for ever', unskilled at varying rates down to threepence.[4] As a consequence the yearly wages of plowmen at Teddington fell from eleven shillings to seven.[5] This ordinance, which was read in all churches, also included the lower priests. Its one redeeming feature was its attempt to regulate the prices of food so as to prevent profiteering. In spite of the penalty of

[1] For this paragraph see Page, 11, 19, 23, 25–6, 52; Pollock and Maitland, i. 343.

[2] For illustration see *Pat. Ric.* i. 130.

[3] 18 June 1349 (Putnam, App. 8–12 in full, also in *Reg. Grand.* i. 69–71); Feb. 1351, Statute of Labourers (Putnam, App. 12–17, Statutes, i. 311–13); 15 March 1351, first Commission of Labourers (*Pat. Ed.* ix. 85–91) on which see *Eng. Hist. Rev.* xxi. 517–38.

[4] Riley, *Mem. Lond.* 253–8; Sharpe, *Letter Book G*, 14.

[5] For this and other figures see *Vict. Co. Mid.* ii. 80, 104–6; *ib. Glos.* ii. 147, 172; Levett, 35, 60, 98-9, 103–4; Putnam, 90.

branding the forehead with an F if the prosecutor so desired, the measures ' did little good or none ', but left behind a legacy of hatred. Between 1351 and 1377 the courts were busy with no less than 9,000 actions arising from them.[1] It should be noticed also that the wages were often the lowest on the episcopal estates, a fact which would add point to Wyclif's attacks on prelates.[2]

There were other causes of revolution and trouble. The depreciation of the silver coinage by Edward III in June 1351, some months after the passing of the first Statute of Labourers, justified the demand for a revised wage, apart altogether from the effect of the Black Death.[3] Agricultural England was slowly changing from a system of nature-economy to money-economy, and changes in values were as productive of unrest in the fourteenth century as they have been after the Great War. The Black Death, by halving the population while leaving the medium of exchange the same as before, would hasten the change. A labourer who commuted his service at the old traditional rate—a halfpenny a day in winter, a penny in spring and autumn, and three half-pence in summer[4]—would enjoy an unearned income, for the new money-values, especially when depreciation was added, were not really the same as the old nature-values. Those who were not allowed to commute would naturally be discontented, the more so if their commutation, when made, was at a higher rate than that of their earlier neighbours.[5] Now it seems to be established that between 1368 and 1389 there was a rise in rents of about 30 per cent. without any corresponding rise in the value of the products of the farms.[6] Partial and inequitable prosperity obeying no law save caprice, freedom granted to some and

[1] Reading, *Chron.* 113 ; Putnam, 173 ; Page, 55 ; for the branding, *Statutes*, i. 367 ; for fines in London, Sharpe, *op. cit.* 115–18. In the hundred of Thingo, 808 out of 870 inhabitants would come under the acts, Powell, *Rising*, 2, 67. For refusals to obey see Putnam, 76. For the rise of wages in spite of the acts see *ib.* 90 ; *Eng. Hist. Rev.* xiii. 301.

[2] Levett, 60, 65, for Wykeham's.

[3] For this depreciation see Baker, *Chron.* 116 ; Higden, viii. 355 ; Rymer, iii. 223–4 ; *Rot. Parl.* ii. 253 ; *Close Ed.* ix. 379–81 ; and for its influence on wages, Cunningham, i. 328 f.

[4] Page, 43, 72–3.

[5] Levett, 154–60, points out how Wykeham's building schemes led to rapid commutation at the highest price so as to give the bishop money.

[6] *Eng. Hist. Rev.* xxvi. 336 ; *Somerset Arch. Soc.* lvi. 110 f.

denied to others, is as much the cause of discontent as adversity. The outcome was an inarticulate desire in many quarters for a change, not the less effective because neither statesman nor peasant knew what form the change should take. But one thing was clear as part of their demands, that no commutation should be at a higher rate of rent than 4*d.* per acre.[1] Nor should we forget that Kent, the first county to adopt the money-system, owing to its lying on the great highroad to the Continent, was the leading county in the revolt; though the precise connexion between the two facts may not be easy to establish.

The result of these different causes was wide-spread discontent. The villein—in whose legal status the Black Death had made no change—with his copyhold dependent on the payment of customary dues bitterly resented the *corvées*, the burdens of which were increased by there being fewer villeins to discharge them.[2] So he abandoned his holding and fled to a distant borough. The labourer who had nothing but his hands fiercely resisted the effort to force him to accept a starvation pay that bore no relation to the wages he could have earned in an open market. As is invariably the result, the attempt to ignore the laws of supply and demand broke down. In 1353, to the astonishment of the court officials, certain workmen engaged on work at the royal palace of Westminster 'in contempt of Us, and to the manifest retardation of Our works aforesaid' withdrew 'without leave'. So a proclamation was issued to bring them back and to throw their new employers into the Tower.[3] But people who had not the weapon of 'the Tower' were not so able to control their workers. The free labourer, who was not tied down by a holding and who was able to abscond at will from one district to another, flourished exceedingly, while even villeins refused to work at the old wages, and resisted all efforts at coercion. As Piers Plowman tells us:

Labourers that have no lande to live on but their hands
Deigned not to dine aday (on) night old wortes.

[1] *Pat. Ric.* ii. 27; Rymer, iv. 126.
[2] They were not directly increased (Levett, 151; Page, 53, 65).
[3] Riley, *Mem. Lond.* 271, 304.

May no penny-ale them pay, nor a piece of bacon
But it be fresh flesh or fish, fried or baked
And that *chaud* and *pluschaud* for (to prevent) chilling of their maw.

. . . . . .

And then he curseth the King and all the King's justices
Such laws to lere, labourers to grieve.[1]

One Yorkshire carter left his work because his master gave him salt meat instead of fresh. According to John of Reading, whose view would have the bias of the wealthy monk, the labourers ' worked less and their work was worse done '.[2] But their hatred of the whole system is seen in the execution by the mob at Lakenheath on the 14th June of John de Cavendish, one of the king's justices who had been granted an extra salary for enforcing the ' Statute of Labourers in Suffolk and Essex '.[3]

Another cause of discontent was the vast system of fines whereby the villeins and serfs were bound hand and foot to their lords (*adscriptus glebae*). These fines were of many kinds,[4] all regulated by a custom seldom transgressed, determined in fact by a manorial court of the villeins themselves. There were fines for entry upon lands in villeinage, fines for sales, fines for leases, fines for permission to live away from the manor, technically called ' chivage ',[5] fines on the marriage of a daughter,[6] fines for allowing the son to go to school,[7] fines for commuting *corvées*, and fines for marriage with the heiress of land, as well as heriots or fines for inheriting land. The serf must grind his corn at the lord's mill or it may be seized and the beasts drawing it elsewhere be forfeited. He must also bake at the lord's oven. If he desired to work at any trade he must

[1] *P. Plow.* (C), ix. 330–7, 340–2 ; Cf. (A), vii. 295–9.
[2] Reading, *Chron.* 113 ; Page, 54 ; Putnam, App. 196.
[3] *Eulog. Cont.* iii. 214 ; Powell, *Rising*, 13, 14 ; Réville, 179–80.
[4] For illustrations see Levett, 44–53 ; *Eng. Hist. Rev.* ix. 437 ; xv. 21 f. ; xx. 479–83 ; xxv. 1–25 ; *Lanc. Inq.* iii. 132, 143 ; Page, 17, 28 f.
[5] Blomefield, *Norfolk*, i. 172 (20*s.* in 1368) ; Page, 36 *n.* (10 villeins paid 2*d.*).
[6] ' If she commit fornication she shall be fined at the discretion of the lord '. (*Rotuli Hund.* ii. 539). In 1394 a man was fined 1*s.* 6*d.* for marriage of his daughter, and 5*s.* for her previous fornication (*Eng. Hist. Rev.* ix. 437–8). For such fines, called ' leyrwite ', see Page, 36 *n.*
[7] See Leach, *Schools*, 205–6 ; *Eng. Hist. Rev.* xx. 483, an Essex serf fined 3*d.* for sending his son to school without licence, Sept. 1344. Maitland, *ib.* ix. 437, gives an instance in Cambridgeshire in 1372 of a fine of 3*s.* 4*d.* for the same offence. This restriction was not removed until 1406 (*Rot. Parl.* iii. 602 ; *Statutes*, ii. 158).

obtain his lord's consent or pay a fine.[1] These fines were of varying sums, the common fine for marriage being £1,[2] though for marriage with an heiress large sums were exacted, varying with the dower, but in some cases as much as £8 or £10. For permission for the son to enter orders the fine was a mark, and manumission was necessary.[3] There were also fines on law-suits, imposed alike on the winner and the loser. The labour services were bad enough, but to these were added degrading conditions, e.g. the right of the lord during the tenant's labour-service to milk the tenant's cows.[4] The result of these fines and restrictions, as well as of the tallages or taxes levied by the lord, and the heriots imposed on change of tenancy, must have been constant irritation. They were no new thing, it is true ; but in all customs there comes a time when men chafe at the evil they bring not the less because they are of immemorial use. To some extent, no doubt, fines balanced rent, the low rent being often accompanied with high fines and the high rent with low fines. But there is nothing more productive of discontent than the variable, especially where there is no legal restraint to which the sufferer can appeal. On some manors also the number of the fines inflicted in the courts increased threefold between 1366 and 1368.[5]

The outcome of this discontent was seen in the growth of what we should now call strikes by agricultural unions, pre-eminent among which was one called 'the Great Society'.[6] The peasants 'confederated themselves in conventicles, and took an oath to resist lord and bailiff, and to refuse their due custom and service'. In some cases, as we learn from the first Parliament of Richard II, taking advantage of the disorder into which manorial records were thrown by the death of the bailiffs and the general confusion, they affirmed 'under colour of certain exemplifications made from Domesday book' that they were 'quit and utterly discharged of all manner of serfdom . . . and bound themselves by confederation that each shall

[1] 2*s.* in 1333 for becoming a carpenter (*Eng. Hist. Rev.* xx. 483).

[2] As the fine for marriage without licence was 6*d.* to 1*s.* it was cheaper to break the rule, though there was risk of loss of inheritance (*ib.* xx. 479–81).

[3] Rogers, *Prices*, ii. 613 ; *Pat. Ric.* i. 372 ; *Reg. Grand.* ii. 617 ; *Liberate Rolls*, i. 299.

[4] *Eng. Hist. Rev.* xx. 483.

[5] *Ib.* xxvi. 335 f.

[6] Powell, *Rising*, 127, 134.

aid the other to constrain their lords by the strong hand '.[1] In February and March 1380 there were commissions to investigate confederacies in Yorkshire and Derbyshire, especially on the estates of John of Gaunt. In the following November at Strixton in Northamptonshire there was a league of peasants to withhold from a lord his customary services.[2] In some places they attacked the commissioners of labourers. At Tottenham they drove the justices from their sessions; in Holland they sought to kill a commissioner, John Claymond.[3] And after the Rising the same general refusal continued. In some manors they bound themselves together for this purpose with an oath, as on the estate of Thomas Southam in Huntingdon in November 1385, and on that of Cirencester Abbey in 1413.[4] At Otford, one of the manors of the murdered archbishop, the king had to force from the tenants service in harvest.[5] Nor were the peasants aiming merely at the abolition of the customary services. They demanded freedom not from burdens that had become heavier—as Thorold Rogers imagined—but from all remnants of their former bonds,[6] all denial of their right to buy and sell freely in all towns and boroughs. We need no other explanation of revolt than the record of the purchase by Michael de la Pole, the famous Hull merchant, of two manors in Essex for whose ' neifs and growing timber ' he paid ' 1,000 marks down '. This linking together in sale of serfs and trees needs no comment.[7] When we discover also that the bishop of Winchester actually gained financially out of the Black Death by reason of the vast number of his heriots and fines [8] we can understand how the peasants would feel to this fourteenth-century " profiteer ". There are grounds also for believing that it was more difficult to obtain manumission from clerical landlords than from lay; there were more per-

[1] *Statutes*, ii. 2, 3; Réville, p. xxxvii f.; Page, 54 (difficulty in finding bailiffs). Cf. also *Pat. Ric.* i. 50, for appeal in 1377 to ' Domesday '.

[2] *Pat. Ric.* i. 468, 578; Réville, xxxix *n.* 4.

[3] *Pat. Ed.* ix. 158, 341 (1351–2).

[4] *Ib.* p. cxxxi f.; *Pat. Ric.* iii. 88; *Pat. Hen. V*, i. 38.

[5] *Pat. Ric.* ii. 78, and for other instances *ib.* ii. 73, 75; *Pat. Hen.* iv. 174, 225.

[6] Page, 70; Rymer, iv. 126; *Pat. Ric.* ii. 27.

[7] *Close Ric.* ii. 323–4.

[8] Levett, 121, 139, 162 f. The fines went up from £204 7*s.* 6*d.* in 1348 to £840 2*s.* 9*d.* in 1349. Cf. *Somerset Arch. Soc.* lvi. 99–135.

missions necessary to be obtained. Every bishop at his consecration took an oath that he would not alienate any part of the estates. This included serfs, so that papal dispensation was necessary to secure manumission,[1] just as the licence of the Crown was also necessary for tenants in chief to free their serfs.[2]

So far we have dealt solely with the grievances of the rural population. But disaffection was not less marked in the towns. There the grievance was of a different order. The student will note that rebellions took place as a rule in towns where the lord was a churchman. There had been a time when cathedral or abbey was the refuge of freedom for the defenceless people who found shelter near their walls. Great towns had grown up amid the ordered peace which the Church could secure. At one time to be the vassal or tenant of the Church was looked upon as a high privilege. But that day had long since passed. For two centuries, under the financial stress of the Crusades and other causes, kings and lay proprietors had sold freely to their tenants the rights of town and manor, while the Church, more tenacious in its grip, less influenced by the financial difficulties or extravagancies of the moment, had striven to enforce manorial claims that not only galled in themselves but were the more hated because of their desuetude elsewhere.[3] Bury St. Edmunds, Dunstable, St. Albans,[4] and Lynn were seething with discontented citizens, always ready to rise against the ecclesiastical authority that inflicted upon them onerous burdens, or to obtain by turbulence some enlargement of their franchises. The outbreak of the peasants was the occasion rather than the cause of such towns making another effort for the same purpose. The substantial fines which the defeated burghers were forced to pay to obtain their liberty show that

[1] E.g. *Pap. Let.* vi. 23, 377; vii. 79; *Reg. Wykeham*, ii. 102–4. Cf. *Rot. Parl.* iii. 448, and P. Bernard, *Les Esclaves et les Serfs d'Église* (1919). For form of manumission see *Sed. Vac. Worc.* 60, 75, 76.

[2] *Pat. Ric.* ii. 113. Cf. i. 372.

[3] For insurrections of peasants against clerical lords see Powell, *Lollards*, 13–14, 21–3; *Pat. Ric.* ii. 358; *Pat. Hen.* ii. 437, and for the galling demands of Bury, *Registrum Walteri Pinchebeck* in Camb. Univ. Lib. (Now printed, 1925.)

[4] For St. Albans, Réville, cc. 1 and 2, and especially Walsingham, *Gesta*, iii. 289 f.; for Dunstable, Réville, 41 f.; for Bury, Arnold, *Mem. Bury* (R.S.), iii. 137 f.

the revolt was by no means the work of the poor alone. In Bury, for instance, twenty citizens were mulcted in 100 marks a head for their share in the Rising.[1] In St. Albans, also, burgesses took part in the riot.

There were also other towns than those attached to monastery or cathedral in which we find wide discontent. Towns which in the past had been solid in their determination to win freedom had now lost that unity in a struggle within their walls between the governing oligarchy and the mass of the citizens. A narrow ring of wealthy citizens, numbering twenty-four at most, too often monopolized office and power. Throughout the fourteenth century the towns had been slowly losing their former democratic government, as well as the commercial rights of the burgesses at large. The commune was breaking up into sharply defined classes—the 'potentiores', the 'mediocres', and the 'inferiores'.[2] The bitter hatred of the unenfranchised against the enfranchised, of the commons against the unrepresentative few who governed them, of the poor against the rich, especially the new rich, blazed out in such towns as Winchester and Scarborough into the determination of the democracy to cripple if not destroy the corrupt oligarchy under which they suffered. "In York and Beverley insurrection was endemic."[3] In London, as early as 1306, we hear of trade-unions of the journeymen against their masters, and in 1381 the struggle between employer and employed was very bitter. There was, in fact, a general overstraining of the whole system of trade regulation in a society which had outgrown such tutelage. The age-long conflict of capital and labour had already begun, and was not slow to avail itself of every opportunity of riot and weakness. To this should be added in London a struggle between three rival Guilds of

[1] *Close Ric.* ii. 190. On 2 July 1384 they were bound over to make no insurrection in the enormous sum of £10,000. The list of citizens thus bound includes 43 chaplains (*ib.* ii. 580–6; Arnold, iii. 143). Pardon was finally granted in Ap. 1390 (*Pat. Ric.* iv. 264). For an echo of the Rising as late as 1428 see *Pap. Let.* viii. 55 (absolution for slaughter of ecclesiastics).

[2] See *Eng. Hist. Rev.* v. 633–53; *Trans. Hist. Soc.* ix. 49 f.; Réville, xlii f.; Page, 57.

[3] Petit-Dutaillis, p. ciii f. For struggles at York see *Rot. Parl.* iii. 96, 135; *Pat. Ric.* i. 580; ii. 187; Beverley, Réville, 269; *Pat. Ric.* ii. 146; Norwich (1371), *Close Ed.* xiii. 302; Salisbury, Réville, 281 *n.*; *Pat. Ric.* i. 631–2; Shrewsbury, *ib.* i. 632; Yarmouth (1374), Worcester, *Itin.* 344.

Clothiers and Victuellers, which lasted through the first half of the reign of Richard II, not without its results in disorder and riot. Some of the insurgents, led by a brewer of Wood Street, tried to burn down the Guildhall and succeeded in burning 'a certain book called *le Jubilee*'.[1] Private feuds too found in the Rising their chance for wiping off old scores.[2]

The journeymen and apprentices formed only a portion of the discontented classes in the towns. In the suburbs of every city, especially in London and Norwich, there grew up outside the walls a mass of unskilled labour, 'natives' and 'neifs', 'bondmen' and 'villeins' who had fled from their lords, in addition to the broken men and women of every sort, including worn-out soldiers and deserters. These, with the criminal classes, found a natural refuge in the unclean purlieus outside the city jurisdiction. After the Black Death the number of these country villeins who had thus run away to the towns to escape the old services increased considerably, as we can see from the constant though useless orders of the manor courts for their return.[3] Such deserters were encouraged by the merchants who desired apprentices for their crafts or seamen for their ships, and who often were careless, provided they could obtain their reserve of labour, what became of those who failed in the struggle. Moreover, it should not be forgotten that town and country were then far more closely connected than to-day. An analysis of the names of the citizens in Norwich at the close of the thirteenth century shows that they were gathered from 450 parishes in Norfolk and Suffolk.[4] Many of the townsfolk must have been escaped villeins, or villeins who by the payment of a horse-shoe or bushel of grain or other fine each year had secured permission from their lord to reside elsewhere. Such permission was comparatively easily obtained.[5] The consequence was a close sympathy between town and country; movements in the one were immediately felt in the other. A fortnight before the rising began in Essex two butchers from London urged the discontented people to march on the City.

[1] Réville, 206.
[2] *Ib.*, p. xci, cf. 280; *Pat. Ric.* ii. 30.
[3] *Vict. Co. Glos.* ii. 146; Riley, *Mem. Lon.* 23, 59; *Eng. Hist. Rev.* xv. 28; Page, 36, 68, 76–7.
[4] *Eng. Hist. Rev.* xv. 29, quoting Hudson, *Norfolk Archaeology*, xii. 46.
[5] Page, 12.

One of these butchers, who had been a purveyor to John of Gaunt, led his band to the Savoy and in the general confusion carried off £20 worth of jewels.[1]

§ 2

The effect of the Rising on the fortunes of Wyclif was immediate and disastrous. Wyclif's alliance with John of Gaunt was ended, his political influence was gone, his policy of disendowment dead. Under the pressure of the common danger the seculars and regulars ceased their quarrels for a time. The propertied classes in general "recognized the danger of inertia".[2] The Church, especially Spenser of Norwich, aided the State in its task of hanging some hundreds of peasants. At one place nineteen were hanged on one gallows. At St. Albans the bodies on the gallows, 'dropping vermin and stinking horribly', were a warning to the citizens.[3] Courtenay, who had succeeded the murdered Sudbury, found that he could now rely on the assistance of the Government in crushing the heresiarch. Wyclif was no longer the popular champion of national rights, for his enemies charged him with being 'a sower of strife, who by his serpent-like instigations has set the serf against his lord'. A generation after his death they also published against him the dying confessions of John Ball and Jack Straw.[4] The confession of Straw, even if genuine, contained nothing that could be urged against Wyclif. The alleged intention to kill all 'possessioners, bishops, monks, canons, rectors', might be attributed by his enemies to his teaching were it not that Straw immediately adds that the friars would have been spared as 'sufficient for the discharge of the sacred functions'. John Ball was captured at Coventry, taken to St. Albans, and there condemned at once by Tresilian (15 July). On the intervention of Courtenay two days' grace was given for his repentance. According to Netter, Ball then called to him Courtenay and Sir Walter Lee and 'publicly confessed that for two years he had been a disciple of Wyclif,

[1] Réville, 196, 198.
[2] *Ib.*, p. cxxxv.
[3] *Vict. Co. Essex*, ii. 215; *Chron. Ang.* 326; cf. Stubbs, ii. 482.
[4] Walsingham, ii. 9, 10; *Chron. Ang.* 309. Rejected as spurious by Petit-Dutaillis, *Stubbs*, ii. 284 *n.*

THE PEASANTS' REVOLT

John Ball (Jehan Balle) and Wat Tyler (Waultre le tieulier) are marked with their names
From a late fifteenth-century MS. in the British Museum

and had learned from him the heresies he had taught'. Next to Wyclif, 'the principal author', Ball charged Hereford, Aston, and Lawrence Bedeman, and added 'that unless resistance should be made to their preaching within two years the whole kingdom would be destroyed'.[1] No credence need be attached to a confession of which we hear nothing until twenty years later, and which bears the marks of a weapon made to order. The bringing in of the Cornishman, Bedeman, who probably never visited East Anglia in his life, is sufficient of itself to discredit the tale. If the charges had been true, contemporary chronicles would certainly not have forgotten to mention them—to say nothing of Courtenay who had obtained for Ball the two days' reprieve.

These confessions, whether later inventions or extorted by pain, were part of a charge difficult for Wyclif to meet. Historians are now agreed that the great blaze of 1381 was not due in any appreciable degree to Wyclif's influence, and would assuredly have happened if the Reformer had never lived. The picture which Thorold Rogers has given us of Wyclif's Poor Priests, "who alone could traverse the country by night and without suspicion", organizing resistance among the serfs against the *corvées*, and "honeycombing the minds of the upland folk with what may be called religious socialism", as they preached to them of the "brave times when there was no king in Israel", attributes intentional causation to a factor that was but indirect.[2] In the districts where Wyclif's influence was greatest, e. g. in the Midlands, the rebellion scarcely came to a head;[3] nor were there elsewhere any signs that the peasants cared for theological issues. Their grievance was economic. Religious motives had nothing to do with the attacks of town-mobs on the foreign merchants or the struggle of the unguilded labourers with the new capitalists. These were the results of forces almost wholly secular. Numerous priests, in addition to Ball, it is true, took part in the Rising, especially in East Anglia. But none of these, so far as we know,

[1] *Ziz.* 273–4; Stow, *Ann.* 293–4; Walsingham, ii. 31–4; *Chron. Ang.* 320, 322; *Ann. Mon.* iii. 418.

[2] Rogers, *Six Centuries*, 254–5. See Réville, p. lxvii and cf. Leclercq-Hefele, vi. 1413.

[3] Except at Kettleby (Réville, 252; *Close Ric.* ii. 3, 5. See *supra*, p. 225 *n.*).

were followers of Wyclif. We may be sure that if it had been so we should have heard of it from contemporary sources, especially from Wyclif's enemies. In London, where lollardy was strong, no priests seem to have been implicated ;[1] the revolt was left to Wat Tyler and Jack Straw.[2] John Ball, the noblest of agitators, so far from learning his doctrines from the heresiarch, had begun his work when Wyclif was still splitting syllogisms at Oxford. As far back as 1366 he had been summoned by Langham to appear before him to answer for the 'scandal' he was causing in the Church, and he had been excommunicated at an earlier date by Islip. Sudbury also when bishop of London, i. e. before 1376, had found it necessary to excommunicate Ball. Paying no attention to these fulminations, Ball continued to preach his 'errors, schisms and other enormities which sound heretical', giving his advice to peasants to withhold tithes from rectors and vicars richer than themselves.[3] For twenty years he tramped the southern counties proclaiming 'both in churches and churchyards, and also in markets and other profane places' the good time coming when the Golden Age should once more return ; for in the days

> Whan Adam dalf and Eve span
> Wo was thanne a gentilman ?

For years he had been writing those strange rhyming letters in which he made the peasants 'to understand that he hath rung your bell. Now right and might, will and skill. God speed every idle !' or, 'greets well all manner (of) men, and bids them in the name of the Trinity stand manlike together in truth, and help truth, and truth shall help you'.

> Johan the Muller hath ygrounde smal, smal, smal,
> The Kynge's sone of hevene shall pay for alle.
> Be ware or ye be wo,
> Knoweth your frende fro your foo.[4]

The 'Great Society' was not officered, as Netter would have

[1] At any rate none are mentioned in *Rot. Parl.* iii. 112.
[2] I reject Brie's identification of the two in *Eng. Hist. Rev.* xxi. 106–11.
[3] Wilkins, iii. 64–5, 152 ; Walsingham, ii. 32 ; *Chron. Ang.* 321.
[4] Knighton, ii. 138–40 ; Walsingham, ii. 34 ; *Chron. Ang.* 322. Cf. Stow, *Ann.* 194, and for similar rhymes in the Yorkshire Rising of 1392, Powell, *Lollards*, 19–20.

us imagine, by university dons, but by John Sheep, Jack Miller, Jack Carter, John Nameless, and Jack Trueman. In his denunciation of Ball, published a month before the blaze began,[1] Sudbury gives no hint of any alliance between Ball and Wyclif.

If we look for the spiritual causes of an economic event we should attribute greater importance to the preaching by Spiritual Franciscans of the idea of poverty than to the academic arguments of Wyclif. It was from the friars that John Ball had learned to denounce the pluralist dignitaries and political bishops of the times. It was of the friars that William of Langland tells us :

> They prechen men of Plato, and proven it by Seneca
> That all things under heaven ought to be in comune.[2]

It was by a Franciscan from Dorchester that the tenants of Middleton Abbey were led on in their rebellion against exactions under the Statute of Labourers.[3] The fact was acknowledged by the friars themselves when in February 1382, in a letter to John of Gaunt, the four orders at Oxford complained that they were being charged by their enemies, especially by Nicholas Hereford, with responsibility for the whole rebellion.[4] The accusation was ridiculous and exaggerated. But, whether true or false, it is interesting to note that the friars did not retort by any attempt to incriminate Wyclif or his Poor Priests. The connexion between the two movements—the revolts in Church and State—as even the monk of St. Albans admits in his survey of the causes of the Rebellion, was rather one of coincidence or parallelism. In that age, before the divorce of politics and faith, revolutions were naturally religious, while all reformation was of necessity a social revolution. A wave of democratic agitation was sweeping over Europe, as we see in France in the story of the *Jacquerie* and the rebellion of the *Maillotins*. There were popular insurrections that year in Ghent, Paris, Rouen, and Florence. A fierce struggle between reason

[1] Wilkins, iii. 152 (26 Ap. 1381). According to Knighton, ii. 131–2, Ball was in the archbishop's prison at Maidstone and was delivered by the rebels on June 11.

[2] *P. Plow.* (C), xxiii. 274–5.

[3] Réville, p. lxvii.

[4] *Ziz.* 292–5 (18 Feb. 1382) ; cf. Walsingham, ii. 13, and *Chron. Ang.* 312.

and authority in the sphere of politics as well as belief was working its way to the surface. In one sense Wyclif himself in his social views was but the product of a general discontent, the causes of which he dimly discerned. In another sense Netter was right when twenty years later he charged Wyclif with being one of the authors of the Peasants' Revolt.[1] Wyclif's ideas, reported second-hand by Poor Priests, or distorted by men indifferent to their subtle distinctions, had not been without their influence. Equally with the teaching of evangelical poverty by the Spiritual Franciscans, they had appealed to an age unconscious, perhaps, of what exactly it was that appealed to it. The Peasants' Revolt was but the rude translation into a world of practice of a theory of 'dominion' that destroyed the 'lordship' of the wicked, and exalted communism into the inalienable right of the saint—'by God's law all things should be common'—and looked on poverty as the necessity of the spiritual, for 'poor state of men is liker to state of innocence than is rich worldly state'.[2] The right to govern, Wyclif had argued, depends upon good government; there is no moral constraint to pay tax or tithe to bad rulers either in the Church or the State.[3] Wyclif's theses were written in Latin, but they were interpreted in English by his disciples. The down-trodden serfs, ignoring Wyclif's pleas for caution, applied his doctrines to the corrupt government of Richard II and the oppressive poll-tax of his selfish Parliaments. Moreover, Wyclif's attacks upon prelates, friars, and monks, repeated by 'the disciples of John preaching throughout England', produced an effect which we cannot regard as operating only after the Rising. We are told that

'In this year (1382) alms were withdrawn from the friars, mendicants ordered to work, refused permission to preach, and nicknamed penny-preachers and house-sneaks . . . Evil was wrought by open and secret incitement of the people against them to destroy their houses and tear their habit off them'.[4]

[1] *Ziz.* 272; *Chron. Ang.* 310–12 (cf. Knighton, ii. 151); and for distortion, *Chron. Ang.* 282, 340.

[2] *Sel. Eng. Works*, i. 313, 315. Cf. *supra*, i. 261, ii. 98.

[3] In *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 175, Wyclif points out that debtors should pay 'medefully' to wicked men, who, however, receive such debts 'unjustly and to their damnation'.

[4] *Eulog. Cont.* iii. 355; cf. Walsingham, ii. 51.

In consequence Richard found it necessary to take the friars under his special protection.[1] Wyclif's attacks upon the monks must have had a similar and earlier effect.

Wyclif's views on serfdom are set out in some detail in a tract *de Servitute Civili*[2] written probably in 1378, before the storm broke. This tract, in reality a concise extract of the first book of his *de Civili Dominio*, to which an attack upon the papacy is added, begins with the usual medieval doctrine that all lordship is the result of the Fall, though Wyclif is careful to point out that serfdom is largely the result of war. 'Rule and service are needful in our fallen state', and some men 'lacking in intellect but with sturdy bodies suitable for mechanical toil' are fitted for servitude and nothing better. But no race should be given over to perpetual serfdom. Serfdom should not be hereditary but be limited to a man's own lifetime; the law of reason demands that it should not extend to his whole generation, especially considering the natural gifts that God often bestows on the sons of serfs. Moreover, as Wyclif points out, free tenants bring in a greater return than serfs, for the latter 'in their ignorance often confuse the seeds'. Wyclif's remedy would thus have been the gradual discontinuance of serfdom without revolution. Wyclif concludes with an exhortation to patience under suffering, though such patience 'does not lessen the sin of cruel lords'. Serfs and masters alike should live under a law of love, and 'lords should forgive debt and discharge their poor tenants of many charges that they be in'.[3]

Whatever his share in arousing among the peasants divine discontent, Wyclif refused to trim his sails according to the times. We should not have been surprised if Wyclif had denounced the peasants. He had not come into any close contact with that class nor was he acquainted directly with their wrongs. In Yorkshire, as we have seen, men were free; and if he visited his parish of Fillingham he would find that serfs in Lincolnshire were few. At Lutterworth he lived in a small

[1] *Cal. Pat.* ii. 480 or Rymer, vii. 447 (4 Nov. 1384).

[2] *Op. Min.* 145–62, from *Civ. Dom.* i. 225–48, in which Wyclif denounces even more strongly hereditary serfdom (i. 240 f.).

[3] *Op. Min.* 147, 152–5, 158; *Sel. Eng. Works*, i. 24.

town, and at Oxford the serf and his existence would rarely come under his notice. Only at Ludgershall would he find the serf the largest element in his parish. Now where men are unacquainted with a social evil by direct contact they are often inclined to discredit its existence or minimize its effects. We see this abundantly illustrated in modern times; it is in fact one of the chief difficulties in effective reform. We may therefore reckon it to Wyclif's credit that despite the storm that burst upon him the Reformer refused to throw over the peasants in their hour of need. He felt too deeply that the poor were harried by the rich [1] to falter in their support. A year or two before the outbreak he had published in English *A Short Rule of Life* [2] 'for lords and labourers in special; how every man shall be saved in his degree if he will'. Lords were 'to govern well their tenants, and maintain them in right and reason, and be merciful to them in their rents and suffer not their officers to do them wrong nor extortions'. Labourers were urged 'to live in meekness and truly and wilfully do their labour'. Now, fearless of all consequences, Wyclif dared in their defeat to avow sympathy with the peasants and his anger at their oppression, especially by the withholding of their wages, and to put in his plea for a policy of mercy. Nor did he withdraw the services of his Poor Priests for fear of possible misrepresentation as fautors of sedition. On the contrary the period of their greatest activity lies in the months that immediately followed the Rebellion. A statute of the 26th May 1382 tells us of the zeal of his disciples journeying and preaching

'from county to county and from town to town, not only in churches and churchyards but also in markets, fairs and other open places where a great congregation of people is, sermons containing heresies and notorious errors. . . . Which persons do also preach diverse matters of slander to make a discord and dissension between the diverse estates of the said realm, both temporals and spirituals, to the disturbance of the people'.[3]

In his *de Blasphemia*, one chapter of which was written a few months after the revolt, Wyclif urges patience and clemency,

[1] Even Hoccleve, *Works* (E. E. T. S.), iii. 100–2, owns this.

[2] *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 204–7. The date is settled by its reference to 'true priests', with the absence of the bitterness the Rising produced.

[3] *Statutes*, ii. 25–6.

whereby alone hatred and disunion in the realm can be avoided. He blames the excesses of the people and regrets the death of Sudbury. This last, he claims, though without any form of law, was the result of the people's sense of justice. What right had an archbishop to hold the chancellorship, 'the most secular office in the realm'? 'Such a prelate is a traitor to God and the Church' and cannot 'be a faithful servant to king and realm.' The people saw the wrong, but 'the punishment inflicted was too cruel'. The poll-tax should never have been levied. The clergy, 'paying what was due to God and the Church', as the 'treasurers of the goods of the poor' should have given up their possessions, reserving to themselves only 'a sufficiency for food and lodging as Christ gave up all for the one lost sheep'. To think otherwise is to prove oneself 'a disciple of Iscariot', 'to prefer riches to the lives of men'. He charges the clergy with the responsibility for the French war, 'the robbery of our realm of money and men'. Instead of 'gospel exhortation', bidding the soldiers seek 'the things which make for the peace of Jerusalem', the clergy—especially the friars, the chief confessors of the nobles—egg them on in order to stir up civil war and so reduce the power of the nobility by which alone clerical influence is bridled. In his reading of current history Wyclif's courage is more to be commended than his acumen. Even his courage is limited when he turns to temporal lords. These, he claims, must on no account be attacked—was he thinking of John of Gaunt?—though their tyranny and exactions must cease. Wyclif would even recompense them for their losses by giving them the goods of the clergy. Thus the dissension between nobles and people would come to an end.[1]

In a tract on *Servants and Lords*,[2] written shortly after the collapse of the Rebellion, as also in two of his sermons preached about this time, Wyclif speaks out bravely. He lays down that servants must 'not be false nor idle nor grumbling in their service'. The idea that no man shall serve is the teaching of the fiend. On the other hand, lords also have their duty,

[1] *Blas.* 188–203. Cf. *Serm.* ii. 232–3, 238–9; *Eng. Works*, 233–4.

[2] *Ib.* 226–43. I have no doubt of the authorship. Cf. *Serm.* ii. 233, 237 f. and *Sel. Eng. Works*, ii. 245.

' to destroy wrong and maintain poor men in their right, to live in rest, peace and charity, and suffer no man to do extortions, beat men, and hold poor men out of right by strength of lordship. If lords leave this office (duty) and maintain sinful men and wrong-doers, and help not poor men in their right they may dread that their kingdom and lordship shall be translated to other folk.'

He then puts his finger on some of the wrongs of the poor: the prelates who ' waste in pride, gluttony, worldly pleas and great feasts of lords and rich men the treasure of poor men ', and who ' will not do sacraments and their ghostly office except for much money ' ; lords who take the goods of the poor and pay them with ' white sticks ',[1] i.e. mere tallies, who if the ' rent be not readily paid ' take their beasts and ' pursue them without mercy, though they be never so poor and needy and overcharged with age, feebleness and loss of cattle and with many children '. Such men ' eat and drink poor men's flesh and blood, and be murderers '. Some of these lords go to matins and yet ' dwell at home in gluttony and idleness ', or keep up trains of ' proud Lucifer's children, extortioners, robbers and revers (plunderers) to destroy their poor neighbours '. Then there are the wrongs done by lawyers who ' outlaw truth and right ', and who assist the lords to bring the tenants into thraldom. Nor does Wyclif let off the merchants who cheat the people in spite of their oaths ' by all the great members (limbs) of Christ and by all the mighty God in Trinity ' that their goods cost so much.

History repeats itself, and the insurrection of the Peasants in 1381 was curiously paralleled by the German Peasant war of 1525. That revolt, however, was much more closely connected with the preaching of Luther than the earlier insurrection with the teaching of Wyclif. The peasant, naturally, did not understand the distinction which Luther drew between individual liberty in spiritual things and in temporal. He was taught by Luther to claim the one ; he could not see why he should not claim the other, especially when, as was so often the case, his spiritual lord was also his temporal. In the

[1] Cf. *Lantern*, 113, ' other payment get they none but a white stick '. The reference is to the King's right of purveyance when travelling, for which only a tally was given. These tallies were then bought up at ruinous discount by sharpers. See *God Speed the Plough* (ed. Skeat in App. to *Pierce the Ploughman's Creed*).

peasants' revolt of 1525, also, many of the leaders were from the lower parochial clergy, who were maddened by the wrongs of the class from which they sprang. But the attitude of Wyclif and Luther to the two revolts was widely dissimilar. Wyclif, sprung from the squirearchy, as we have seen, refused to bend to the storm. Luther, a miner's son, might have been expected to have had greater sympathy than Wyclif. But he was so deeply stirred by the dangers to the Reformation of the antinomian programme of Thomas Münzer and other fanatics that he lost his balance. At the commencement of the revolt, it is true, he tried to hold the scales evenly. To the peasants he preached that the victory of the gospel was not to be won by brute force. 'Many of their demands', he owned, 'were founded on justice; but rebellion was the act of heathen.' To the nobility he was not sparing in his rebukes:

'It is you who have caused the revolt; it is your declamation against the Gospel; it is your guilty oppression of the flock. . . . Remember that some of their twelve articles contain just and rational demands.'

But later the tone of his exhortations became different. In his tract *Against the Plundering and Murderous Peasants* he speaks like a Prussian junker: 'Let him who can bear arms, smite, and slay them, and meet death, if need be, in God's service. If you neglect to shoot a mad dog, both yourself and your neighbours perish.' So he urged the German Protestant princes to 'brain them'.[1] Nor did Luther issue a single protest against the savage vindictiveness with which the revolt was suppressed. 'It is God's will,' he wrote, 'that fear should be installed into the people.'[2] In six months 2,000 peasants were beheaded or hanged, for there was not a single noble who did not claim such executions as his right. Heavy poll-taxes of five or six florins a head were laid on the peasants, while their life was made miserable by endless corvées for the reconstruction of ruined castles and monasteries. But Luther was a typical German in his belief that authority must be upheld at all cost.

[1] For the German Peasant Revolt see C. W. Oman in *Eng. Hist. Rev.* v. 65–94. The student, anxious to compare the two revolts, should also read *The Twelve Articles of the Peasants* in B. J. Kidd's *Documents Illustrative of the Continental Reformation* (1911), 174–9.

[2] *Letters of Luther*, trans. M. A. Currie (1908), 139.

VIII

THE BLACKFRIARS SYNOD

§ 1

Meanwhile at Oxford the withdrawal or sickness of the Master had not lessened the zeal of his disciples. The battle had begun immediately after the publication of Wyclif's *Confessio* (10 May 1381), at a time when the peasants were beginning their great revolt, and when in Oxford, according to Wood, there were 'great disorders both in University and town',

> 'that is to say the burning of diverse houses, committing of thefts, robbing and killing of men in streets and private places, keeping of unlawful conventicles by armed persons, using great excess in apparel, the extortion of forestallers and regrattors, extortion of Hostelars or Haglers in weights or measures, the requiring of unusual wages by workmen and artificers contrary to the Statute now in force'.

The university, unconscious of the forces of unrest at work outside, plunged at Whitsuntide into the election of a new chancellor. The result was a victory for the seculars in the election of Rigg.[1]

The followers of Wyclif were not slow to avail themselves of their new opportunity. During the winter of 1381–2 feeling rose high, for the Peasants' Revolt had fanned the flames. Both parties sought to involve the other in the opprobrium of this insurrection. The regulars accused Wyclif of being the author of the troubles. The seculars retorted that 'the four orders had been the cause of the rebellion'. When asked for proof of these 'blasphemies' they put forth three reasons: first that 'the commonwealth had been more impoverished by their beggings than by all the public taxes and tallages', secondly that they had set an example by their idle mendicancy which the 'serfs and rustics' had not been slow to follow, and thirdly that since the friars were the confessors of the people they might have foreseen and prevented the outbreak. How

[1] Wood, *Univ.* i. 497; Salter, *Snappe*, 331.

deeply the friars felt the charges may be seen in the appeal of the four orders 'in this anxious storm' to John of Gaunt himself.[1] Probably his visit to Oxford in the previous April to silence Wyclif had given the friars some hopes of success.

The agent of the friars in the dispatch of this letter was a remarkable man, Stephen Patrington. Born, probably, at the village of that name in Holderness, Patrington had joined the Carmelites at Lincoln. While still a student in theology at Oxford he began accumulating the materials for the history of lollardy afterwards used by his pupil Thomas Netter of Walden.[2] But he did not neglect his studies; a note-book of his undergraduate days is still extant, and witnesses to his industry.[3] According to Walsingham, he proved himself to be a 'vir eruditus' in Arts,[4] while his diligence in theology is proved by his doctorate. Patrington's earnestness and eloquence soon put him in the forefront of Wyclif's opponents. Though not present at the Blackfriars synod at its first meeting,[5] his name is found among those who were at the second congregation on the 12th June when Oxford matters were specially considered. The leading part he took at Oxford is further shown by his name being included among those whom Rigg and the lollards were forbidden to disturb by their actions. His fame as a preacher led to his receiving a licence to preach in Lincoln cathedral in the absence of the chancellor (14 Jan. 1389), while shortly afterwards we find him drawing great crowds to his sermons in London. His influence at court was considerable, and in 1397 he was granted £100 a year for life by John of Gaunt 'for his good services', and permission to hold a secular benefice of any value.[6] In 1399 he was appointed provincial.[7] Probably one of the confessors of Henry IV, he was certainly the confessor of Henry V,[8] who on the 1st February 1415 secured

[1] 18 Feb. 1382; *Ziz.* 292–5.

[2] I adopt Shirley's conjecture, *Ziz.* lxxvii.

[3] James, *MSS. Johns*, 137, and cf. Bale, i. 538, with names of disputants on the margin.

[4] Walsingham, ii. 300.

[5] Kingsford in *D. N. B.* is here mistaken.

[6] *Pat. Ric.* vi. 535; *Pap. Let.* v. 13.

[7] So *D. N. B.* But according to his epitaph in Weever, 438, he was not provincial until 1402.

[8] As such he had allowance of 3*s.* a day, with four horses and a groom for each, total £69 10*s.* 6*d.* (Rymer, ix. 72; Devon, 337; cf. 418). A queen's confessor received £20 (*ib.* 368).

his provision to the see of St. Davids.[1] In November 1417 he prepared to join Henry in Normandy,[2] but ere he could set out died in the Carmelite friary off Fleet Street and was buried in its choir.[3] His writings show that he had other interests besides theological controversy.[4]

Of Patrington's later zeal against the lollards under Henry V there is abundant evidence. We may surmise therefore that he played a considerable part in drawing up the letter to the duke.[5] There is reason to believe that he received assistance from a friar promoted to a 'fat bishopric'; this can only be John Gilbert.[6] In their letter the friars implored the duke to rid them of their 'chief enemy', Nicholas Hereford, who 'with other accomplices was incessantly proclaiming in the public ear' that the friars were at the bottom of all evils which vexed people and clergy, 'usury, simony, heresy, schism, tempests, wars, plague and famine'.[7] Possibly the friars were referring to an attack by Hereford entitled *de Apostasia fratrum a Christo*.[8] To this letter Hereford retorted a few days later

'by publicly preaching on the first Sunday in Lent (23 Feb. 1382) in St. Mary's, in the Latin tongue, before all the clergy, that no religious belonging to an order should be allowed to take his degree in the university. Every religious so taking it is an apostate'.

The proctors, Dash and Huntman, were present and joined in the applause of the seculars,[9] one of whom, William James, openly proclaimed 'that there is no idolatry except in the sacrament of the altar'. 'Now', replied Rigg, 'you are talking as a philosopher'.[10]

[1] *Pap. Let.* vi. 350; temporalities, 6 Apr. 1415 (Rymer, ix. 217, 269). A few months later he was 'called to Chichester' (Elmham, 162), and from 25 Aug. 1416 received the temporalities (*Pat. Hen.* ii. 42; Rymer, ix. 384), but never discharged the spiritual duties (*ib.* ix. 537; *Pat. Hen.* ii. 118, 132), owing, probably, to the deposition of John XXIII at Constance. That Patrington went to Constance (as *D. N. B.*) is a mistake (Wylie, *Hen. V.* i. 236 *n.*).

[2] Shipping hired at a cost of £34 18*s.* (Devon, 353).

[3] Leland, *Com.* 429; Fuller, *Worthies*, ii. 502; Villiers, ii. 765. d. 22 Dec. 1417. Not 22 Sept. as Bale, Leland, Villiers, Tanner, Weever 438 (quoting epitaph). His will, dated 16 Nov., was proved 29 Dec. (Le Neve, i. 244, 296).

[4] *in Eclogas Theoduli*; *in Aesopi Fabulas* (Tritheim, 77; Tanner, 581).

[5] So expressly in Tanner. [6] Wyclif, *Blas.* 74, where no name is given.

[7] *Ziz.* 294. Cf. *Mon. Franc.* i. 598; *Pol. Poems*, i. 260. [8] Bale, i. 502.

[9] *Ziz.* 305. The proctors were always the officers of the regents in arts (Rashdall, ii. 366).

[10] *Ziz.* 307. i. e. discussing the matter as a proposition in the schools. See *supra*, p. 146.

Patrington would be assisted by another Carmelite, Richard Maidstone,[1] from the friary of Aylesford in Kent where also he died (1 June 1396). At Oxford—his alleged fellowship at Merton may be doubted, unless we assume with Bale that he joined the friars later—he took his doctorate in theology and published a number of works, of which his answer to Ashwardby's attack on Mendicancy is still extant in the Bodleian. Of his other writings his *Seven Penitential Psalms in English* should be noted. Maidstone's influence at court was considerable.[2] In addition he was a ready preacher, of whose sermons several volumes were at one time extant.[3]

To the flattering letter of the friars John of Gaunt seems to have sent no answer. So the friars turned for help to Courtenay. It was high time for the archbishop's interference. Aston was carrying on a crusade at Leicester[4] while Wyclif had broken his silence by the publication, before the close of March 1382,[5] of an exceeding bitter attack upon the whole established order of the Church. In this work, the *de Blasphemia*,[6] Wyclif denounced as the ' twelve daughters of the diabolical leech ' or ' the twelve tormentors of the Church ' all the orders of officials, major and minor. If Christ came back to earth they would burn Him as a heretic. The first four chapters are devoted to the root of blasphemy, the claims of Christ's vicar whose life is in all points a contrast to Christ's. His conclusion was

' that it would be better for the Church if there were neither pope nor bishops of this sort, but, throwing aside the whole Caesarean tradition, poor priests only to teach in nakedness the law of Christ '.

From the pope he passes to the cardinals. Their name, taken by syllables, signifies *CARior DIaboli NAtus LIcium Seminator*; taken by letters it stands for *Custos Apostatorum Regni Diaboli*

[1] *D. N. B.*; Bale, i. 498; *Index Script.* 355; Villiers, ii. 682–3; Tritheim, 73; Brodrick, 224. [2] See his court-poem in *Pol. Poems*, i. 282–99.

[3] But the *Dormi Secure* is not his. See *supra*, p. 215.

[4] Easter, 1382; *Supra*, p. 138.

[5] The date is fixed as ' hoc anno ' of the Peasants' Revolt, i. e. as the year was then reckoned, before April 1382 (*op. cit.* 267). The references to the Council of Twelve at Oxford would lead us to date as in the summer of 1381, but the incorporation in the book shortly after publication of his *Imprecationes* (see *infra*, p. 251 *n.*) would indicate that it was only finished shortly before May 1382, for *Blas.* 109 is a defence of Wyclif's contemplated appeal to Parliament. At a later date some slight allusions to Spencer's Crusade were added (see pp. 156, 191). [6] Ed. M. H. Dziewicki, 1893.

Iuvans Nequissimum Ad Legem Iudicis Sopiendam; 'they are the hinges (*cardines*) of the broad road which leads to the pit'. Their 'monstrous retinues of horsemen' and the like are without warrant, and as a college they must be held responsible for the present state of the Church.[1] The third class of 'tormentors' was the episcopacy, and the fourth the archdeacons with their pride, their luxury, their trains of horses—though the law only allows them seven—and their abuse of excommunication with bell, candle, and the like.[2] His attack upon officials is interrupted by an examination of the nature and value of penance and confession. His conclusions lead him to fall foul of rural deans. Their business is to impose fines for sin; hence like incarnate fiends they encourage harlots that their revenues may not suffer. Parish priests should take no notice of these wolves, and refuse to publish their excommunications. After a vehement attack upon the friars, which however adds nothing to his usual invective, Wyclif assails the 'door keepers'. He accuses them of adding so much common water on Sundays to the holy water that the last families in the parish did not get pure holy water, for a small quantity of a sacramental liquid cannot sanctify a larger. As regards the inferior clergy in general Wyclif protests once more against their employment in secular charges as 'clerks of the privy seal, petty bag, and kitchen'. He concludes with an exposure of the misdeeds of questors who went about the kingdom collecting money and selling indulgences. In one way and another these twelve 'tormentors' are responsible for sending out of the realm £100,000 a year.[3]

Not content with this attack by his pen, Wyclif, emboldened possibly by the silence of Lancaster, resolved upon action that would carry out his principle of the superiority of the State. As his previous appeal to the king had been in vain, when Parliament assembled (7 May 1382), 'the heresiarch of execrable memory' laid a memorial before its members in which he reaffirmed doctrines 'which would make the ears of a faithful hearer tingle'. In this petition Wyclif avoided theological questions, also questions which lay strictly within the com-

[1] *Blas.* 4, 37, 62, 65. Cf. *Pot. Pap.* 195–6; *Eng. Works*, 472.
[2] *Blas.* 95, 97–8.
[3] *Blas.* 172 f., 256, 259, 261, 272 f.

petence of the courts spiritual, and dealt only with those matters which were the concern of Parliament.[1] England, he claimed, should obey no prelate, unless such obedience agreed with Christ's law. Money should not be sent to Rome unless it can be proved from Scripture to be due. The third point—that no man, 'whether cardinal or other' should enjoy any benefice in England unless resident and employed legitimately—is a plea for the effective carrying out of the Statutes of Provisors. His fourth demand was intended to appeal to the Commons. He claimed that the commonwealth 'should not be burdened with new tallages' until the endowments of the clergy had been exhausted. Once more he emphasized the duty of the king to confiscate the temporalities of any bishop 'living notoriously in contempt of God'. As a further petition he insisted that the king should employ neither 'bishop nor curate' in secular business. Wyclif concluded with the demand that no one should be imprisoned because excommunicated unless it be proved that the sentence is according to God's law.

Along with this more formal petition or broadsheet, Wyclif published an English *Complaint*.[2] This document, which was either never completed or has come down to us in an imperfect condition,[3] is in the form of a petition :

'Please it to our most noble and most worthy King Richard, and to noble Duke of Lancaster, and to other great men of the realm, both to seculars and men of holy Church, that be gathered in the Parlia-

[1] This petition has been incorporated by Wyclif in a second edition of *Blas.* 270–1. I am inclined also to find a reference to it in *Serm.* ii. 407, 421, 423. It is also in Walsingham, ii. 51–2 (where no. 4 should really form the last clause of no. 3. Walsingham or the editor has been misled by the 'quod'). Walsingham's title '*Interpretationes*' is also a mistake for Wyclif's title '*Imprecationes*'. Walsingham, ii. 53, dates as addressed to the Parliament which met at Westminster, May 7–22 (*Rot. Parl.* iii. 122 ; *Close Rolls*, ii. 121–2, 133–4 ; *Dig. Peer.* iv. 694–7. No return for London is extant, Sharpe, *Letter Book H*, 181). There is no mention of this petition in the records. Probably it was only a broadsheet 'ad dominos et magnates' (cf. *Eng. Works*, p. xxvi *n.*), and this would explain the existence of the *Complaint*. Lechler, 405, following Vaughan, *Mon.* 289, both date the *Complaint* as presented to the Parliament which met Oct. 6–24 (*Rot. Parl.* iii. 132 ; *Close Rolls*, ii. 227–8), for which they give the wrong date of 19 Nov. But the *Complaint* must have been before the Blackfriars Synod, to which it makes no reference.

[2] For this *Complaint* see *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 507–23, which rectifies the order of the text in the Corpus Christi MS. It had previously been printed in imperfect form by T. James in 1608, and by Lewis, 83–4.

[3] There is no suitable ending. Moreover it is difficult to see why Wyclif did not deal with other matters if this be the complete pamphlet.

ment to hear, assent and maintain the few articles or points that be set within this writing ; that Christian faith and Christian religion be increased, maintained and made stable, since our Lord Jesus Christ, very God and very man, is head and prelate of this religion and shed His precious heart blood and water out of His side on the cross, to make this religion perfect and stable and clean, without error '.

In this *Complaint* Wyclif dealt with four matters, only one of which had formed part of his *Petition*. Wyclif urged that the members of religious orders should be allowed freedom to leave them. ' Private rules ' must give way to ' the rule of Jesus Christ ', the ' most perfect for the state of this life '. He devotes one half of the whole document to this theme, and to his proof that the rules of the orders are either consistent with Christ's rule, in which case they are superfluous, or if inconsistent they are pernicious. From the Orders he passes to the right of the king and council to ' take away temporal goods given to men of the Church '. If ' curates do not their office in word and example ' then ' the paying of tithes should cease '. Wyclif also pointed out the evils which arose from the appropriation of livings by monasteries, falling back for confirmation upon ' the true, great clerk, Robert Grosted '. His fourth demand is that Christ's teaching concerning the Eucharist— ' that this sacrament is very bread and also very Christ's body ' —' may be taught openly in Churches to Christian people '. Furthermore, in a sermon published about this same time [1] Wyclif not only defended an appeal to the king as calculated to lessen confusion but charged the prelates with committing three wrongs : they frighten the people into giving money ; they call in the secular arm to enforce their penances; and instead of allowing patrons to promote priests ' known for their science and virtue ' they sell their institutions.

While Wyclif was thus laying his cause before Parliament his followers were not idle. Hereford, Aston, Lawrence Bedeman, and Robert Alington set off for a preaching circuit in Hampshire and Berkshire, making Odiham their centre.[2] But by Ascension Day (15 May) Hereford was back in Oxford, preaching a daring sermon in English ' in the churchyard of St. Frideswyde's '.

[1] *Serm.* ii. 423–4.

[2] See *Reg. Wykeham*, ii. 337–8, who on 21 May forwarded from Southwark a mandate of prohibition to the vicar of Odiham.

In this university appointment, regarded as the chief sermon of the year, Nicholas Hereford before the assembled masters 'stirred up the people to insurrection and excused and defended Wyclif'. The preacher, in fact, went beyond his master in 'his intolerable and unspeakable utterances'. Sudbury, he said, 'had been justly slain, inasmuch as he had determined to take proceedings against his master'. Nicholas, it is true, though destitute of the higher courage of Wyclif, was never distinguished for his restraint in speech. Our suspicions as to the genuiness of the report, as we now possess it, are aroused when we learn of the difficulty the friars experienced in taking steps against this daring schoolman, because

'Nicholas like a miserable coward was never willing to put down his views in a book, or even to give a sheet of paper to another doctor, but acted in the crafty manner of heretics'.[1]

§ 2

To these attacks of Wyclif and Hereford, Courtenay, 'that strong pillar of the Church', was not slow to reply. Hitherto the archbishop had taken no step until his title had been completed by the receipt of the pallium from Rome. On its arrival (6 May 1382) he issued a summons for a select committee to meet on the 17th May in the hall of the Blackfriars. Parliament, it is true, was still sitting,[2] but much had happened recently which led Courtenay to believe that Wyclif would no longer find support from either Legislature or Crown. No answer, in fact, had been sent to Wyclif's petition; in any event Courtenay would show that the Church had its own laws and courts, and in all matters of heresy was the sole judge. Nine bishops, sixteen doctors of theology, eleven doctors of laws, seven bachelors of theology, and two bachelors of laws obeyed his summons.[3] As there is no evidence that all the

[1] *Ziz.* 296. This sermon, taken down by notaries at the instance of Stokes, is in the Bodleian (Rashdall, ii. 429 *n.*), also a Latin version in Twyne MSS. iv. 172–4.

[2] *Ziz.* 272, 'when parliament was over is a mistake'.

[3] Lists in *Ziz.* 286–8, and, less complete, *ib.* 498. Also in Wilkins, iii. 158. Gascoigne, 116, inaccurately dates in 1380 and gives 13 bishops and 30 doctors of divinity. In *Serm.* iii. 347, Wyclif gives 3 bishops, 24 doctors in theology, and 24 in laws—a proof that he was not there.

bishops were summoned, the assembly would seem to have been specially selected by the archbishop.[1] This in itself is fatal to the claim that the gathering was a synod of Canterbury, to say nothing of the presence of a bishop from the northern province, John Fordham bishop of Durham, who, it is true, had only recently been consecrated at the same time as Robert Braybroke the successor of Courtenay at London.[2] No bishop was present from Wales, and the most distinguished scholar on the bench, Rede of Chichester, was absent.

Let us attempt to reconstruct the court and see what manner of men they were whom Courtenay had summoned to crush Wyclif. John Gilbert of Hereford and John Buckingham of Lincoln were both familiar with Wyclif, the one as his companion in Bruges, the other as the bishop of his diocese. Gilbert had old scores to settle with Oxford opponents of the friars.[3] According to Wyclif he had suggested a scheme of inquisition which would have led to the deposition of Wyclif's suffragan, Buckingham, for neglect. Wyclif had also charged him with suffering ' a thousand heretics ', men guilty of simony, to exist in his diocese.[4] Buckingham, whose negligence had thus been attacked, was probably more concerned at the moment with a fine he had incurred through the escape in the previous March from his jail at Newark of fourteen criminous clerks. He was negotiating at this very time for his pardon, news of which reached him while the synod was in session.[5] Moreover, he was old and infirm and this was almost the last occasion on which he attempted to come to Parliament or council. On the 3rd December 1384 he secured exemption for the rest of his life.[6] Another bishop, William of Wykeham, had been for years the object of John of Gaunt's attacks, and, as chief representative of the ' Caesarean clergy ', of Wyclif's dislike. He also was in trouble through the escape of twenty-three convicted clerks from one of his prisons.[7]

[1] Cf. Courtenay's statement, Wilkins, iii. 157 (cf. *Ziz.* 276).
[2] 5 Jan. 1382 (Le Neve, iii. 291 ; Stubbs, *Reg. Sac.* 81).
[3] *Supra*, i. 221. From *Pat. Ric.* i. 302, it would appear that Gilbert was chancellor of Oxford in July 1378, possibly for the year.
[4] See the obscure references, *Blas.* 73–4.
[5] Pardoned 22 May 1382 (*Cal. Pat.* ii. 120, cf. ii. 143).
[6] *Close Ric.* ii. 484.
[7] *Cal. Pat.* ii. 161, pardoned 15 Aug. 1382.

One other bishop was present who knew Wyclif well, Ralph Erghum, bishop of Salisbury. Erghum at this time was incensed against all lollards because of a recent incident in his diocese. At the village of St. Martin, a suburb of Salisbury, there dwelt a man ' of some repute ', Lawrence of St. Martin by name. At the Easter Eucharist he obtained from the priest the sacred wafer on the previous evening, took it from his mouth, and rushed off to his home bearing the wafer in his hands. The priest, thinking the man was mad, followed him, beseeching him ' to restore the wafer, or to treat it honourably after the manner of Christians '—Lawrence, it would appear, was a former convert from Judaism. All was in vain. The man shut himself in his house and proceeded to eat the wafer with his oysters, onions, and wine. Erghum dealt with the matter; and on Lawrence suing for pardon, he was forgiven on condition that he erected in Salisbury a stone cross with the whole incident sculptured on it, and that on six market days every year he should come to this cross with uncovered head and naked feet, in shirt and drawers, and there confess his sin. His crime was duly ascribed to the teaching of ' the beast which ascended out of the abyss, the colleague of Satan ', John Wyclif, and at a later date was transferred to the lollard, Sir John Montague. Probably it may be accounted for by Lawrence's Jewish upbringing; the feast at his house reads like an imitation of the Passover.[1]

[1] *Chron. Ang.* 282–3; Walsingham, i. 450–1; Capgrave, *Chron.* 245. In *Archaeol.* ix. 374, the Cross is identified with the remains of the Poultry Cross. There are details in this story which are puzzling. He is called ' a knight ' by the chroniclers and there was certainly a knight of that name, M.P. for his county in 1371 (*Close Ed.* xiii. 297), who in June 1375, called a knight, transferred Alton Barnes to Wykeham (*ib.* xiv. 236; cf. *ib.* xiv. 518, 527), and who had received a commission of ' oyer and terminer ', 12 May 1374 (*Pat. Ed.* xv. 480), whose name stood second on the commission for Wilts. in Ap. 1377 (*ib.* xvi. 497), and for whose numerous estates see *Inquis.* iii. 76, in 1386–7. There was also a converted Jew of the same name, not called a knight, for whom on 16 July 1375 provision was made at the *domus conversorum*, London (*Close Ed.* xiv. 147; cf. *Close Ric.* ii. 39), and who would receive a grant of 1½*d.* a day (*Pat. Ric.* ii. 491). I am inclined to think this is the man. The language of the priest hints that he was a convert. The chroniclers knew that he lived near Salisbury; some turned this into the story of Sir John Montague earl of Salisbury, as Capgrave, 245; Foxe, iii. 56; W. H. Jones, *Salisbury* (1880), 129; *Archaeol.* ix. 74. But the few who knew the name confused it with the knight, and so gave this convert the title of ' miles '. For the parish of St. Martin, then just outside the walls of Salisbury, see Hoare, *Wiltshire*, vi. 44, 593, 730.

Thomas Brunton or Brinton of Rochester[1] had met with Wyclif some years before, on a memorable occasion. A Benedictine monk of Norwich where he had been a contemporary of Adam Easton, a student of Oxford and Cambridge, he was distinguished as a preacher. Taken to Rome in 1368 by Langham, he had served there as penitentiary of the Holy See, and had won a reputation by his sermons. As a result Brunton on the 31st January 1373 had been provided by Gregory XI to the see of Rochester. He subsequently acted as the special preacher in the procession after Richard's coronation (17 July) and as Richard's confessor. Two months before the synod met he had been appointed one of the commission to deal with 'the hostile risings of diverse evildoers in congregations and conventicles' in the county of Kent, in other words to wind up the Peasants' Revolt. His sermons at St. Paul's Cross were distinguished for their plain speaking. He considered preaching not only in his own diocese but in London was one of his duties as a bishop, and pays a tribute to the greater intelligence of a London congregation. He was not blind to the signs of the times, nor out of sympathy with the great social needs. He preached, he tells us, 'for ten years continuously against the sins rife in my diocese', but adds: 'I cannot see that any one has risen effectually from his evil life'. In an interesting passage he tells us that when processions were ordered in the City hardly a hundred men could be found to follow them; those who came were the clergy and 'some few of the middle class', while the rich and noble neither prayed nor did penance for their iniquities, and many preachers at St. Paul's Cross who had dared to rebuke the vices of the lords had been banished or suspended from their office of preaching by the Council. But the only remedy he could suggest was to warn his hearers against the lollards, 'extraordinary teachers who are skilled in tickling the ears of the people'. Brunton, in spite of his

[1] *D. N. B.*; Gasquet, *Old English Bible*, c. 3; and for his sermons, Owst. For his works, Bale, ii. 80, with which cf. *Index Script.* 50, 433; his coronation sermon is in Walsingham, i. 338–9. The date of his death is uncertain, but before June 1389 (*Pat. Ric.* iv. 47). The date given for his will in *D. N. B.* and Le Neve, iii. 564, as Aug. 30, must therefore be the date of proof. Weever, 325, describes his tomb. See also *Pat. Ric.* ii. 138; Eubel, i. 444; Tanner, 126; *Ang. Sac.* i. 379.

evangelical zeal, came to the Blackfriars with his mind made up. He died in the early summer of 1389 and was buried in the parish church of Seale in Kent.

Of the other bishops, Robert Braybroke[1] of London was the son of a Northamptonshire knight. When he was bishop Braybroke obtained from Boniface IX a special indulgence for all who should visit the church of Horsington, a village three miles from Horncastle, 'saying on their knees a *Pater Noster* and an *Ave Maria*' for the souls of his parents, as also for the soul of John Braybroke who had been slain by robbers at Slepersdene 'near the high road from London to Oxford', to whose memory he had put up at the place of his murder a marble cross. Braybroke studied at Oxford, and in January 1363 was 'a student of civil law'. He probably left the university before the troubles with Wyclif began, and entered the king's service as his secretary. For this he was repaid by sundry preferments, and finally in the autumn of 1381 with the see of London. Shortly after this Blackfriars Synod he was appointed chancellor of England, but only held the post for six months. On the 15th October 1397 he was made chancellor of Ireland, but put the office into commission. Later on he set off for the distressful country, but was robbed of his goods as he passed through Brecon. As a noted pluralist his sympathies would not lie with reform, though as a bishop he was active in the discharge of duty. A few years after his election he gave offence to the lollards of London by enforcing the statutes against the preachers of heresy. Nor did he atone for his severity, in the judgement of the burghers, by his lax administration of the laws against prostitutes. But he was zealous in issuing threats of excommunication against the cordwainers who mended shoes on Sundays instead of attending mass.[2] To his credit, be it stated, he tried to reform the lax services

[1] For Braybroke see *D. N. B.* or the elaborate paper by E. W. Brabrook in *Lond. and Middlesex Arch. Soc.* iii. 528 f. See also *Pap. Let.* iv. 340, 410; *Pap. Pet.* i. 397; Wilkins, iii. 194; *Pat. Ric.* ii. 64, 168; iii. 458; vi. 218, 246. He was ordained priest at Ledbury, 13 March 1366 (*Reg. Charlton*, 107); consecrated bishop 5 Jan. 1382 (Eubel, i. 324). For his many preferments see *Pap. Let.* iv. 183, 401; *Reg. Brant.* i. 49, 71; *Pat. Ric.* ii. 58, 67; *Close Ed.* xiv. 352–3; Le Neve, i. 398, 591; ii. 99; iii. 184, 186; *Pap. Pet.* i. 397.

[2] Wilkins, iii. 218 (11 Ap. 1392). For similar efforts see *ib.* iii. 43, 368; *Reg. Wykeham*, ii. 431, 520–2, and for Sunday shaving, *Pap. Let.* viii. 174, 321.

at St. Paul's and to prevent the Londoners from desecrating the building. But Braybroke also was guilty of his share in the spoliation of the parish clergy. In May 1391 he obtained from Boniface the perpetual appropriation 'to the bishop's *mensa*, value 2,000 marks, of the churches of Stepney, Fulham, and Hackney, value 330 marks', because of the great charges he was put to by the 'yearly influx to London of nobles and others, especially in the parliaments and councils of the king'. An energetic, capable bishop, he died on the 27th August 1404[1] and was buried in a tomb he had prepared in St. Paul's. In the Great Fire his leaden coffin was smashed by the fall of the roof, and the body, which only weighed nine pounds, stiff like "dry leather"—so Pepys reported—was picked up out of the rubbish and formed for years one of the sights of London.[2]

The one representative from the Northern province was John Fordham.[3] Though he had received the temporalities he had not yet made his profession of obedience to the archbishop of York[4]; possibly he was sitting in the synod as archdeacon of Canterbury. Fordham, who hailed from the diocese of Norwich if we may judge from the name, was a noted pluralist who had served for some years as keeper of the Privy Seal, with the usual rewards. On the 9th September 1381 he had been provided to the see of Durham. On the 17th January 1386 he was appointed treasurer of the Exchequer, an office which he relinquished on the 20th October to John Gilbert. Together with his archbishop, Alexander de Neville, he assisted Richard II in his attempt to secure arbitrary power. In consequence he was banished from court by the successful Lords Appellant on the 1st January 1388, and as a punishment translated by

[1] So the brass on his tomb, Dugdale, *St. Paul*, 57, and cf. *Pat. Hen.* ii. 409. For other dates see *D. N. B.*

[2] Dugdale, *l.c.* 124, or W. S. Simpson, *St. Paul's and Old City Life* (1894), 237–42. In 1675 it was mutilated by a lady (*N. and Q.* II Ser. iii. 185).

[3] Not in *D. N. B.* nor mentioned in Wylie, *Hen. IV.* For details of his life and preferments see *Pat. Ric.* i. 27, 57, 319, 328, 527; ii. 107, 122; iii. 91, 232, 510; iv. 91, 109, 154, 365; vi. 564; *Pat. Hen.* i. 141; ii. 51; iii. 299, 302; iv. 306; *Pat. Hen. VI.* i. 228, 321, 560; Rymer, viii. 110; *Pap. Let.* iv. 78; *Ang. Sac.* i. 666; Walsingham, ii. 172. He must be distinguished, as Blomefield, *Norfolk*, ii. 108 and *Vict. Co. Norf.* ii. 368 fail to do, from John Fordham, prior of Thetford.

[4] Temporalities, 23 Oct. 1381 (*Pat. Ric.* ii. 44; Rymer, iv. 133); consecrated Lambeth, 5 Jan. 1382; enthroned 25 Feb.; oath of obedience, 18 Aug. 1382 (*Ang. Sac.* i. 773–4).

Urban VI to Ely (3 Ap. 1388), if indeed translation to so wealthy a see could be called punishment. In his new sphere his chief anxiety was to obtain arrears of his temporalities, to settle with the monks of Ely the limits of their respective jurisdictions,[1] to secure the enlargement of his park at Somersham, and to obtain the confirmation of the charters of his cathedral. We note with some interest that in 1411 he obtained a licence for two foreign singers to come over and serve in his chapel. He died at Downham in extreme old age, 19th November 1425.

Thomas Brantingham of Exeter [2] had for long years served the Crown in various offices. As treasurer of Calais, keeper of the Wardrobe, and treasurer of the Exchequer, he had received the usual preferments, but was one of the best of the 'Caesarean prelates'. Finally released from the treasurership (1 Feb. 1381), he devoted himself henceforth to the care of his vast diocese and to the completion of his cathedral. Brantingham, who had never been to Oxford, would look on Wyclif, a fellow Yorkshireman,[3] with all the suspicion with which a busy administrator always regards inexperienced reformers.

The only bishop present who could claim a doctorate in theology was one whom Netter calls 'Nanatensis', i.e. bishop of Nantes, in reality one of Wykeham's suffragans.[4] William

[1] Settled 20 Ap. 1418 by the justices. See *Pat. Hen. V.* ii. 183–95, a document of considerable importance for local historians.

[2] See *Reg. Brant.* ii. pp. vii–xxxix; *D. N. B.* Suppl. i. 260; G. Olver, *Bishops of Exeter*, 89–94. He was provided to Exeter, 4 March, 1370, paid the camera as dues 980 florins; consecrated, Stepney, 12 March (*Reg. Brant.* i. 3, 5, 221); died at Clyst, 13 Dec. 1394; his will, proved 30 Dec., is in full in *ib.* ii. 742–8. For his early livings, to each of which he left 40*s.*, see *ib.* ii. 746–7.

[3] In *D. N. B.* given as from Brantingham near Barnard Castle. More likely near S. Cave in E. Riding, to whose church he left 'a pair of vestments or 1*s.*' (*Reg. Brant.* ii. 746, probably a mistake for 40*s.*).

[4] For William Bottlesham, Bottisham, or Botsam (Usk, *Chron.* 45), who probably took his name from a village in Cambridgeshire, see *D. N. B.* v. 447. Walsingham, ii. 124, 180–1; *Ang. Sac.* i. 379; *Pat. Ric.* iv. 190; Rymer, vii. 655; Higden, ix. 171, 212; Bale, i. 491. In Wilkins, iii. 158, 164; *Ziz.* 286, he is called 'episcopus Nanaten(sis)'. On 13 March 1380, William 'episcopus Nanatensis' was made by Wykeham one of his suffragans (*Reg. Wykeham*, ii. 314–15, 346). This is difficult to explain. In Eubel, i. 372, Simon de Lingonis is bishop of Nantes from 16 March 1366 to his transference to Vannes 20 Oct. 1382, and John de Monstrelais from 20 Oct. 1382 to his death 13 Sept. 1391. Stubbs, *Reg. Sac.* 197, following Strype, *Cranmer* (1694), 36, read 'Navatensis', which he interpreted as Pavada of Bethlehem (see Eubel, i. 139). True, on 16 Oct. 1385, Bottlesham 'of Bethlehem' was provided to Llandaff (Rymer, vii. 478; Walsingham, ii. 124, 248; Eubel, i. 304). Wilkins, iii. 158, proposed to read 'Landaven'. But Llandaff was at this time filled by Roger Cradock, who died 16 Aug. 1382.

Bottlesham or Bottisham was a Cambridge Dominican,[1] a fellow of Pembroke, a preacher of high repute with Richard II. He was one of the few men for whom Urban VI had friendly feelings; Bottlesham, in fact, remained with Urban at Luceria in 1385 after the slaughter of the English proctor, John Allen, and endured with the pope the horrors of the siege. Bottlesham, we may note, incurred the special hatred of the lollards, probably because he took part, along with Gilbert of Hereford and Walter Diss, in the preaching in 1386 of the disgraceful Castilian Crusade.[2] For this and other services he was rewarded by Urban with the provision first of Llandaff, and afterwards, on the death of Brunton, with Rochester (Aug. 1389). He died on the 26th February 1400 and was succeeded on the 9th April by John Bottlesham, master of Peterhouse. The similarity of the names and the identity of the sees has caused much confusion,[3] and has led to the ascription by Bale of two volumes to John, in reality the work of William.

Of the seventeen doctors of theology who were present, including Bottlesham, there was not one who was not a friar, except John Wells of Ramsey. Each order had four representatives shared equally between Oxford and Cambridge: the Carmelites, Robert Glanville and Walter Diss of Cambridge, John Cunningham and John Loney of Oxford; the Dominicans, William Siward and John Langley of Oxford, John Paris and William Bottlesham of Cambridge; the Austins, Thomas Ashbourn and John Bankyn of Oxford, John Hornington of Cambridge, and Robert Waldby; the Franciscans, Hugh Carlisle and Thomas Bernwell, or Barnwell, of Oxford, William Folville and Roger Frisby of Cambridge. Little did Frisby foresee his own later martyrdom.[4] In his own way he was as iron-willed for what he deemed to be right as Wyclif himself.

To the reader most of the above are merely names. But in the England of 1382 the sixteen were illustrious as schoolmen, preachers, or men of affairs. We shall do well to recognize the

[1] Not a Carmelite as Tanner, 114.

[2] Walsingham, ii. 157 f.; Armitage-Smith.

[3] So in Tanner, 114; Walsingham, ii. 180, who calls both 'John'; *Pat. Ric.* vi. 591 (similar mistake); *Pap. Let.* v. 288 ('John de Rothesam').

[4] Frisby was a D.D. of Cambridge, warden of the Leicester friary who with ten others from his friary arranged to meet "Richard" on 21 June 1402. He and his companions were hanged accordingly at Tyburn, Frisby telling Henry IV that 'You never loved the Church'. See Wylie, i. 277 f.

strength and nature of the opposition to Wyclif by inquiring into their qualifications and character. With Cunningham, Loney, and Ashbourne the reader is already acquainted. Of the others we note the Carmelite, Walter Diss,[1] so called from the Norfolk town. Diss, who is said to have studied at Cambridge, Paris, and Rome, had been since 1375 one of the confessors of John of Gaunt and of his wife Constance, an author of repute and an eminent preacher who published two volumes of *Sermons*. Another of the doctors was Robert Waldby,[2] a Yorkshireman whose family hailed from a village near Hull. His brother John Waldby, with whom Robert is often confused,[3] was a noted preacher—on one occasion he fled from York to Tickhill to escape the crowds that flocked to hear him—many of whose sermons are still preserved. John became English provincial of the Austin friars, to which order, at Tickhill, Robert also attached himself. That Robert had studied at University College is improbable, in spite of his name in an old window of the chapel. We know that he went to France in the train of the Black Prince, and that he took his doctorate in theology at Toulouse. As tutor of Richard he was rewarded with the bishopric of Aire in Gascony (1386), then the archbishopric of Dublin (1390). In November 1395 he was transferred to Chichester and in October 1396 to York. On his death (29 Dec. 1397) Richard, to whom he owed 500 marks, showed a friendship unusual in creditors. He caused his body to be interred in Westminster Abbey. But to say with Stanley that Waldby is thus "the first representative of literature" in the abbey is to give his scholastic manuals and treatise against the lollards too honourable a title.

John Bankyn or Baukyn[4] of London was an Austin friar

[1] *D. N. B.*; Bale, i. 528; Leland, 393–4; Tanner, 229; Armitage-Smith, 172. Three fragments of his valueless poem *de Schismate Ecclesiae* were printed by J. M. Lydius in *N. de Clemangiis Opera* (1613), App. 31–4. Wood, *Fasti*, 32, confuses him with Walter Dash, the proctor. In July 1391 he was appointed by Boniface IX his nuncio (*Pap. Let.* iv. 413).

[2] *D. N. B.*; Bale, i. 499–500; Tanner, 746; *Ziz.* 286; Eubel, i. 71, 193, 237; *Pap. Let.* iv. 295, 297, 372, 382, 535, 543; *Pat. Ric.* iv. 239, 372, 382, 462, 473; v. 664; vi. 51, 293, 318; Rymer, vii. 386–90, 851; Wood, *Coll.* 65; *City*, ii. 467; Weever, 481 (where 'Adurensis' is mistakenly given as 'Sodorensis' i.e. Man); Stanley, *West.* 192; Le Neve, i. 243; iii. 108.

[3] e.g. Leland, *Comment.* 394; *Ziz.* 356.

[4] *Ib.* 286, 499; Wilkins, iii. 158; *Pat. Ric.* iii. 324, 386; Bale, i. 504; Tanner, 72.

who a few years later became the prior of the London house, and had much difficulty with runaway friars. In addition to his repute at Oxford as 'supremae classis magister' he was a popular preacher, whose *Sermones*, as well as his polemic *contra Positiones Wiclevi*, are now lost. Eleven years previously, in the parliament of 1371, he had made his protest along with Thomas Ashbourne against the claim of 'possessioners' for exemption from taxation, unless granted by convocation. Wyclif, who was present at the time, probably looked on him as an ally, but in the eleven years the two had drifted apart. William Folvyle,[1] a Lincolnshire Franciscan, had distinguished himself at Cambridge by his defence of the friars against the charge of stealing children, as also by his protest, entitled *pro Pueris Induendis*, against the statute which prevented youths under eighteen from joining their ranks. Another Austin, John Hornington,[2] a doctor of Cambridge, had obtained permission to establish himself in the convent at Kingston upon Hull, with a chamber to himself. Thence in the previous August 'certain envious persons schemed to expel him'; so he was driven to obtain the royal protection. The Franciscans, Hugh Carlisle and Thomas Barnwell, were both doctors of Oxford. There were also present three Dominican doctors, members of the Blackfriars convent: John Langley of Oxford; William Syward [3] the prior of the friary, at one time confessor of Edward III, and from 1383 to 1393 the English provincial; and John Paris who had been elected but not allowed to serve as the vicar-general of England.[4]

Not content with this excessive representation of friars among the doctors—'a council of friars' as Wyclif afterwards contemptuously called it, much to Netter's indignation [5]—Courtenay had also summoned seven bachelors of theology, of

[1] Tanner, 292; Bale, i. 492; *Index Script.* 124; Wood, *Univ.* i. 475. (See also *supra*, i. 94.) He died in 1384.

[2] *Ziz*, 499, 'Horymone'; *ib.* 286, 'Hormenton'; *Pat. Ric.* ii. 36.

[3] *Eng. Hist. Rev.* xxxiii. 246; *Arch. Jour.* xxxv. 156. Confessor of Edward III, with an annuity of £69 10*s.* 6*d.* (*Pat. Ric.* iv. 370; Rymer, iii. 1064), from 12 Nov. 1376 to Edward's death, when he received a pension of £19 15*s.* 3*d.* For his family see Sharpe, *Wills*, ii. 183.

[4] Elected Carcassonne, June 1378, on the deposition of Rushoek. On 10 Nov. Richard restored Rushoek, an action confirmed by Urban VI on 25 Aug. 1379 (*Pap. Let.* v. 14; *Pat. Ric.* i. 310; *Eng. Hist. Rev.* xxxiii. 497).

[5] *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 503; *Trial.* 374; *Ziz.* 283–4.

whom all but one were friars. The exception was John Bloxham,[1] the warden of Merton (1375–87). Bloxham's career is full of uncertain rumour. Of the friars, the Carmelite John Tompson[2] was a Norfolk man, educated at Blakeney, who wrote many theological works for the most part non-controversial in character. He seems also to have some slight interest in Ovid. Three of the others were Dominicans, inmates, probably, of the friary. One of these, called William Pickworth,[3] whose name has been twisted in the records into curious shapes, two years before this council suffered a strange adventure. Some 'scholars of Mildenhall' had abducted him at Thetford from his friary, apparently when walking out with his companions, and had hidden him. No reason was assigned, and the names of the guilty were unknown. 'Scholars of Mildenhall' there were none; probably this was but a disguise for some retainers of John of Gaunt, of whom Pickworth had been accused of 'speaking traitorously'. He survived the outrage and on the 15th August 1397 he was chosen provincial at Newcastle, but only by a divided vote. He was still provincial on Easter Sunday, 15th April 1403, when he preached before Henry IV at Eltham. The two other Dominicans were Robert Humbleton and John Lindlow, both bachelors of theology of Oxford. Humbleton,[4] who in 1393 was appointed vicar-general of his order in England, is credited by Pits with three writings, a *Summa totius theologiae*, certain scholastic disputations, and a polemic against the Wyclifists. But, if so, all have perished. Of Lindlow and the Franciscan bachelor Ralph Wyche, nothing is known.

Eleven doctors and two bachelors of both laws completed the gathering. They would certainly remember the attacks which

[1] Brodrick, 157–8 (with Tanner, 108, I distrust the tale Brodrick gives from Bale, i. 507); Wood, *Coll.* i. 6, 23. Possibly the same as the archdeacon of Winchester (appointed 23 Sept. 1384; failed to obtain the living against the papal nominee until Ap. 1386, *Pat. Ric.* ii. 460; iii. 172, 479).

[2] *D. N. B.*; Leland, *Com.* 401; Bale, i. 489, who gives the incipits of thirteen works all of which he saw 'in the beautiful library' of the Carmelites at Norwich, though none are mentioned in Leland, *Coll.* iv. 28; Tanner, 718. The name is corrupted in *Ziz.* 500, to 'Tenstone', and in Tritheim, 44, to 'Camscen', though rightly entered, *ib.* 57, and in his *de Vir. Illust. ord. Carm.* (Cologne 1643), 83.

[3] Wilkins, iii. 158, 161; *Reg. Wykeham*, ii. 18–19; *Reg. Gaunt.* ii. 355; *Rot. Parl.* iii. 502; *Arch. Jour.* xxxv. 158; *Eng. Hist. Rev.* xxxiii. 246.

[4] Pits, 556; Tanner, 420; *Eng. Hist. Rev.* xxxiii. 246.

Wyclif had made upon law as a suitable study for the clergy, his pleading for the strict enforcement of the decrees of Honorius,[1] his protest against the clergy being employed in the civil service. Mention must be made of the most distinguished, if only because their record is itself a defence of Wyclif. There was the noted pluralist John de Appleby, dean of St. Paul's.[2] At one time or another Appleby held with this deanery the wealthy living of Rothbury, the archdeaconry of Carlisle, prebends in York and Southwell, and a pension of £100 p.a. from Durham.[3] In 1389 he was appointed one of the judges in the protracted suit between Scrope and Grosvenor 'touching arms of azure with a bend or',[4] but died a few months later. An even greater pluralist than Appleby was John Waltham,[5] born at a village near Grimsby, the nephew of archbishop Thoresby. He was at this time Master of the Rolls; thrice was the great seal entrusted to him, and in May 1391 he became Treasurer of England. In the disputes of Richard with his people he was invariably on the side of autocracy. Provided to the see of Salisbury (3 Ap. 1388), he was consecrated at Barnwell, Cambridge, and at once appointed two suffragans to discharge his duties. On his death (17 Sept. 1395) he had his reward in a tomb among the kings, the only person not of royal blood so honoured. The visitor to the chapel of the Confessor may still see the fine brass beneath which he sleeps, dressed in full canonicals, hard by the tomb of the great Edward. He lives in history not by any spiritual service he ever rendered, but in the grumbles of the people at his excessive prisage of wines, by his extension of the jurisdiction of chancery, and by his introduction of the writ of sub-poena, a novelty which in spite of the remonstrances of the Commons has survived to this day.

[1] *Off. Reg.* 177. See *supra*, p. 24.

[2] Provided 1364 (*Pap. Pet.* i. 472, 474; Le Neve, ii. 312). For some of his previous pluralities see *Pap. Pet.* i. 214, 315, 354, 396; Le Neve, i. 234, 312, 345.

[3] Le Neve, ii. 312, 374; iii. 203, 249, 426; *Pap. Pet.* i. 317, 361; *Pat. Ric.* i. 278; Wilkins, iii. 78. Appleby was dean on 20 June 1389 (*Pat. Ric.* iv. 51); on 26 Nov. his successor is mentioned (*ib.* iv. 159). The ambiguous *Pap. Let.* iv. 375, must therefore not be interpreted that he was still alive in March 1391.

[4] *Pat. Ric.* iv. 40; Rymer, vii. 621. See *supra*, i. 30 *n.*

[5] Excellent account in *D. N. B.* I have collected details of over twenty of his preferments, but the list is too long to print. For the charter he secured for the see of Salisbury on 13 March 1394 see *Charters* v. 344–5.

Compared with Waltham, Thomas Bacton,[1] archdeacon of London and prebendary of Willesden, was but a moderate pluralist. Of the other doctors of law we note John Blanchard, archdeacon of Worcester;[2] Ralph Tregrisiow, who two years later became dean of Exeter, and, through the non-residence of Stafford, the virtual administrator of the diocese, obtaining the remarkable privileges of 'exemption for life from the jurisdiction of the bishop' and of choosing his own coadjutors 'without consulting bishop or chapter'[3]; William Rowcombe, in later years archdeacon of Worcester[4]; John de Welbourne, who became both archdeacon of Ely and a prebendary of York.[5] Another lawyer, Nicholas Chaddesden, a Derbyshire man, held the archdeaconry of Lincoln as well as prebends in Lincoln and Lichfield.[6] These he had received for his services as one of the king's clerks. There were also Thomas Stowe, whose long legal career led to much preferment including the archdeaconries of Bedford and London, and finally the deanery of St. Paul's,[7] and John Lydford, whose first benefice was a papal provision in June 1376 to a church in the diocese of Winchester for which he paid curial expenses of 32 florins. In the following year he was appointed by Wykeham judge of his consistory court. Lydford afterwards became a canon of Exeter, and in 1385 archdeacon of Totnes. From 1398 to his death in 1407 he received

[1] *Reg. Wykeham*, ii. 50, 384; *Close Ed.* xiv. 116–17; *Pat. Ric.* iv. 363; Le Neve, ii. 206, 321, 451. Died 1396.

[2] Le Neve, iii. 74; *Pat. Ric.* ii. 357, 425; *Pat. Ed.* xv. 451. He died in the winter of 1384.

[3] *Pap. Let.* iv. 390, 403 (28 Feb. 1391). His name—that of a village in Cornwall—is extraordinarily twisted in the records. For details about him see *Reg. Grand.* iii. 1255; *Reg. Stafford*, p. viii–ix, 289, 405–6 (his will; £40 to the poor; his law books for the use of Cornish students); *Pap. Let.* iv. 33; *Close Ric.* iii. 447, 588. He died 25 July 1415.

[4] From 11 Nov. 1399 to his death in Oct. 1412 (*Pat. Hen.* i. 56; Le Neve, ii. 642; iii. 74).

[5] From 27 Oct. 1397 to his death, Jan. 1410 (*ib.* i. 351; *Pat. Hen.* iv. 47). There were two John Welbournes, whom it is hopeless to attempt to disentangle.

[6] Le Neve, ii. 158; iii. 622; *Pat. Ric.* i. 451; iii. 235; *Close Ed.* xiii. 314. He died before Nov. 1388. In May 1381 he acted as an executor for Henry de Chaddesden, archdeacon of Leicester, and so founded a chantry 'all too poorly' for his soul (*Pat. Ed.* xv. 470).

[7] Dean from 25 Oct. 1400 (Le Neve, ii. 312; *Pat. Hen.* i. 362) to his death before 20 Nov. 1405 (*ib.* iii. 100). Stowe was an M.A. before Sept. 1372 (Boase, lvi). For his pluralities and preferments see *Pat. Ric.* ii. 225, 439 (correcting Le Neve, ii. 73); iii. 225; iv. 42; vi. 26; *Pat. Hen.* i. 362; Le Neve, ii. 34, 200, 321, 407.

permission to visit his archdeaconry by deputy. According to a statement in his will he was an associate member of both the Franciscan and Dominican orders. Though he loved, as he tells us, a glass of good wine, he left the residue of his estate for 'poor, penniless, bedridden people, especially those confined to huts and cottages'.[1] Of William Flaynborough or Flaneborough nothing seems to be known, though his Yorkshire origin may be inferred.

§ 3

On the 17th May the council,[2] thus packed by Courtenay, met in 'a chamber within the confines of the Blackfriars', probably the upper fratry. Wyclif himself was not summoned to appear. In his place there were produced twenty-four 'heretical' or 'erroneous' Conclusions extracted from his writings, though in the copies that have come down to us Wyclif's name is never mentioned. Among the 'heresies' were Wyclif's tenets on the Eucharist, confession, the papacy, dominion, and endowments. The 'erroneous' Conclusions were curiously mixed: excommunication, the office of teacher and preacher, tithes and property, and the value of the monastic life. After receiving these Conclusions the synod adjourned with a solemn charge from Courtenay that they should faithfully consider and 'each should declare to us their opinions concerning the said Conclusions'.

Four days later, Wednesday 21st May,[3] the council met again 'post prandium', or shortly after ten in the morning,

[1] *Reg. Brant.* i. 516; *Reg. Wykeham*, ii. 259–63, 265; *Pap. Let.* v. 251, vi. 112. For his will, proved at Crediton 13 Dec. 1407, see *Reg. Stafford* 389–90. He left £10 for mending bridges near Exeter, £10 to one of his clerks 'to help him in his scholastic studies', and to another '12 marks and a bed suitable to his station'.

[2] No direct record has come down to us. But we have copies of its conclusions in Courtenay's Mandates (see *infra*) in Wilkins, iii. 157–8; *Reg. Wykeham*, ii. 338–42; see also Mansi, xxvi. 695–706; also in *Ziz.* 277–82 (see *infra*, p. 416); in Walsingham, ii. 58–9 (omitting nos. 16 and 24); *Chron. Ang.* 342–4; Knighton, ii. 158–9. There is an English translation in Foxe, iii. 21–2.

[3] The day of the earthquake is variously given as 17 May (Lewis, 88; Vaughan, *Mon.* 264); as St. Dunstan's Day, 19 May (*Ziz.* 272; Foxe, iii. 19; Trevelyan, 294; Loserth, *Op. Min.* 357); and 21 May (Walsingham, ii. 67, cf. *Chron. Ang.* 351; *Eulog. Cont.* iii. 356; *Ziz.* 288; Wilkins, iii. 157). This last date is undoubtedly correct. A second shock was felt on 24 May (*Chron. Ang.* 351).

'in the same chamber'. The Conclusions were read over and carefully explained. As the proceedings were coming to an end,[1] between two and three in the afternoon,[2] a terrific earthquake was felt all over England but especially in Kent, where damage was done to the cathedral at Canterbury.[3] In London chimneys rocked and pinnacles fell. Some of the bishops in their terror desired to adjourn the court. But Courtenay

'a valiant man and zealous for the Church of God reassured them, warning them that in the cause of the Church they should not be slothful. The earthquake did indeed portend a purging of the realm from heresies. For as there are bottled up in the bowels of the earth foul air and winds, which are expelled in an earthquake, and so the earth is purged, though not without great violence, in the same way there are many heresies shut up in the hearts of the reprobate, and by their condemnation the realm has been purged, though not without irksomeness and great commotion.'

Courtenay's happy inspiration saved the synod. Wyclif found it needful to publish at once an interpretation in an opposite sense. The 'earth-din', he maintained, was the outcry of the world against the heretic prelates. 'For the friars put an heresy upon Christ and saints in heaven; wherefore the earth trembled, failing men's voice answering for God, as it did in time of His passion'.[4] In token of his contempt for Courtenay's appeal to the omens Wyclif dubbed the meeting the 'Earthquake council'.[5] But the honours of this contest rested with Courtenay, who had secured the condemnation of the twenty-four Conclusions.[6]

The majority of these Conclusions may be deemed to be a fair presentation of Wyclif's thought, though no doubt many

[1] *Ziz.* 272, 'fuit depuratum' points to the formal condemnation as already passed.

[2] 'hora secunda post meridiem', *Ziz.* 272, 'hora nona', i.e. about 3 p.m. Walsingham, ii. 67; *Chron. Ang.* 351.

[3] *Pat. Ric.* ii. 164.

[4] *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 503; Knighton, ii. 162. Cf. *Trial.* 376. In Lewis, 87; Vaughan, *Mon.* 571, the passage reads as nonsense. Netter, *Doct.* iii. 770, complains that Wyclif treated the earthquake as a miracle for his benefit. For the general impression produced see *Pol. Poems*, i. 251 (linked with the Rising and the Pestilence); *Brut*, ii. 338.

[5] For references to 'concilium terraemotus', or 'terraemotus' alone, see *Trial.* 374; *Serm.* iii. 292, 370 f., 398, 436, 440–2, 467–8 (this last is quoted in disgust in *Ziz.* 283); *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 175; *Op. Min.* 357 (sign of Last Judgement).

[6] For these see Appendix T.

of the limitations upon which he insisted had been destroyed by severance from their context. His claim in the ninth Conclusion that the Church should be constituted 'after the manner of the Greeks' was carefully explained by Wyclif as due to his belief that 'the Greeks had kept more perfectly the faith of Christ'.[1] The seventh Conclusion 'that God ought to obey the devil' needs explanation. That the phrasing is unfortunate or irreverent may be acknowledged, and the speedy disappearance of this thesis from later lollard teaching shows consciousness of this. The thesis is one of those propositions dear to the scholastic mind. Wyclif held that the merit of obedience lies not in the goodness of the person obeyed, but in the charity of the person who gives obedience. In one of his sermons in defence of this thesis he urged that 'Christ obeyed Scarioth' (Iscariot) and was tempted of the devil, i.e. 'in his humanity obeyed him'. The thesis is thus part of Wyclif's theory of dominion. Dominion the wicked do not possess, but they have power by God's permission, and therefore obedience is due to it, though this obedience may be what Wyclif calls 'resistive obedience'.[2]

Courtenay was not the man to be satisfied with half measures, or to spoil his plans by premature haste. He allowed a week to pass by before publishing these decisions while he attempted to secure the assistance of the secular arm. Without this, as he had learned from his experience four years before, the bishop curses but in vain. Through his financial necessities Richard had been forced on the 7th May to call Parliament together at Westminster. This was the parliament before which Wyclif had laid his Petition and *Complaint*. The issue was very different from what the Reformer expected. After considerable debate a renewal had been secured of certain surtaxes for the maintenance of a Channel fleet, and on the 22nd May Parliament was dissolved. In its closing hours, probably on the same day as the Blackfriars Council, Courtenay attempted a bold stroke. He pursuaded Richard to admit in the statute passed at the end of the session a chapter or ordinance dated on the

[1] *Trial.* 446; *Blas.* 7, 8. This belief in the Greeks was a mark both of the Spiritual Franciscans and of the Waldensians.

[2] *Off. Reg.* 40, 99, 193; *Civ. Dom.* iii. 40; *Serm.* ii. 311, iii. 467–8; *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 435, 437.

day that Parliament rose, wherein, with the pretended consent of Parliament, it was ordered that upon certification from the bishops the king's commands should be issued by the Chancellor of the kingdom to the sheriffs and other State officers of counties for the arrest and imprisonment of all lollards, especially of itinerant preachers, who, we are told,

> ' go from county to county and from town to town, in certain habits, under pretence of great holiness, preaching daily not only in churches and churchyards, but also in markets, fairs, and other open places, wherever there is a great congregation of people '.

The ordinance sounded like a law made by the joint consent of the Crown and the estates of the realm, if we may be allowed to use a phrase that a fourteenth-century publicist would not have understood. And yet it was nothing of the kind. It was a royal ordinance, passed, possibly, with the consent of the lords of the council, after the departure or at least in the absence of the Commons.[1] But the authority of the Commons, especially in legislation dealing with religion, was still vague and doubtful. Some doubt as to the legality of this ordinance, or some difficulty in putting it into operation, led Courtenay a month later to take other steps. On the 26th June he secured from Richard's ministers letters patent. In these, ' out of zeal for the Catholic faith, whereof we be and will be on all occasions the defender ', the king conveys to the archbishop and his suffragans plenary power to imprison all defenders of the condemned theses, ' either in their own or in other prisons, at their pleasure ', until they give proofs of repentance and make recantation, or until the king and his Council should have taken some other action in the matter. At the same time all lieges, ministers, and subjects of the king were enjoined upon their allegiance, and on pain of forfeiting their estates, not to give any favour or support to those preachers or their fautors, but, on the contrary, ' to assist the archbishop, his suffragans and ministers in the execution of these presents '.[2]

[1] For this ordinance see *Rot. Parl.* iii. 124–5 ; (the protest of the Commons, *ib.* iii. 141) ; *Statutes*, ii. 25 ; *Reg. Wykeham*, ii. 343 ; translated Foxe, iii. 37.

[2] *Pat. Ric.* ii. 150 ; Wilkins, iii. 156 ; *Reg. Brant.* i. 466–7, and the Eng. trans. in Foxe, iii. 39. In Wilkins, l.c., the patent is dated 12 July, but that, as Lechler, 388 *n.*, suggests, is probably the date on which it arrived at Ely, from whose archives Wilkins has copied it. The date is clearly given in *Reg. Brant.* l. c.

The student who compares the statute of the 22nd May with the letters patent of the 26th June will notice a considerable weakening in Courtenay's claims. In the patent no attempt is made, as in the statute, to throw upon the secular arm the duty of heresy-hunting, or the carrying out, without further warrant, the decisions of the ecclesiastical courts. The trouble and expense of acting as inquisitors is left to the bishops themselves. In obtaining the statute Courtenay evidently had overreached himself and aroused the antagonism of the Commons, as indeed the archbishop found. On the 6th October Parliament once more assembled in Westminster, the third session within twelve months. In order, possibly, to disarm criticism, two days before its gathering notice was sent to various ports to take active steps to 'prevent trafficking in papal bulls'.[1] The chancellor, Richard le Scrope, first lord of Bolton, a faithful and honest public servant, had been dismissed by Richard (11 July) after seven months' service [2] for refusing to consent to some extravagant grants. In his place, after considerable delay, Robert Braybroke, bishop of London, had been appointed (20 Sept.).[3] Braybroke was an enemy of the lollards, but the Commons were in a position of advantage. Unless further supplies could be obtained, the expedition of John of Gaunt into Spain was bound to fail, in spite of the grant by Urban VI of permission to preach two Crusades. Never, in fact, had the kingdom been in greater danger. Notwithstanding this, only after considerable trouble did John Gilbert succeed in obtaining a Fifteenth and Tenth for the defence of the realm.[4] In return the Commons secured the revocation of the statute issued 'without their consent' five months before. 'It was not their intent', they stated in their petition for its repeal, 'to be justified to the prelates nor to bind their successors to be so more than their ancestors had been in times past'.[5] But the

[1] *Pat. Ric.* ii. 197.

[2] Walsingham, ii. 68–70. Appointed 18 Nov. 1381 (*Rot. Parl.* iii. 100), but the seals not surrendered by Courtenay until 30 Nov. (Rymer, iv. 136; *Close Ric.* ii. 97).

[3] At Bristol castle on 9 Sept.; seals delivered on 20 Sept. (*Rot. Parl.* iii. 132; Rymer, iv. 150; *Close. Ric.* ii. 157, 215).

[4] *Rot. Parl.* iii. 133–4.

[5] *Ib.* 141; trans. in Foxe, iii. 38. The date of the Commons' protest must lie between 6 Oct. and 20 Oct. when Parliament rose (*Rot. Parl.* iii. 132).

protest of the Commons, in spite of the king's consent to their petition, seems to have been of little avail. No record of the repeal was entered on the rolls, and on the 8th December 1384 the letters patent were confirmed and extended to the province of York.[1] In later years also the statute was treated as still valid.[2]

Doubly armed with the royal ordinance and with the decisions of the Blackfriars synod, Courtenay felt that he could now strike effectively. On the 30th May he forwarded from Otford a mandate to Braybroke, enclosing the condemnation and bidding him to send the same to

'all the suffragans of our church of Canterbury, with all possible speed, so that every one in their own cathedrals and in the other churches of their cities and dioceses may admonish and warn, assigning for the first admonition one day, for the second admonition another day, and for the third canonical and peremptory admonition another day: That no man henceforth of whatsoever state or condition do hold, teach, preach or defend the aforesaid heresies and errors, or any of them, nor that he admit to preach any one that is prohibited or not sent to preach, or any one else of whom there is any doubt'.

Should there be disobedience the bishops were to act 'as inquisitors of heretical pravity'. This mandate was forwarded by Braybroke to the other bishops on the 5th June.[3] Six weeks later (12 July) John Buckingham sent a copy to the archdeacons of his diocese for distribution to 'every abbot, prior, dean, rector and vicar, and to their parish chaplains and all others in holy orders (*divina celebrantibus*)'. The copy sent to the archdeacon of Leicester has been preserved for us by Knighton.[4] By the archdeacon of Leicester a copy would be forwarded, through the rural dean of Guthlaxton, to Wyclif himself, reaching him at Lutterworth about the middle of July. In one church in the diocese of Lincoln we may be certain that Courtenay's mandate either would not be read, or, if read, would be freely annotated by Wyclif, whose name, however,

[1] *Pat. Ric.* ii. 487; Eng. trans. in Gee and Hardy, 110.

[2] Confirmed as an existing statute in 25 Hen. VIII, c. 14 (*Statutes*, iii. 454), and expressly revived by Mary, 1 & 2 P. & M. c. 6 (*ib.* iv. 244).

[3] Wilkins, iii. 158–9; Knighton, ii. 165–7; *Reg. Brant.* i. 462–4; Eng. trans. in Foxe, iii. 23.

[4] *Chron.* ii. 164–8, written at Stow. For the archdeacon of Leicester at this time see *infra*, p. 294 *n.*, correcting Le Neve, ii. 60 n.

as the student should note, is not once mentioned in any of the official documents that have come down to us.[1]

Courtenay's letter to Braybroke was dated the 30th May. On that day—the Friday after Whit-Sunday, and therefore a fast day—a solemn procession had been arranged through the streets of London of barefooted clergy and laity, with the bishop of London at their head. This procession, ordered to be held also in every diocese[2] as an intercession against the plague which was then raging, closed with a sermon, probably at St. Paul's Cross, by Wyclif's opponent, Dr. Cunningham, in the course of which the archbishop's letter was read to the people. Such was the effect of the sermon, or of the archbishop's warnings, that an Irish 'lollard', Sir Cornelius de Clone,[3] going next day, the eve of Trinity Sunday, to mass at the Blackfriars, was converted from his errors. For

'on the breaking of the host the knight saw with his bodily eyes in the hands of the officiating friar true bleeding flesh (*crudam et sanguinolentam*) divided into three parts . . . and in the midst of the third part the name Jesus written in letters of blood'.

This miracle was duly reported the next day at St. Paul's Cross to the people by the friar in question and corroborated by the knight, who promised that henceforth he would 'fight even to death' for the orthodox doctrine.[4] We do the doughty Irishman no wrong in thinking that a pension from the court of 40 marks a year may not have been without effect on his vision. We are confirmed in our suspicions when we find that Clone was heavily in debt; in fact, three weeks earlier he had obtained protection from his debtors on the ground that he was off to Ireland on the king's service. A few days before his vision he had also obtained a further pension from his Irish lands at Cromlyn of £4 6*s*. 8*d*. What grounds Knighton had for calling this Irishman a lollard we know not; it cannot have

[1] Knighton, ii. 167, adds a gloss 'quae vocantur conclusiones Wyclyf' and changes 'translationis' to 'nostrae consecrationis primo'.

[2] *Reg. Brant.* i. 464–5, issued Otford, 30 May.

[3] For Clone's career see *Pat. Ed.* xvi. 240 (pension of 20 marks p.a. as Edward's esquire; confirmed 25 Sept. 1378; *Pat. Ric.* i. 274); service in Ireland under Mortimer (*ib.* i. 409); pension 40 marks p.a. (*ib.* i. 481). See also *ib.* ii. 121, 131, 226, 257, 316, 354; *Close Ric.* ii. 430.

[4] Knighton, ii. 163–4. For similar tales see Heisterbach, *Dial. Miraculorum*, ii. 164–217. Possibly Wyclif alludes to this incident in *Sel. Eng. Work* iii. 176.

been that he was " agin' the government ". Possibly the cause was his Irish blood. Be that as it may, on the 12th February 1383 the knight did what he could to purge himself of the charge. He obtained what we should now call letters of naturalization for himself as an Englishman in Ireland, and for all of his blood ' who bear the cognomen of Fynatha ', the name by which he desired to be known. He had his reward in his appointment four days later as ' keeper and governor ' of three castles and manors ' with power to treat with the king's enemies and rebels, English as well as Irish, and reduce the rest to obedience '. In the following September Clone was back again in London, and attached himself to John de Holland, the king's half-brother, receiving permission to draw his rents from Ireland, in spite of any ' proviso in the grants against non-residence '. In the following October he was made deputy marshal of England. A few months later he was dead, killed possibly, or " missing " in reducing ' the rest to obedience ', and his estate at Cromlyn (co. Westmeath) was granted for life to John Slegh, the king's butler.[1] A good knight, no doubt, and an excellent courtier, but, as we read his portrait, not given either to lollardy or to seeing visions, unless indeed they made for his own advancement.

§ 4

Courtenay next proceeded to attack the citadel of unrest in Oxford itself. As soon as the Blackfriars Council had passed its condemnation ' the Catholics at Oxford ' wrote to the archbishop beseeching him to publish the same at once. So on the 28th May the condemnation was forwarded to the chancellor, two days before the general publication by the bishop of London. The cause of haste was the arrival in Oxford of another ' lollard of Wyclif's sect ', Philip Repingdon.[2] In the spring of 1382 Repingdon was finishing his course in divinity. He was looking forward to his inception. He had already shown his sympathies with the reformers by a dispute in the

[1] *Pat. Ric.* ii. 412 (8 July 1384). The grant was twice repeated (1 and 4 Nov. 1384) as if there was something uncertain about the death (*ib.* iii. 41, 62).

[2] For the following our source is *Ziz.* 296 f., 306 f.

neighbouring Brackley hall, in which he had defended Wyclif's views on the Eucharist.[1] A few weeks later, before the final ceremony of his 'aulatio',[2] Repingdon had been appointed by the chancellor Rigg to preach at St. Frideswyde's, on the coming feast of Corpus Christi (5 June 1382). The choice of preacher, as well as the occasion, foreshadowed an attack on the doctrine of transubstantiation. By statute forty days' notice of the sermon had to be given to the preacher by the chancellor,[3] time enough to prevent the service by an appeal to Courtenay. To this the friars were further urged by a declaration of Repingdon. Either in his 'aulatio' or his 'resumpta'[4] Repingdon

'had made much of Wyclif and his teaching, and had said that he was willing to defend Wyclif's whole doctrine in its relation to ethics, but would hold his peace as to the Eucharist until God should be willing to illuminate the hearts of the clergy'.

To this appeal of Oxford 'catholics' Courtenay replied on the 28th May from Otford[5] by a letter to Dr. Peter Stokes, a Carmelite friar from Hitchin,[6] who in all probability had laid the matter before him. Stokes 'for the whole of the year had been fighting at Oxford both in lecture and sermon' his special opponent Nicholas Hereford. In consequence he had earned from Wyclif the nickname of 'the White Dog'.[7] The archbishop, we are told, 'had knowledge that Stokes excelled

[1] *Ziz.* 296. This Shirley, Lechler, 391, &c., following Wood, interpreted as Brackley hospital in Northamptonshire. The hospital of St. James and St. John, Brackley (for this unusual dedication see Clay, *Hosp.* 253), had some connexion with Repingdon's abbey at Leicester (*Vict. Co. Northants*, ii. 151–3). Repingdon therefore may well have stopped there for the night on a journey from Leicester. But Pratt in Foxe, iii. 805, claims that "there can be no doubt that the place meant was Brackley hall, which formerly stood near Balliol college". For the position of this hall see Wood, *City*, i. 374, 637, and especially the second map. It faced the Canditch, a little east of Balliol cf. Hurst, 130). Pratt's interpretation seems the more probable, inasmuch as it gives a meaning to the words 'eis suasit', which can hardly refer to the inmates of the hospital. The incident was thus a dispute by a denizen of Broadgates hall (*supra*, ii. 131) with the inmates of a neighbouring hall.

[2] See *supra*, i. 98. From *Ziz.* 306 we learn that Repingdon was not yet a doctor (Lechler, 391, is therefore in error). But he took his degree that year at the close of the summer term (*Ziz.* 296–7).

[3] *Mun. Ac.* 397.

[4] See *supra*, i. 99.

[5] For this letter see *Ziz.* 275–82. Not 'Oxford' as Lechler, 385, 397.

[6] Leland, *Com.*; Tanner. Leland says Stokes finally retired to Hitchin and died there on 18 July 1399.

[7] Bale, i. 496. According to *Pol. Poems*, i. 261, this 'white Carmelite' was

'Rufus naturaliter et veste dealbatus
Omnibus impatiens et nimis elatus.'

all others in his labours against the lollards and the sect of Wyclif'. He therefore authorized Stokes, whom he appointed his commissioner,[1] to read the Blackfriars condemnation of Wyclif's teaching on the Feast-day itself at St. Frideswyde's Cross 'before the sermon of Philip'. Stokes was also charged to prevent 'the teaching or defence within the university whether in the schools or outside, publicly or privately', of the condemned heresies and errors. Two days later (30 May) Courtenay, who was still at Otford, wrote to Rigg. He made no direct mention of Repingdon, but fell back on a previous incident, Hereford's sermon on Ascension Day. He marvelled not a little at the favour the chancellor had shown to Hereford, and at his appointment to preach 'before the University the most important sermon of the year'. He warns Rigg lest by his actions he appear to be one of that sect. He informs him of the promised support of the 'king and the chiefs of the realm'—the reference is plain to the unauthorized statute—and concludes by charging him

'diligently to assist our beloved son, friar Peter Stokes, in the publication of our letters, and to see to it that the same be effectually read, with nothing left out, in the theological schools of the University by the bedel of that faculty at the lecture next ensuing'

—the usual method of publishing the chancellor's intimations.

This attack on its liberties set Oxford on fire. Rigg was not slow to assert the university's rights. He maintained that 'neither bishop nor archbishop had any power over the university even in matters of heresy'. As regards the archbishop we note that this was an attempt on Rigg's part to obtain a new privilege by the favourite medieval device of asserting its existence. Of the events that followed Stokes shall tell the tale himself. We quote from the letter he wrote to Courtenay on Friday the 6th June:

On Wednesday, the eve of Corpus Christi, I presented to the chancellor the letters from your excellency directed to him, together with a copy of the commission you had graciously sent me. These letters and copy he kept in his hands all Thursday, through the whole day of Corpus Christi, nor was any execution made of your

[1] *Ziz.* 297, 306, 'misit Stokys commissionem'. Leland, *Comment.* 296, followed by Tanner, 674, calls Stokes 'commissarius' or vice-chancellor and enlarges on his thus obtaining 'the second highest office in the university'.

mandate. On the Friday—for the chancellor had stated that he had not sufficient evidence, at any rate with authentic seal, that he was bound to assist me in the publishing of your mandate—I handed to him in full congregation your letters patent, sealed with your private seal. When he saw them he said that he was willing to help me in the publication of your letters, provided the University, with which the matter must first be discussed, should decide that such a step ought to be carried out. What further will be done in the matter I know not. But one thing I must, please, make clear to you : in this matter I dare go no further for fear of death. I therefore implore you with tears to help me lest through this business my companions or myself suffer loss of life or limb '.[1]

There was more to tell, which however Stokes deemed it wiser to leave unwritten—the bearer could describe it himself. Rigg had done more than procrastinate. Wyclif had united bishops and friars in an alliance against himself ; this brought about the equally strange alliance of town and gown in his favour. The whole city was in an uproar. One hundred armed men came to the support of the chancellor—whether students or citizens we are not told. Attended by these, by the mayor of the city, and by his proctors, Walter Dash [2] and John Huntman,[3] Rigg set off to hear Repingdon's sermon in the churchyard of St. Frideswyde's. Repingdon said little about transubstantiation. He stated, however, in passing, that Wyclif his master was a catholic doctor, and that ' he had never laid down nor taught any doctrine concerning the Sacrament of the Altar which the whole Church of God did not hold '. But the preacher dwelt chiefly on a political side issue. In his Bidding Prayer on Ascension Day, Hereford had either omitted or put

[1] *Ziz.* 300–1. This is the only fragment of Stokes that has survived, and its brevity scarcely warrants Tanner, 674, ' edito libro '. In Bale, i. 496, it is called *contra Wiclevi articulos*, and the letter is blunderingly repeated by Tanner as a second work, *Ep. ad Gul. archiep.*, with an incipit of the second sentence. According to Leland, *op. cit.* 295, repeated by Tanner with added details, Stokes wrote in defence of ' Holcham ' i. e. *Defensorium Occami*, ' a work not to be despised '. Bale gives a list of his other writings, among them *contra Philippum Repingtonum, contra Nicolaum Herfordium*, and a book *de Superioritate Cleri*.

[2] Fellow of Oriel in 1373. He has been confused by Wood and others with the Carmelite, Walter Diss of Cambridge. On 14 Feb. 1389 a certain Master John Lathom, clerk, was pardoned the death of ' Master Walter Dasch, clerk ' (*Cal. Pat.* iv. 12).

[3] Huntman was still ' a student in theology ' at Oriel in Jan. 1387 (*Cal. Pat.* iii. 252). On 13 Nov. 1390 he was appointed chancellor of Lincoln (*ib.* iv. 322), and on 2 Aug. 1398 secured a prebend (*ib.* vi. 387). In July 1404 he received a legacy of a silver cup (Gibbons, 115).

last the name of the pope. Repingdon came to his defence. ' The lords temporal ', he maintained,

' should have mention in sermons before pope or bishops ; he who does not do this acts contrary to Scripture. Among other things he said that the duke of Lancaster was favourably affected to and willing to defend all lollards, specially mentioning the Simple Priests '.[1]

The reference to John of Gaunt shows how little the lollards yet realized the new continental entanglements which drove the duke to abandon his former allies. Sermon over, the university poured into St. Frideswyde's. Twenty of the artists, so the rumour ran, had weapons concealed under their gowns. When the proceedings were over Stokes still sat cowering in his chair ; he said that ' he dare not leave '. But the chancellor waited for Repingdon in the porch and the two went off laughing.[2] There was, in fact, ' great jubilation ' among the lollards. One of them wrote a poem about the affair with a remarkable refrain.[3] He tells us of the melancholy condition of England and of the efforts of Wyclif and his disciples to uphold the truth.

The next day Repingdon followed up his sermon by ' maintaining publicly in the schools that his order was better when it was but five hundred years old than now when it was a thousand '. On the following Tuesday, 10th June, Stokes summoned up courage ' to determine against him publicly '. He singled out the claim that lords temporal should come first in the Bidding Prayer. But the sight of ' twelve men with weapons under their robes ' led Stokes ' to believe that death was threatening him until he got down from his chair '. On arriving back at his friary he found to his relief another letter from Courtenay bidding him to report at Lambeth at once. So on the morrow Stokes set off in the morning, and riding hard, for as a rule the night was spent at Uxbridge or Wycombe, arrived in London the same evening.[4] Stokes found that others

[1] With Shirley I read ' simplices ' for ' sanctos ' in *Ziz.* 300.

[2] Rashdall, ii. 428–9, wrongly identifies the whole matter with Hereford.

[3] *Pol. Poems*, i. 260 f. As he speaks of Hereford and Repingdon as ' victorious ' it must have been written before their recantation in October.

[4] June 11. Shirley, *Ziz.* 304 ; Trevelyan, 302, date 12 June. But on 12 June Stokes was at the Blackfriars council (*Ziz.* 289).

In *Mun. Ac.* 793–4, we find an interesting bill of a journey to London for

were there before him, for immediately after Repingdon's sermon Rigg had set off with his proctors and Brightwell. They had either been summoned by Courtenay to explain their conduct, or else Rigg had thought it best to go up and present his case before rumour should asperse him.[1]

For four days the chancellor was kept waiting for an audience. But on the 12th June he and his proctors were summoned to the Blackfriars to a second gathering of the synod. The synod had been enlarged, though not all the dignitaries of the Earthquake Council were present on this second occasion; it was sufficient to have secured their assent at the first gathering. There were, however, several notable additions, for the most part regulars.[2] Among these was Dr. John Lawndryn, Rigg's colleague on the Council of Twelve, as well as Henry Crump. Among the doctors there were two Benedictines from St. Albans. One, whose name is not given, was, probably, Dr. Simon Sutherey,[3] a stout opponent of Wyclif, and a student of the stars. The other was Dr. Nicholas Radcliffe, who had only recently resigned the priory of Wymondham, a diligent scholar 'who considered time utterly lost that was not given to study'.[4] This 'expugnator fortissimus', as he is called on

two masters and a servant. At Wycombe they spent: bread 1*d.*, beer 2*d.*, eggs 2*d.*, wine 5*d.*, fire 2*d.*, bed 1*d.*, horsebread for three horses 3*d.*, oats 6*d.* Lunch next day at Uxbridge cost: meat 4*d.*, beer 2*d.*, wine 2*d.*, and bread 1*d.* Supper at London cost 11*d.*, drinks 'before supper' 2*d.* (From Riley, *Mem. Lond.* 347, we discover the quantity would be a gallon). Breakfast was 4*d.* Fire is always charged and varies from 1*d.* to 4*d.* Hay at London for three horses for nine days was 5*s.* The expedition cost 37*s.* There are a series of bills for 1357–8 for chancellors and proctors for their journeys to London in *Eng. Hist. Rev.* xxiv. 736–43, with which the above can be compared. They show that chancellors and proctors dined well.

[1] From Stokes's letter (*Ziz.* 300–1) it is clear that no summons had been received on 6 June. Rigg arrived in London on 8 June (*ib.* 304). Either then the summons came on 7 June or else Wilkins, iii. 159 *b*, 'habentes eosdem diem et locum' etc. is not a summons but an appointment for seeing Rigg made after Rigg's arrival. Cf. *Ziz.* 304, 'noluit audire excusationem'.

[2] List in *Ziz.* 289.

[3] Bale in *Ziz.* 241, 288. Tanner, 682, who tells us of his astrology (cf. Amundesham, *Ann.* ii. 305); Bale, i. 497, speaks of the 'ore rabido' of this 'canis atrox' and gives three works against Wyclif. In 1389 Sutherey was prior of Gloucester college (Walsingham, ii. 189–92), afterwards prior of Belvoir and in 1396 of St. Albans, as such presiding on 12 Nov. 1401 at the election of the new abbot (Walsingham, *Gesta*, iii. 425, 436, 479 f.).

[4] For Radcliffe (not in *D. N. B.*) see Tanner, 612–13 (full); Bale, i. 495; Leland, *Com.* 395. The archdeacon of St. Albans, until 1550 in Lincoln, was appointed by the abbot at will (Le Neve, ii. 271 *n.*, 344 *n.*). He had been

his tomb, wrote against Wyclif a dialogue entitled *Viaticum animae salubre.*[1] This dialogue, which purported to be between Radcliffe and the Carmelite Peter Stokes, led Wyclif to call the two disputants 'the black and white dogs'. Nicholas was buried at St. Albans under a costly marble tomb, but Leland found to his sorrow 'that among the monks, so is his glory forgotten, his name even is not known, though once he was archdeacon'.

More famous than either was the Dominican John Bromyard.[2] We wonder what Bromyard thought of Wyclif's condemnation, when we remember that Bromyard himself was most outspoken in his condemnation of the 'swinish life' of many of the clergy, and in his *Summa Predicantium* wrote a savage indictment of the lust and excesses of the bishops. He too, like Wyclif, turned a wistful eye to the State, and claimed the help of 'temporal lords' in amending a 'defautive priesthood'. But this notable book was not yet published. There were also present two doctors of law, John Shillingford and William Weston, as well as two bachelors of theology, the Carmelite Stephen Patrington, and a certain John Balton of Oxford, who, when called on to sign the Conclusions, hesitated for a while, whether because of lollard sympathies or from a desire to air some scholastic issues is not disclosed.[3]

Before such an assembly Rigg's courage oozed away.[4] He discovered that though by courtesy included in the council, in reality he and his proctors were on their trial as 'fautors' of lollardy. Seven charges were detailed at length. He had neither silenced Hereford—'and error which is not resisted is approved'—nor allowed complaints against him. Instead he had appointed Hereford and Repingdon public preachers, and after Repingdon's sermon 'he neither rebuked nor corrected

appointed prior at Wymondham on 5 Feb. 1369. For his tomb, Amundesham, *Ann.* i. 436. Two of his works against Wyclif are in *Harleian MSS. Cat.* i. 393.

[1] Seen by Leland at Queen's and at Wells (*Coll.* iv. 18, 155).

[2] *D. N. B.* (often inadequate). Owst gives a study of his sermons. See also Bale, i. 511; *Index Script.* 185; Tanner, 129; Leland, *Com.* 356, is very inaccurate. See also *supra*, p. 218.

[3] He had not come with Rigg, nor is he mentioned elsewhere as a lollard. The archbishop's notary did not know his name and left it blank (Wilkins, iii. 159). Was he proctor John Balcon (*supra*, i. 204)?

[4] *Ziz.* 288, 308–11; Wilkins, iii. 159–60.

him but had congratulated him with a smiling face'. There was also the affair of William James. Moreover, Rigg had disobeyed the archbishop by not assisting Stokes; in fact, 'chancellor, proctors and the major part of the regents in arts' had shown themselves far from 'well disposed towards Hereford's opponents'. Rigg, whose sympathies with the lollards were but academic, found it needful to yield. When the twenty-four Conclusions were laid before him he assented to their condemnation, and 'humbly begged pardon on his knees from the archbishop for his contempt with regard to the letters sent to him'. This Courtenay granted 'at the special request' of Wykeham. Rigg's companion, Brightwell, at first refused to sign, but at last consented after he had been 'carefully examined by the archbishop'. As his reward, after a year's absence in Ireland[1] he began a career of rapid advancement.[2] The chancellor was informed that he would be allowed to return to Oxford, bearing with him a mandate from the archbishop whose wording would not lessen his humiliation. 'You Master Robert Rigg', it proclaimed, 'have inclined yea do incline to the aforesaid condemned conclusions.' The poor man was peremptorily bidden not to interfere with any of Courtenay's agents, and to see to it under the penalty of the greater excommunication that Wyclif, Hereford, Repingdon, Aston, and Bedeman were not allowed either to preach or to take part in the schools until they had purged themselves of their heresy. Finally he must publish the condemnation of the twenty-four Conclusions, 'in St. Mary's both in Latin and English and also throughout the schools. Inquiries must be made in every hall whether any favour these opinions, and such must be compelled either to clear themselves or recant'. Rigg was further questioned why he had not assisted Stokes to publish

[1] *Cal. Pat.* ii. 304.

[2] Prebends in London, 4 Nov. 1386 (Le Neve, ii. 392; *Cal. Pat.* iii. 234), Lincoln (Le Neve, ii. 168, by exchange with one in Exeter, Boase, 13), dean of the collegiate church of Newark in Leicester (Le Neve, ii. 168; *Cal. Pat.* iii. 468, not Notts. as Brodrick, 202), and rector of Northreppes, Norwich (Gibbons, 37). In May 1388 he was elected chancellor of Oxford on the deposition of Rigg (*Snappe*, 331; Wood, *Univ.* i. 519), and on 23 May 1388 ordered by Richard to seize all copies of lollard works (Knighton, ii. 264–5; *Cal. Pat.* iii. 468). In his will, proved 20 Jan. 1390 (Salter, *Snappe*, 331, that he was chancellor until Whitsuntide, 1390, is therefore an error), he left a third of his goods to Newark, Leicester (Gibbons, 37).

the decree. He pleaded that 'he dared not for fear of his life'. 'Then', replied Courtenay, 'is the University a fautor of heresy, since she will not allow catholic truth to be published.'

On the morrow (13 June) Courtenay summoned Rigg before the Privy Council. There the chancellor, Richard le Scrope, solemnly enjoined him 'that he follow out exactly every command of the archbishop'. Rigg was glad enough to slink back the next day to Oxford. On the following Sunday he published the archbishop's mandate. The result was as Rigg had expected. The seculars rose in defence of their rights and threatened death to the friars, 'crying out that they wished to destroy the university though really they were only defending the cause of the Church'. Rigg himself summoned up sufficient courage to show where his sympathies lay. Crump had made himself especially obnoxious. He had been one of Berton's Council of Twelve; to this he had added the offence of assisting at the Blackfriars at the humiliation of Rigg. The chancellor was not sorry to find an opportunity for paying off old scores. On some public occasion Crump 'had called the heretics, lollards', a name not yet, it would appear, in general use. Rigg thereupon summoned Crump before him, and as he failed to put in an appearance, for he was in London 'assisting with the archbishop and other masters of theology in condemnation of diverse erroneous and heretical conclusions', suspended him as a disturber of the peace. Finding on his return how matters lay, Crump hastened back to London and laid his complaint before the Council. He was sympathetically received, and on the 27th June a brief was issued ordering the mayor and bailiffs to protect Crump's horses and goods—efforts evidently had been made to prevent his journey—while Rigg and the proctors were summoned before the Council. A fortnight later (14 July) Richard, after examining into the case[1] in the presence of Rigg, peremptorily ordered Rigg and his proctors, 'under pain of forfeiting all the liberties and privileges of the university,' to restore Crump to his position, forbidding them to take any action against Crump or Stokes

'by reason of his absence from the University, or against Stephen Patrington or any other religious or secular among their adherents,

[1] Scrope had resigned three days previously (*Close Ric.* ii. 215).

by reason of anything they may have said or done to procure the condemnation of the heresies and errors of Wyclif, Hereford or Repingdon '.[1]

§ 5

On his return to Oxford Rigg informed Repingdon and Hereford that he was bound on the morrow (Sunday 15 June) to publish their suspension. This done, on the Monday the two at once left for London. Such was their haste that Hereford left his translation of the Old Testament, on which he was then engaged, in the middle of a chapter. On arrival they sought out John of Gaunt at his manor of ' Totenhale '.[2] They tried to arouse the duke to the defence of Wyclif. ' The condemnation of his conclusions ', they pleaded, ' would tend to the weakening of all temporal dominion '. The duke hesitated, but on being approached the next day by many doctors of theology he decided against the appellants, professing that their doctrine of the Eucharist was ' detestable '. He ordered them to obey the archbishop's summons. They did so, and the archbishop fixed Wednesday the 18th June [3] for the hearing. Hereford and Repingdon, accompanied by Aston, duly appeared at the Blackfriars.[4] The committee was not large, and consisted chiefly of friars, the majority Dominicans of the house, four of whom were as yet but ' sententiaries '. Among those present we note Barnwell, Siward, Diss, Cunningham, Loney, Pickworth, and Ashbourn, all of whom we have met before. On being questioned with reference to the condemned Conclusions the two doctors ' craved a day for deliberation that they might set down their reply in writing, and asked for a copy of the said articles '. The request was granted, though the two were warned to ' leave out all sophistical words and disputations '. Aston, when interrogated by Courtenay, said that he was prepared to reply at once : his intention was to keep silent. The suspicions of the archbishop were not set at rest, and Aston was prohibited from all preaching in the province of Canterbury.

[1] *Ziz.* 312–17 ; Wilkins, iii. 167 ; Rymer, iv. 150 ; *Pat. Ric.* ii. 153 ; *Close Ric.* ii. 140 ; Foxe, iii. 43–4 ; Wood, *Univ.* i. 511.

[2] A mistake for Tottenham, one of the duke's manors.

[3] Date in *Ziz.* 289, margin, is incorrect. See Foxe, iii. 806.

[4] Wilkins, iii. 160–1, often very obscure.

As it appeared that he had disobeyed previous injunctions he was ordered to appear two days later with Hereford and Repingdon. On Friday the 20th June the adjourned examination before the full synod took place at the Blackfriars. The assembly was much the same in numbers and personnel as on the previous occasions.[1] Among the Carmelites the place of Glanville had been filled by Stokes, while Thomas Southam sat among the doctors of civil law. Hereford and Repingdon handed in their written declaration.[2] They canvassed the twenty-four articles one by one, affirming each to be heretical. Seven articles were singled out in which their answers seemed ambiguous or unsatisfactory, and on these they were questioned. In the upshot three of their replies on transubstantiation were pronounced heretical. Condemnation was also passed upon their interpretation of Wyclif's statement, 'God ought to obey the devil'; 'God', said they, 'owes the devil the obedience of love'. So sure was Nicholas Hereford of this position that he offered to prove it against all comers 'under penalty of the fire'. Two other Conclusions, bearing on special prayers and the mendicancy of the friars, were also declared to be erroneous. Whereupon Courtenay once more warned them to make an unreserved declaration, 'laying aside all subtle and sophistical words'. On their refusal to answer otherwise than they had done, the archbishop ordered them to be brought up a week later for judgement.[3]

Courtenay now turned to Aston. On the previous day while 'in prison'[4] in the Blackfriars, Hereford and Aston had each drawn up a brief 'confession' of his faith in English and Latin, and had caused it to be distributed in the streets of London. London was now under the government of John of Northampton, and much might be expected from popular support. The archbishop then required Aston to tell on his oath the plain verity

[1] We have no list of those present, for Wilkins, iii. 164, is incomplete—no Franciscan! From *Ziz.* 319, we learn that there were present '10 bishops, 30 doctors of theology, 16 doctors of both laws, 13 bachelors of theology and 4 bachelors of both laws'.

[2] Wilkins, iii. 161–2; Foxe, iii. 31–5; *Ziz.* 319–25. Lechler, 396, n. 3, mistakenly deems Knighton, ii. 170–1, to be an English translation. See *infra*, p. 284, n. 1.

[3] Wilkins, iii. 163; *Ziz.* 326–9; not 'after 8 days' as Lechler, 396.

[4] 'pauperis incarcerati' (*Ziz.* 330) which may be rhetorical.

touching the condemned articles. Aston, who had had considerable practice as one of Wyclif's itinerant preachers, began to make answer in the English tongue, in spite of Courtenay's request 'that he would answer in Latin, because of the lay people that stood about him'. Courtenay was nervous. The Londoners, breaking into the assembly, had already tried to stop the proceedings. Aston refused, as he had refused in his English Confession—'for I wot well that the matter and the speculation thereof passes in height men's understanding'—to go into the scholastic questions, 'saying oftentimes and expressly, as a layman might say, that it was sufficient for him to believe as holy Church believed'. On being pinned down by the archbishop he so far forgot his caution as to speak derisively of the use of the word 'material'. 'You may put the word in your purse, if you have one', he retorted insolently. His refusal to answer was interpreted as guilt, and he was condemned as a teacher of heresy. So great was his influence in London, or so great the dread of John of Northampton, that the clergy thought it well to draw up an answer to Aston's broadsheet and to distribute widely in the churches the cause of his condemnation, 'that he is unwilling to confess that the body of Christ in the sacrament of the altar is identically, truly, and really present in its own corporeal nature'.[1]

On the 27th June Hereford and Repingdon appeared before Courtenay in the chapel of his manor at Otford.[2] They were accompanied by another suspect, Thomas Hilman or Hulman, a bachelor of divinity and fellow of Merton.[3] At the previous gathering Hilman had seemed inclined to favour Aston, so Courtenay had bound him over to appear a week later and declare plainly what his opinions were. But as Courtenay was without his theological and legal assessors the case was adjourned until the following Tuesday. On that day, 1st July, 'in the chapter house at Canterbury, before the hour of nine',

[1] Wilkins, iii. 163–4; *Ziz.* 329–31; Walsingham, ii. 65. For Aston's Confession in English see Knighton, ii. 171–2. Both it and Hereford's (*ib.* 170) are expressly dated 19 June. Through ignoring this, Gairdner, *Lollardy*, i. 25, treats the 'confession' as after conviction.

[2] Not Oxford as Gairdner, *op. cit.* i. 25; Lechler, 397, who in consequence derides the absence of assessors as "alleged ground". For these events see Wilkins, iii. 164–5; Foxe, iii. 36, 40; *Ziz.* 290–1.

[3] Fellow in 1364 (Brodrick 209, who dates wrongly in 1383).

the trial was resumed. Among those present we note William Berton and William Bruscombe of the Council of Twelve. Berton had brought with him a former fellow of Merton, William Blaunkpain,[1] who was now rector of Orsett in Essex.[2] Of the other new members, the most illustrious was Robert Ivory, D.D., the twentieth Provincial of the Carmelites in England,[3] who was noted for his keen interest in literature. With him had come the Carmelite 'lector', John Reppys, B.D. That all present at the first gathering at the Blackfriars had journeyed to Canterbury is not probable,[4] though we are told that the chapter house was crowded with many clerics in addition to the proper court. Only one monk of the cathedral, William Telingham, was of sufficient status (B.D. of Oxford) to have his name enrolled. When the beadle summoned the accused there was no response, so the sittings were adjourned until two in the afternoon, 'after dinner'. By that time Hilman appeared and after some 'stammering' gave in his adhesion to the condemnation of the Articles. The other two who failed to appear were solemnly excommunicated.

Against this excommunication Repingdon and Hereford at once filed an appeal to Rome, nailing the same on the doors of St. Mary le Bow and of St. Paul's. This appeal the archbishop brushed aside on the 12th July as frivolous, and ordered that the sentence be read with all the solemnity of bell, book, and candle at St. Paul's Cross on the following Sunday (13 July). Letters were also dispatched to Rigg, ordering him to publish the ban with like ceremonies in St. Mary's, and in all the schools of the university, and to take all steps to secure their persons

[1] *Ziz.* 290. He took his S.T.P. in 1352, bursar 1364–5, senior fellow 1371 (Brodrick, 203). See also *Pat. Ric.* i. 537; ii. 28. As rector of Chelsea in Ap. 1377 (not in Newcourt or Hennessy), Sudbury made him visitor for part of his diocese (Wilkins, iii. 112). Is he the William Blankpain whose Bible, worth 5 marks, was sold by his executors to a chaplain who was then falsely accused of stealing it? (Riley, *Mem. Lond.* 525; Sharpe, *Letter-Book H*, 363).

[2] Resigned in 1386 (Newcourt, *Rep.* ii. 454).

[3] Leland, *Com.* 395; Bale, i. 504. Ivory was born at London, became prior at Cambridge in 1372 (Tanner, 448 *n.*), provincial 1379, and died at London 5 Nov. 1392. Bale assigns two commentaries and two vols. of Sermons. (See also Villiers, ii. 693.)

[4] Gairdner, i. 26, speaks as if they were all there. But *Ziz.* 291 is really compound, the numbers 'at London and Canterbury'. The Canterbury notary was most careless. Cunningham and Loney both became Philip, etc. (Wilkins, iii. 165). In the crowd he found it difficult to catch their names.

within the next fifteen days. The same day Courtenay, whose energy was unbounded, secured from the council letters patent, addressed to the chancellor and proctors of Oxford, by which the duty was imposed upon them of making an inquisition at large among the regents in theology and law in the university, in order to discover such as might adhere to the condemned Articles. Further, within seven days they were to drive forth from the university[1] and the city every member who receives in house or inn, bears favour to, or has intercourse with Wyclif, Hereford, Repingdon, Aston, or any other of the party. Search, also, must be made without delay in all halls and colleges for books and tracts of Wyclif and Hereford; and all such must be confiscated and sent in without correction or change to the archbishop. All this must be carried out, under pain of the forfeiture of the university's liberties and privileges. The sheriff of Oxfordshire and the mayor of the city were enjoined to help in the execution of this order. Furthermore on the 30th July Courtenay forwarded to Braybroke from Otford a mandate to publish the excommunication of Hereford and Repingdon in all towns and larger villages, with orders for their arrest, while the friars set to work, especially in the dioceses of London and Lincoln, to root out Wyclif's 'poor priests'.[2] So assiduous was Buckingham of Lincoln in this matter, in spite of his age, that he received from Courtenay a special letter of thanks.[3] His large diocese was the chief centre of lollardy, and Leicester especially, where Swinderby was holding forth at large, gave him much trouble.[4]

Diligent search was made for Hereford and Repingdon, but on the 25th July Rigg reported to Courtenay that they could nowhere be found.[5] Hereford, in fact, had slipped out of the country. The restless Aston had set off on foot on a preaching tour in the West country. A few weeks later he was back

[1] The chancellor's power of banishment was part of his ordinary criminal jurisdiction, expressly recognized in 1355, and in 1444 defined as extending to twelve miles round Oxford (*Mun. Ac.* 540; Rashdall, ii. 411 *n.*).

[2] Wilkins, iii. 165–8; Foxe, iii. 41–3; *Ziz.* 312–14; Rymer, iv. 150. Cf. *Pat. Ric.* ii. 153; *Reg. Gilbert*, 22–3; *Reg. Brant.* i. 477.

[3] Wilkins, iii. 168, undated; Wyclif, *Trial.* 379.

[4] Details in Knighton, ii. 189–97.

[5] Wilkins, iii. 168. For 'Junii' read July, the reference being to Rigg's reception of Courtenay's letter of 13 July (see *supra*, p. 285).

in Oxford, whether under arrest or of his free will we know not. There he found Bedeman and Repingdon. Of the three, Bedeman, who had recently returned from a preaching tour in his native Cornwall,[1] was the first to yield. On the 18th October he obtained permission from Courtenay to return to the university. So on the 22nd October 1382, bishop Wykeham formally dismissed at Southwark charges of heresy against Bedeman, whom, as he frankly admitted, he had suspected of preaching in his diocese various heretical doctrines. But when summoned before himself and certain doctors of law and divinity Wykeham found him a true catholic, for he swore that he had never taught or held the errors in question.[2] Unlike his friends, Bedeman never profited by his recantation or rose to eminence in the Church. He returned to his native diocese and became rector of Lifton. In October 1383 he obtained from Brantingham licence for non-residence for one year to study at Oxford, a licence renewed on the 15th September 1384, and again on the 22nd November 1397. No doubt there were intermediate licences which have not been entered. On the 11th June 1410 he was licenced, in accordance with Arundel's constitutions, as a preacher for the diocese in both English and Latin, especially against all heresy. He was still rector of Lifton on the 21st April 1418 when he took part in the reconsecration of his cemetery which had been polluted by bloodshed. The statement of Foxe that Bedeman must be numbered among those who at this time 'suffered most cruel death' or else did 'forsake the realm' must therefore be dismissed.[3] Repingdon was the next to obtain grace. On the 23rd October he appeared before Courtenay and his bishops at the Blackfriars, and abjured all sympathy with heresy. He was absolved by the archbishop and restored to his status in the schools.[4]

Courtenay determined to make his triumph complete.

[1] Boase, p. lxvi; *Reg. Brant.* i. 481.

[2] *Reg. Wykeham*, ii. 342–3. There is an undated, unfinished order by Brantingham for the citation of Bedeman before him at Clyst on 'the Thursday after the feast of the Holy Cross' (14 Sept.; *Reg. Brant.* i. 481). It should be dated 1382, and was unfinished because news had come of Bedeman's surrender. This was duly entered without date (*ib.* i. 158).

[3] *Reg. Stafford*, 241–2; Boase, *Exeter*, 17; *Reg. Brant.* i. 502, 554; Foxe, iii. 96, who calls him 'Redman'; *D. N. B.*

[4] Wilkins, iii. 169. Bale, i. 501, adds that he abjured at St. Paul's Cross.

Parliament, it is true, had demanded the revocation of the unauthorized "Statute" against heretics. To Courtenay this claim of the Commons to interfere in matters that pertained to the Church or to the Great Council would appear insolent or meaningless. He would meet it by a bold use at Oxford of his powers as visitor. Such archiepiscopal visitation was no new thing. Kilwardby had visited it in 1276 and condemned a number of doctrines. His successor Peckham had made a similar visitation in 1284. Acting on these precedents Convocation was summoned to meet at Oxford on the 13th November to deal with heresy and to prevent the national peril.[1] Richard, who was in sore need of a subsidy, had ordered (14 Sept.) its assembly at 'St. Paul's or elsewhere'. Courtenay, with other ends in view than the subsidy, decided on 'elsewhere'. On the day fixed the clergy assembled in St. Frideswyde's. We can scarcely believe that they would be welcomed by the canons.[2] The financial condition of the priory was serious; the invasion of Convocation would be an added burden. The prior, John Dodford, was clever but unscrupulous. Discipline was at a low ebb, and Convocation would hear some remarkable scandals. But matters were made easier for the canons by the appointment of a commission of bishops, with Courtenay as the head, to settle outstanding disputes between St. Frideswyde's and the university.[3] Courtenay was conscious that the hour of his triumph had come. The university could hope for no support from the Crown, which had an old score of its own to pay off. Wyclif was absent at Lutterworth; Hereford over the seas. Of the rest there was none to resist. The opening sermon was preached by the chancellor, Robert Rigg, on the text 'Congregati sunt in valle benedictionis'.[4] The assembly then retired to the chapter house. There Sir Hugh Segrave, the treasurer, asked for a subsidy. But Courtenay was anxious first to obtain his terms, the assistance of the

[1] *Reg. Gilbert*, 30–2; *Close Rolls*, ii. 209–10; *Dig. Peer*, iv. 697–9. In Wake, 313, given as 18 Nov. Parliament had been summoned on 9 Aug.

[2] Hadrian IV had prohibited synods or ordinations in St. Frideswyde's 'lest it should disturb peace and quiet' (*Cart. Frid.* i. 29–30. Not in Jaffé).

[3] *Cal. Pat.* ii. 202; *Cart. Frid.* i. 83–5 on 18 Nov. The dispute turned on the fair which the canons charged the university with disturbing, and on the assizes of bread and beer.

[4] 2 *Chron.* xx. 26; Wood, *Univ.* i. 510.

Crown in crushing out the lollards.[1] He explained that the first business of the assembly, which had met in a twofold capacity as Synod and Convocation,[2] was to root out 'certain heretics who have recently sprouted out in the realm'. For this purpose he had appointed a committee, consisting of bishops Erghum, Gilbert, and Brunton, with doctors Rigg, Berton, and John Middleton,[3] to inquire into the teaching of all and singular whatsoever, doctors or bachelors.[4] The deliberations of this committee are not known; but as a result on the 24th November Philip Repingdon was called into the chapter house and once more abjured all his heresies, 'swearing by the gospels, which here I hold in my hand, never by any persuasions of men to defend or hold as true the said conclusions underwritten'. On the same day Aston yielded. When brought before Courtenay's committee he pleaded, as he had done at the Blackfriars, his ignorance on the test question of the Eucharist. Courtenay urged him to consult with Rigg and other doctors. Aston dined with them, professed himself convinced by the arguments of the abbot of St. Albans, Thomas de la Mare, and of Dr. Nicholas Radclif, and went off to find the bishops. They were still in the refectory of St. Frideswyde's, unable to return to the chapter house because of the crowd of undergraduates who blocked the passage. Aston went in, read his recantation, denied that after consecration the substance of bread and wine remained, and apologized for his insolence to the archbishop at the Blackfriars. Three days later (27 Nov.) he was absolved by Courtenay and readmitted to full academic status.[5]

The seculars made one last effort to prevent the victory of the regulars. The maintenance of Wyclif's doctrines was now impossible, but something might be done by carrying the

[1] So *Chron. Ang.* 355. For Segrave see *D. N. B.* He became treasurer 10 Aug. 1381. He died between 26 Ap. 1386 and 22 May (*Close Rolls*, iii. 139; *Cal. Pat.* iii. 147; *D. N. B.* inaccurate).

[2] Wake, 314–15.

[3] In Ap. 1386 Lawndryn and others appointed custodians of Oriel until the dispute as to the election of Middleton as provost be determined; in May handed over to Courtenay, Wykeham, Rigg, and Bloxham to decide (*Cal. Pat.* iii. 131, 160).

[4] Foxe, iii. 46; Wilkins, iii. 172.

[5] *Ziz.* 331–3, undated; Wilkins, iii. 169.

charge of heresy into the enemy's camp. So in due form Rigg the chancellor accused Stokes and Crump of uttering heresy in the schools. The charge was doubtless not without justification. Stokes and Crump had won a victory which would lead them to say rash things. In addition, the excitable Crump was puffed up with the special protection from university interference given him in the previous July. But the alliance of bishops and friars was now complete, and Courtenay readily accepted the plea of the accused that they had not asserted these propositions, only maintained them for the sake of argument —' exercitii et doctrinae causa '. ' Then the reverend father, perceiving that a great discord had arisen between the university and the regulars, restored harmony between them, though with difficulty ', by adjourning the assembly until the next day.[1] Courtenay's triumph thus complete, Convocation granted the king a half tenth, and adjourned on the 26th November to meet at the Blackfriars in London on the 21st January 1383. There the other half tenth was voted and gratefully acknowledged by the king.[2]

Thus Oxford lay crushed at Courtenay's feet. The seculars were helpless. The bishops by themselves they might have resisted successfully, for experience had shown that the episcopal control over the university was but slight. But Church and Crown united proved an overwhelming force. The student will further notice that Courtenay had succeeded without making any attempt to excommunicate the university, the easiest way, it might appear, of bringing it to his feet. But therein he had showed his wisdom. Excommunication was difficult, for the university was under the special protection of Rome, and could not be excommunicated without papal licence, and Urban was too busy with his own affairs to interfere.[3] Excommunication was needless ; for the rest of Courtenay's life Oxford as a university, apart from individuals, played little part in the propagation of lollardy. The triumph

[1] Trevelyan, 308, from Reg. Courtenay, f. 34b, 35a, very incompletely given in Wilkins, iii. 172, better in Foxe, iii. 46–7.

[2] Wilkins, iii. 173 ; *Reg. Brant.* i. 207 ; Wake, 315.

[3] By a bull of Honorius III (11 May 1219 ; *Chart. Par.* i. 88–90), re-enacted by Gregory IX (31 May 1222 ; *ib.* i. 102–4), this immunity was gained for Paris and seems to have been extended to Oxford on 27 Sept. 1254 (*Mun. Ac.* 28–9).

of the friars was complete. When in 1389–90 William Woodford went down to lecture to the Franciscans he found none to oppose him, while among his pupils was a certain Thomas Netter, already determined to crush out all heresy.[1] But beneath the surface there were many who quietly taught the doctrines of Wyclif, copied his writings, and disseminated his Scriptures. Against these in 1383 Courtenay found it needful to issue a general prohibition.[2] The spread of Wyclif's writings, in fact—the head centre of the trade must have been Oxford—was a sore trouble to the bishops. In 1388 an organized attempt was made to suppress them. Writ after writ was obtained from Richard ordering the sheriffs to seize all 'books, booklets, schedules and quires' written and published by Wyclif, Hereford, Purvey, and Aston, and to bring them before the Council, prohibiting the buying or holding such books under pain of imprisonment and forfeiture.[3] But in spite of these writs Wyclif's works continued to be carefully copied, while a new market was found for them in Bohemia. In the last year of Courtenay's life the popularity of Wyclif's *Trialogus* at Oxford led Richard to order that its heresies should be examined by doctors specially nominated by Courtenay for the purpose.[4] The leader of these Oxford lollards was Robert Lychlade or Lechlade; it was directed that he be removed from the university (18 July 1395).[5] Of the results of the committee we shall hear again.

There were indications also that the old quarrels were suppressed rather than dead. The struggle of regulars and seculars was sternly kept within bounds, but at every favourable opportunity it was renewed with the old zest. We have an instance of this in the spring of 1383, while Wyclif was still alive. For some cause unknown, Robert Rigg the chancellor had succeeded in obtaining a writ against John Dodford, clerk, 'that he should content holy Church for his contempt and wrong doing'. Now it happened that the prior of St. Frideswyde's was of the same name. Whether it was Rigg or another

[1] For this visit see Little, 246–7.
[2] Wilkins, iii. 183.
[3] See *infra*, p. 387.
[4] Powell, *Peasants Rising*, 51, from *Close Rolls*, 19 Ric. m. 20; Rymer, vii. 806.
[5] Powell, *op. cit.* 52, from *Close Rolls*, 19 m. 24; Rymer, vii. 85.

that saw his chance we cannot tell; but 'under colour of that writ cunningly obtained' the prior was thrown into prison, to the huge delight, no doubt, of the seculars who would laugh the more heartily when they heard that the king himself had been driven to interpose to obtain his release. But the stern hand of authority fell on all alike, whether 'making unlawful assemblies in the university upon any pretence', or whether 'passing out of the realm to prosecute aught in the court of Rome', for which latter purpose various members had 'collected money among themselves' (Feb. 1385), or whether, as in 1388, the regent masters in theology once more tried to prevent 'the men of religion' from taking their doctorate until they had obtained regency in arts.[1]

But a more formidable instance of revolt was that of the Irish Cistercian, Henry Crump, the former opponent of Wyclif. We have seen the attacks he had made at Oxford on Wyclif's friends, and the victory he had secured by the help of Courtenay. But on his return to Ireland he plunged into the old controversy with the friars started by his countryman, Richard Fitzralph.[2] In consequence, on the 18th March 1385 Crump was condemned for heresy by the Dominican, William Andrew, bishop of Meath.[3] Crump thereupon returned to Oxford and in that more tolerant atmosphere maintained his ground, though the sentence against him had been forwarded by bishop Andrew to the officers of the university. Crump especially attacked the right of the friars to hear confessions independently of the parish priests. He further maintained that the friars had not been 'instituted at the inspiration of God, but contrary to the Lateran Council'. Crump also, in spite of his previous attacks on Wyclif, seems to have come nearer to him in his views on the Eucharist after the Reformer's death: 'The body of Christ in the sacrament of the altar is only the reflection of the body of Christ in heaven'.[4] Such doctrines were dangerously akin to lollardy. Early in 1392 his opinions were brought

[1] *Close Rolls*, ii. 306, 510; iii. 378–9. For Dodford see *supra*, ii. 91.

[2] So expressly *Ziz.* 346 (9), 355. The treatises he wrote, *Contra Religiosos Mendicantes* and *Responsiones contra Objecta* (Bale, ii. 246), have been lost.

[3] Vicar-general of Dominicans in 1370; bishopric of Achonry and Meath in 1380 (*Cal. Pat.* i. 553); died 28 Sept. 1385 (*Eng. Hist. Rev.* xxxiii. 246; Cotton, iii. 113).

[4] *Ziz.* 353.

before the notice of the king's council [1] and on the 20th March 1392 a writ was issued to the chancellor of Oxford directing his suspension from all 'scholastic acts' until he had cleared himself from the charges.[2] Courtenay followed up the matter with his usual energy. On the 28th May 1392 a council sat at Stamford in the house of the Carmelites. In addition to the archbishops of Canterbury, York, and Dublin there were nine other bishops [3] as well as a suffragan of Lincoln. The others, apart from Simon Sutherey of St. Albans, were mostly friars, fifteen in all, one of whom, a Carmelite called John Langton,[4] wrote down a full account of the proceedings. The seculars were but four in all, all doctors of law.[5] Before this assembly Crump was accused under ten heads by the Dominican, John Paris. The verdict was a foregone conclusion. On the 30th May Crump abjured, and was ordered to desist from all scholastic acts until he should have received Courtenay's special licence. A fortnight later the records of his previous conviction were 'accidently discovered in an old chest in the Blackfriars at Oxford'. To look upon this incident of Crump as an outbreak of lollardy were absurd. But it is of value as showing the determination of Courtenay to crush out in Oxford all the old freedom of opinion and thought.

[1] For Crump's trial and the charge see *Ziz.* 343–59.

[2] *Ib.* 359, where Shirley wrongly dates as in 1393, thus altering the whole order of procedure.

[3] These had come to attend the Great Council whose hand had fallen heavily on the Londoners for riot owing to the removal of the law courts to York (Higden, ix. 265, 270–4; Knighton, ii. 318–19; Walsingham, ii. 210 f.).

[4] On whom see *D. N. B.*; Tanner, 466. Often confused with bishop John Langdon (*infra*, p. 360).

[5] The only one of importance was Yvo de la Zouche, who in 1397 and 1400 was chancellor of Cambridge (*Cal. Pat. Ric.* vi. 100, 313; *Cal. Pat. Hen.* i. 557) and rector of Milton, Co. Cambs. (*ib.* ii. 88).

IX

THE LAST YEARS

§ 1

NOTHING more strongly marks the greatness of Wyclif's position than the reluctance of Courtenay, in spite of his triumph, to push matters to extremes against the heresiarch. Wyclif's followers—men of culture like Hereford, Repingdon, Aston, or demagogues at Leicester like Swinderby and Smith—were hunted down on every side,[1] were expelled from the university, or forced to abjure, but Wyclif himself was left to close his days in peace at Lutterworth. The Blackfriars synod, which had laid so rough a hand on his disciples, omitted in most marked fashion to summon the leader before it.[2] Courtenay contented himself with branding his teaching as heresy, condemning his books, and driving him from Oxford. When on the 30th July 1382 Courtenay issued his mandate for the excommunication of Hereford and Repingdon to be read in all the churches throughout the province of Canterbury, Wyclif's name was not inserted.[3] So far as we know no steps were taken by the bishops to summon him before their tribunal or to threaten him with excommunication. Nor was any effort made by his diocesan or by the archdeacon of Leicester[4]—the first, it is true, was old, the other an absentee Italian cardinal—to prevent his ministry at Lutterworth. Provided he kept away from the Oxford schools Wyclif was left alone. All official records are silent regarding his further life, nor do they even notice his death.

This fact is so remarkable that it demands explanation. We may dismiss the solution that Wyclif was left unmolested

[1] Cf. *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 231.

[2] Knighton, ii. 157, states the contrary, against all the evidence.

[3] Wilkins, iii. 167–8.

[4] The archdeacon of Leicester at this time was Poncellus Orsini, bishop of Aversa (†1395), created cardinal by Urban VI on 28 Sept. 1378, and provided to the archdeaconry. Licence for Orsini to hold it was given on 29 Sept. 1380 (*Cal. Pat.* i. 548). From an obscure passage in *Serm.* ii. 408, we are inclined to think that Wyclif refused procurations to this absentee archdeacon. Cf. Walsingham, ii. 51.

because when summoned before the synod of Oxford in November 1382 he offered an ambiguous recantation or confession of faith " read in the presence of the primate, and the bishops of Lincoln, Norwich, Worcester, London, Salisbury and Hereford ". With this the bishops deemed it wise to be satisfied.[1] The story rests upon hypothesis and blunder. In the official documents of the synod there is not a word about Wyclif.[2] The minutes, we own, are meagre in the sense that they give us, as usual, only the findings of the assembly. Nevertheless they present the recantations of Repingdon and Aston, as well as the examination of Stokes and Crump. We may be sure that they would not have passed over in silence the recantation of the heresiarch. The whole story rests upon a blunder of the author of the Chronicle that passes under the name of Knighton. In his account of this synod we read

' Likewise there was present John Wyclif to make answer on a charge of heresy, as on a previous occasion,[3] about the aforesaid doctrines or propositions. These opinions he utterly repudiated, protesting that he neither held them nor was willing to hold them. He appealed in proof to a document in his mother-tongue, a handy refuge to which he had once before fled '.

Knighton fortunately appends the document in question.[4] On examination this proves to be an uncompromising defence of consubstantiation. ' The worst heresy ', Wyclif avers,

' that God has suffered come to His Church is to trow that this sacrament is accident without subject ; . . . gabbing never contrived before the fiend, father of leesings, was loosed '.

As for the synod of Blackfriars, ' this council of friars ' was shown up by the ' earth-din ' to be an assembly of heretics. The " recantation " ends with an appeal to

' the King and his realm to ask sharply of clerks this office, that all possessioners on pain of losing all their temporalities, and all the orders of friars, tell the King and his realm with good grounding what this sacrament is '.

[1] Lingard, *Hist. Eng.* (5th ed.), iii. 305, from Wood, *Univ.* i. 500.

[2] Wilkins, iii. 172 ; Vaughan, *Mon.* 571–5 ; Lechler, 403, give us valueless conjectures, e.g. that the silence was because it was an issue over which " there was not the slightest reason to be proud ".

[3] i.e. the Blackfriars. For this error see *supra*, p. 266.

[4] *Chron.* ii. 156–8, 160–2 ; *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 501–3. Very imperfectly in Vaughan, *Mon.* 570–1 ; Lewis, 87. I incline to date as early in 1384, cf. Wells, 473.

When Knighton goes on to tell us that the Oxford synod, after hearing Wyclif's " recantation ", proceeded to the condemnation of the twenty-four articles, he shows a hopeless confusion between the Oxford convocation and the Blackfriars synod from which he would have been saved had he intelligently studied Wyclif's " recantation ".

Equally unsatisfactory is the statement of Wood, who agrees with Knighton in his imputation of cowardice. " Wyclif," he writes, " being thus beset with troubles was forced once again to make confession of his doctrine ". Fortunately Wood gives us the retraction which Wyclif " openly recited ", a document entitled *Confessio magistri Johannis Wyclif.* The ambiguous title has deceived both Wood and Vaughan,[1] for the *Confessio* in question was published, as we have already seen, on the 10th May 1381 and was part of Wyclif's dispute with Berton and his council.[2] Thus Wood's evidence[3] is as valueless as Knighton's.

We reject therefore the story of Wyclif's appearance before the Oxford Convocation, though thereby we add to the difficulty of understanding Courtenay's slackness or clemency. In the absence of evidence we are reduced to conjecture. We believe that Courtenay thought it better to be satisfied with the advantages he had obtained rather than risk a contest with Wyclif or with the powers behind him, of the issue of which he could not be certain. For the duke had returned no answer to the friar's petition. Rumours, it is true, were afloat of his breach with Wyclif on the matter of transubstantiation, but they were rumours merely. Lancaster, though careful not to give any weapon to his opponents by his countenance of heresy, was keenly watching how matters were proceeding. So skilful an opportunist was not likely to throw Wyclif to the wolves, at any rate until he saw that he could make no further use of him. In the temper of Parliament and of the country it was possible that a turn of the wheel might bring the lay party once more into power. We incline then to see in the actions of 1382 a system of give and take on the part of this consummate

[1] Vaughan, *Mon.* 573: This " *must have been made* (*sic*) before the prelates at Oxford ".

[2] *Ziz.* 115 *n.* See *supra*, p. 141 *n.*

[3] Wood, *Univ.* i. 500, who in consequence dates the replies by Tissington, Wells, etc., as after Nov. 1382.

wire-puller. We believe that in a bargain with Courtenay—not the less binding, because in no sense formal—the duke consented that Courtenay should drive Wyclif from Oxford, and persecute his followers, but would not allow him to proceed to extremes against his old associate. We are confirmed in this belief by finding that in June 1384 Wyclif claims that John of Gaunt was protecting his Poor Priests, and that in consequence the duke had been the victim of a plot by the friars.[1] With this compromise Courtenay was forced to be content. The archbishop was too wise to risk his gains by a possible repetition of the scene in St. Paul's. To any adverse critics of his toleration he could plead that Wyclif had given some sort of a promise—when and where are both unknown—that 'he would not use the terms *substance of material bread or wine* outside the schools'.[2]

How wistfully Wyclif's thoughts still turned towards Oxford is seen in one of the letters written from Lutterworth to his former friends. The first part consists in denunciation of the orders. These correspond to the four beasts of Daniel; but the worst beast is the Carmelite. Towards the close Wyclif becomes eloquent in praise of Oxford:

'Not unworthily is it called the vineyard of the Lord. It was founded by the holy fathers and situated in a splendid site, watered by rills and fountains, surrounded by meadows, pastures, plains and glades. The mountains and hills around it ward off the spirit of the storm, while it is near to flourishing groves and leafy villages. I will sum up all in one word. Oxford is a place gladsome and fertile, so suitable for the habitation of the gods that it has been rightly called the house of God and the gate of heaven;'

a remarkable testimony to Wyclif's affection for his spiritual home. But alas! to this

'vine and university have come strong mendicants in sheep's clothing. Their hands are the hands of Esau, though their voice is that of Jacob. They are holy hypocrites, proud beggars, filthy confessors, puffed up as preachers. The paper needed to write out the whole works of Augustine would not suffice for the record of one half of their crimes. But lest I should seem to write for the sake of my honour, farewell'.[3]

[1] See *infra*, p. 303 f.

[2] *Trial.* 375. Probably Wyclif interpreted 'extra scolam' to mean that he would not use the terms in any English work. If so he kept his promise in the letter. Could he have translated 'substantia' into English?

[3] *Op. Min.* 15–18.

§ 2

Lutterworth, to which Wyclif retired, is worthy of a few lines for its association with the last days of the Reformer.[1] In Saxon times its position in the centre of Mercia, not far from Watling Street, gave it importance. At the Conquest it was given to a Breton, Ralph de Guader or Gaël, earl of Norfolk, who, however, was deprived of it in 1075. At the time of Domesday it had passed into the hands of another Breton, a certain Maino, who held here 13 carucates or about 1,500 acres. The population, in all about 130, consisted of twelve sokemen, seven cottagers holding small allotments in return for service to their lord, six peasant farmers, two serfs and one bondswoman.[2] From Maino's son Hamo the manor was transferred to Bertram de Verdun for thirteen silver marks, a coat of mail, and three horses. Bertram died in 1195, but his widow Roesia with her second son Nicholas built in 1218, upon a piece of land known as the Warren, a hospital dedicated to St. John the Baptist for a priest and six poor men, with the duty also of providing for poor wayfarers. In 1220 this hospital was endowed with four marks out of the revenue of the parish church. The statutes of the hospital were drawn up by Dalderby and are still preserved.[3] Along with hundreds of similar foundations it has long since been demolished, its endowments confiscated, its lands sold.

In 1279 an inquest was held at which it was reported that Lutterworth was held of the king by Theobald de Verdun who had in domain, i.e. in his own hand, three and a half virgates of land—the virgate in Leicestershire was about fifteen acres—and one water-mill. He had in villainage forty virgates held by thirty-six serfs, and in free tenure sixteen virgates held by six free tenants, together with warren in the fields, a market, fairs, and other liberties. The prior of the hospital of Jerusalem

[1] For the following pages see J. Nichols, *Leicestershire* (1807), iv. (1), 246 ff.; also A. H. Dyson, *Lutterworth*, 1913. Unfortunately, Mr. Dyson, though possessing local knowledge, has not sufficient general qualifications for his task. For Leland, see *Itin.* i. 20.

[2] *Domesday*, Leicestershire (1864), p. 49.

[3] See "Leicester Docs. in Lincoln Episcopal Registers" in *Assoc. Architectural Socs. Report*, vol. xxi.

held five virgates in perpetual alms and seven given by Nicholas de Verdun and Roesia his wife. In addition, twenty-five burgesses held forty-three burgages. These tenants did not pay scutage and were quit of suits for the county and hundred —in other words, Lutterworth was a borough with its own town-court, its market and its fairs, with a total population of between three and four hundred souls. On the death at his castle of Alton in 1316 of Theobald, the last of the de Verduns, Lutterworth passed by marriage through his daughter Isabel, after a long wardship, to the Ferrers of Groby,[1] who thus held the patronage of the church and hospital.[2] During the minority of Isabel's grandson, Henry de Ferrers, Wyclif was presented by the Crown to the living.[3] After de Ferrers' death Lutterworth passed in 1388 to his wife Joan.[4] In May 1414 her son, Sir William Ferrers, obtained a special dispensation for the continued holding of the weekly market on Thursdays in Lutterworth and also for the annual fair on Ascension Day. Owing to the presence of the court at the parliament of Leicester, proclamations had been published putting down for the time being of all such fairs by way of precaution against the lollards. The market and fair, however, were not new institutions, but had been held ' time out of mind '.[5] The record is of interest as showing that within thirty years of Wyclif's death no fear of lollardy in Wyclif's old parish was entertained by the authorities. Though the fair has been discontinued, the market still flourishes. In 1510 Leland visited the town and wrote :

' From Leicester to Lutterworth, a market town, a ten miles towards Warwickshire. The town is scant half so big as Loughborough, but in it there is a hospital of the foundation of two of the Verduns that were lords of ancient time of the town. . . . There riseth certain springs in the hills a mile from Lutterworth and so coming to a bottom they make a brook that passeth by Lutterworth,'

[1] In Normandy there are two villages named Ferrieres. Probably the founder of the family, Henry de Ferrers, came from that near Bernai. The Conqueror gave him 100 manors in England (Parker, 245). For the family of Ferrers of Chartley and Ferrers of Groby see G. E. C., new ed. v. 581 f., who dates the partition of the property Oct. 1328 (*op. cit.* 628).

[2] *Cal. Pat. Ric.* iv. 373.

[3] *Supra*, i. 209. Henry was born 16 Feb. 1356 (G. E. C., *op. cit.* 626).

[4] *Close Rolls*, iii. 385, 391.

[5] *Cal. Pat. Hen. V*, i. 181, dated 5 May. Dyson, *Lutterworth*, 21, is quite inaccurate.

the little river Swift in fact. The bridge which may possibly have existed in Wyclif's day, with its narrow openings and high walls, was replaced in 1778 by a modern structure.

Though the later fortunes of Lutterworth would take us too far afield, one matter deserves mention. Among the parishioners of Wyclif were two men, Thomas and John Feilding, descendants of a certain Geoffery de Felden who had won his spurs in the wars of Henry III, and who lived in a house in Ely Lane, Lutterworth.[1] This John Feilding, a wool merchant who in October 1395 was in trouble for 'excessive weighings and purchasings of wools contrary to statute',[2] died the 11th October 1403 and is buried in Lutterworth church.[3] From him there descended a certain Geoffery Feilding, who set off for London, became a member of the Mercers' company, in 1439 was elected member for the City, and eventually in 1452 became Mayor. This Sir Geoffery Feilding was buried in St. Lawrence Jewry, as the brass plate of the Mercers witnesses to this day.[4] His descendant Basil Feilding, on the 13th June 1629, purchased for £1,650 the manor of Lutterworth with its rents and tolls, and from that time to the present it has remained in the hands of the Feilding family, the present earl of Denbigh being now its lord. The Feildings, in their search for a pedigree, with an audacious disregard for facts claimed descent from the Hapsburgs. They maintained that their name was an abbreviation from Rinfelden. The gift of fiction which this pretension demonstrates has been put to better purpose by the most illustrious of their descendants, Henry Fielding. It is interesting to recollect that one of the ancestors of the author of *Tom Jones* must have heard Wyclif deliver from the pulpit of Lutterworth his scathing invectives against the manners and morals of his age.

The parish church of St. Mary, Lutterworth, though rebuilt in the early fifteenth century, contains much of the older

[1] For these Feildings see Dyson, *op. cit.* 23–7, 62–79; for their imaginary genealogy duly set out in Nichols, iv. 273 ff. See Round's exposure in *Geneal.* (N.S.) x. 193–206, or *Peerage Studies*, 216.

[2] *Cal. Pat.* v. 626. The list of offenders (pp. 626–31) is of great value as giving an indication of the localities and extent of the wool trade.

[3] See his brass in Nichols, iv. 263. Feilding's will made 27 Sept. 1403 was proved 18 Dec. 1403 (Gibbons, 99).

[4] Sharpe, *Letter-Book K*, 232 *n.*, 349; Stowe, *Survey*, i. 276.

OLD LUTTERWORTH CHURCH, 1792

church in which Wyclif ministered.[1] The tower, on which in Wyclif's day there was a massive spire, blown down in the storm of 1703, is thirteenth-century work up to the diaper work, but the belfry windows are of later date. Portions of the north aisle and some of the south aisle may also contain original details, but the aisles were considerably altered, if not rebuilt, in the fifteenth century. The east and south walls of the chancel are the old thirteenth-century walls, though their height has since been raised to admit of larger windows. There are still visible remains of the fourteenth-century steps to the rood-screen. The rood-screen itself is gone, though some portions are said to be preserved at the fine old church of Stanford on Avon, five miles distant, a church full of glass contemporary with Wyclif. The east window is of later date than Wyclif, but the old jambs are still retained. In the chancel close by the altar on the north side is the old aumbry, and on the south side is the Early English piscina. In the north arch of the chancel there is a so-called squint-hole; its use was to enable the priest officiating at a side altar to witness the elevation of the host at the high altar. Piscina, aumbry and squint-hole, as also the priest's door, are probably the same as in Wyclif's day. In former times the church, as most other churches, was covered with frescoes, a method sanctioned from antiquity for teaching a people the majority of whom could not read. At the restoration of the church in 1869 two frescoes were discovered: one over the chancel arch, a realistic picture of the Day of Judgement; another on the north wall, absurdly called the John of Gaunt fresco. Some archaeologists have claimed that this last was inserted in the church by Wyclif himself, though it is acknowledged that the one over the chancel arch was placed there in the rebuilding of the fifteenth century. The further claim that the three crowned heads of Wyclif's fresco represent Richard II, his queen Anne, and John of Gaunt may be dismissed as improbable.[2] The church contains a few so-called relics of Wyclif, his vestment, the chair in which he was

[1] It is interesting to note that the living in 1344 paid procurations of *7s. 6d.* and *3s.* for Peter's pence (Nichols, iv. 264).

[2] The claim for John of Gaunt was made in 1880 by Mr. Thursby in a paper before the Leicestershire Archaeological Soc. See Dyson, *op. cit.* 42.

carried out to his death-bed, wooden candlesticks, and a fine carved table on which, it is said, he translated the Bible. None of these are genuine. The oak table is Jacobean ; the chair dates two centuries later ; the embroidery of his vestment is so fragmentary that no certain date can be given, though possibly it may be of late fourteenth-century workmanship. The pulpit also, which has acquired renown from the supposition that the Reformer preached from it, is a sexagon made in the fifteenth century of thick oak planks. But in it are some remains of the carved panels of the pulpit of Wyclif's day. The sounding-board which surmounted it was broken by the fall of the spire, and the fragments have been made into a dining table.[1]

§ 3

For the country at large Wyclif's last years were years of intolerable strain. On all hands there were rumours of French invasions, following close upon Spenser's disastrous crusade Time after time we read of preparations to meet the foe, especially on the south coast. On the 20th October 1384 Richard wrote to all the bishops urging that they would ' move the clergy and people to take upon them the spirit of fortitude and to intercede in prayer for the safety of the realm '. In the summer after Wyclif's death Wykeham was ordered to arm ' all abbots, priors, men of religion and other ecclesiastics in his diocese ', while the inhabitants of ' Swanwich ' (Swanage) and Studland in ' Purbyk supra mare ' were authorized to pay a ransom should they be attacked by the French (April 1385). Earlier in the spring of 1384 arrays of men were held in the maritime counties, while in June 1385 the abbot of Bury was ordered to take up his abode ' in as great force as he may ' in his manor of Elmswell near the Suffolk coast. In the north there was fear of the Scots, so that in June a great muster was ordered at Newcastle, including the two archbishops and thirty-four bishops and abbots. This was the reply of the Scots to the futile raid—we can hardly call it more—which John of Gaunt conducted into Scotland in April 1384. Conditions at home were also rendered worse by the bands of old soldiers,

[1] *Jour. Brit. Arch. Soc.* (N.S.), vii. 205–14 ; Dyson, 51.

of whom Wyclif complained, who roamed the country pleading their wounds and pains.[1]

Wyclif alone was unmoved by the dread around him. In spite of his extreme language, we may honour him for being one of the few men of the age who had sufficient statesmanship to protest against a continuance of the war with France. Abandoning the teaching of his earlier years, when he held that 'war was the last refuge of justice', though usually the result of the lack of charity, he maintained in his later sermons that to choose war was to show oneself defective in faith, since war can always be avoided by the sacrifice of worldly good. In war we can never be sure that we are maintaining justice, while we know that patience is always right. The crying need, he urged, was for wise men and preaching curates who should proclaim the harmfulness of war. He indignantly denied that he had ever dared to counsel war. In another sermon he pleads that 'putting an end to Caesarean endowments and private religions would be better than destroying the realm of France'. He complains, it is true, that 'clerical owners neither fight as soldiers for their fatherland, nor invade enemy countries'. It is impossible to reconcile this with his plea that fighting priests are unfit either to preach or to pray or to administer the sacraments.[2] But perfervid advocacy is often disdainful of consistency.

One event in the last year of Wyclif's life is of interest, for it shows by his numerous references to it that Wyclif was loyal to the end in his adherence to John of Gaunt. On the 3rd March 1384 writs were issued for a parliament to meet at Salisbury on the 29th April.[3] The main business was the question of peace with France. But the parliament was also marked by the violent quarrels between Richard II, now in his eighteenth year, and some of the leading nobles. Richard had surrendered himself to a small coterie of courtiers, conspicuous among whom were Thomas Mowbray earl of Nottingham, and Robert de Vere earl of Oxford, afterwards duke of Ireland, who held

[1] Rymer, vii. 444, 469, 470, 474; *Close Rolls*, ii. 552, 555, 590, 637–8; Higden, ix. 29, 32, 43; Wyclif, *Serm.* ii. 341.

[2] *Serm.* ii. 374; iii. 98, 101, 103; iv. 47, 143, 210–11. Pacificists would be delighted with *ib.* iv. 34 f.

[3] *Close Rolls*, ii. 452–4; *Members*, 219 f.

the first place in his affections. In opposition to this court party there was a section under the lead of Richard earl of Arundel and the king's uncle, Thomas of Woodstock. Between the two stood John of Gaunt, supported by the chancellor Michael de la Pole, and by Scrope. The hatred of Arundel for the king's favourites blazed out in open quarrel. He told the king that his advisers were at fault and that the country was drifting to destruction. 'If you say that I am at fault', shouted Richard, white with fury, 'you lie; go to the devil!' After a long silence Lancaster arose and tried to pacify the king by explaining away Arundel's words. The result was that Richard, led on probably by de Vere, turned against his uncle. Reckless of all consequences de Vere trumped up a tale against Lancaster which was ingenious and all but successful.[1] Parliament was still in session—it went down on the 27th May—and Richard was in the lodging of the earl of Oxford. When the mass was concluded there came forward a Carmelite friar who had acted as officiating priest. This Irish bachelor of theology, by name John Latimer, accused Lancaster of a conspiracy against the king's life, in which he would be assisted by the citizens of London and Coventry. Richard, in his passion tossing his hat and shoes out of the window, ordered his uncle to be seized and executed at once, the consummation which de Vere intended. Wiser counsels prevailed, however, and Richard was induced to order the friar's tale to be taken down, with the names of the witnesses. Of these the friar singled out Sir William de la Zouche. At that moment Lancaster entered the presence-chamber. A solemn mass had been arranged in the cathedral; lords and commons were to attend in procession; the clergy were already waiting in the precincts. As Richard did not appear Lancaster had come to find out the cause. 'There is the villain,' cried de Vere, 'seize him and put him to death, or he will finally kill you.' The duke, unaware of what

[1] The prime authority for the story that follows is Sir John Clanvowe, himself of lollard sympathies, who narrated it to the chronicler Malvern (Higden, ix. 32 f.), cf. Walsingham, ii. 112 f. Malvern gives no name to the friar. This is given in Bale, *Index Script.* 224, in a brief reference. The story is too graphic not to be true, notwithstanding the scepticism of B. Holland, *The Lancashire Hollands* (1917), 55. Clanvowe would hear details of the torture from Sir J. Montague. The anti-Lancastrian version in Walsingham, ii. 112–14, and, briefly, in *Chron. Ang.* 359, is not to be trusted.

had taken place, was astonished. When the story was told he indignantly denied the plot and offered to prove his innocence by wager of battle. Richard, in a revulsion of feeling, ordered the friar to be executed, but this Lancaster prevented. He was anxious to find out who was at the back of the plot. On the friar being questioned he repeated his tale, but de la Zouche repudiated the story, offering to defend his honour with his life. The friar was thereupon led away in custody by Sir John Montague, the king's seneschal, and by Burley. At the door of the king's lodging they were met by Sir John Holland, the king's half-brother, and four knights, none of whom were of de Vere's faction. They determined to get at the truth ; so in the presence of Montague they proceeded to torture the friar with a brutality which does no credit to Montague's supposed lollard sympathies. The least painful of his sufferings was the slow fire, for by that time he was too far gone to feel. In spite of repeated tortures the friar preserved an obstinate silence, and was finally handed over, dying, to the warden of Salisbury castle. After lingering a few days he passed away, his secret, if he had one, of the men who had suborned him, still undisclosed.

Efforts were at once made to throw the blame for this crime upon Lancaster. The torturers were said to be his men.[1] Rumour ran that additional tortures had been applied in prison. Tales were told of miracles. The crate on which the corpse of the friar had been dragged through the streets to the cemetery of St. Martin's[2] put forth new leaves. A blind man received his sight by touching it, while a light was seen hovering over the friar's grave. But the Carmelite order, of which John of Gaunt was the special patron, refused to sanction the frauds, and when an Oxford Carmelite tried to preach inflammatory sermons took prompt steps for his suppression.[3] The friar, it was said, was mad. But the alleged plot of the duke, as well as the torture of the friar, naturally made a great

[1] Their names are given in the margin of Malvern. See Higden, ix. 34. Of the seven people, Sir J. Montague was a Lancastrian, but even more a king's man. Holland was the king's half-brother, and Sir P. Courtenay belonged to the family of the archbishop. Burley (*supra*, i. 290) was the king's tutor.

[2] The oldest church in New Sarum (Hoare, *Wilts*, vi. 44).

[3] Higden, ix. 43.

stir throughout the country. Wyclif heard of it at Lutterworth. He was engaged at the time in writing one of his many attacks on the friars.[1] Whether because of lack of accurate knowledge, or through perversity of judgement, he turned the matter into a plot of the friars as a body to accomplish the death of the duke ' because he was unwilling to punish faithful priests ' i.e. the Poor Priests,[2] instead of attributing it to its real authors, de Vere and Thomas Mowbray, assisted by the passion and prejudice of Richard. The idea is as destitute of foundation as the statements of Walsingham that the tortures of the friar were inflicted by the duke's orders. But Wyclif's reference is of interest as showing his continued trust in John of Gaunt.

In his last years at Lutterworth Wyclif, though still maintaining that the body as the soul's house must be under good control, abandoned the extreme asceticism of his earlier life. He pointed out that this conduced to sickness. Possibly he was thinking of himself, for he was racked with rheumatism, for which, as he tells us, he found mustard plasters a remedy. He even went so far as to allow that one priest may entertain another temperately, though for a priest or bishop to give banquets was so much out of place as for ' a man to ride a saddled cow '. In the Lord's Prayer, he said, ' we ask for bread, not larks or other delicacies '. In his earlier days he had inclined to the beliefs of the Spiritual Franciscans. He now pointed out that Christ's ' clothes ' cannot have been ' poor and clouted on each side ', for if so soldiers would not have cast lots to part His garments among them.[3]

We may picture Wyclif in his rectory, half paralysed in body, for a minor stroke had warned him of years of overwork, yet dauntless in courage, receiving the reports of his Poor Priests as they repaired to Lutterworth for instructions or to renew their supplies of tracts. From these he would hear of the public attacks upon them by the friars, though other informa-

[1] *de Ordinatione Fratrum* (*Pol. Works*, i. 83 ff.), wrongly dated by the editor in 1882. It must be May or June 1884.

[2] *Pol. Works*, i. 95. See also *de Septum Donis Spiriti Sancti* (*Pol. Works*, i. 227), where Wyclif also brings in his ' faithful priests ', the date of which must be summer 1384 and not as Buddensieg, *ib.* i. 204. In *de Novis Ordinibus* (*ib.* i. 332 ; Buddensieg's date, 1377, *ib.* i. 320, is an error), Wyclif says the whole order was responsible. Cf. also *Op. Evang.* ii. 7.

[3] *Serm.* ii. 187 ; iii. 214 ; iv. 71, 128, 445 ; *Sel. Eng. Works*, ii. 127.

tion led him to believe that in private many of the friars agreed with him, so much so, that in the last works of his life, especially in his *Opus Evangelicum*, he urged members of ' the private sects ' to leave them for ' the sect of Christ ', or to join him in preaching the Gospel to the people.[1] One Franciscan, whose name we know not, had already abandoned his order, and distinguished himself by bringing out a satirical poem on monks, as well as on the alliance of ' Pilate and Herod ' against Wyclif.[2] Others of his ' biblemen ' would comfort him with the report that the gentry now ' hold no custom of an order or sect worth anything unless founded on the law of God '. Nor must we omit from the picture his secretary, Purvey, nor his curate, John Horn, and others whose names we know not, without whose assistance it would have been impossible for the old man to continue his labours. He missed sorely Nicholas Hereford, to whose imprisonment overseas he often alludes. His enemies never left him alone. Wyclif tells us of some who attacked him—unfortunately he never mentions names. One of these, ' a pharisee who deems himself the chief of the fourth sect ' [3] i.e. of the Franciscans, with whom Wyclif held controversy in July 1383, may be the then provincial, Thomas Kingsbury.[4]

Never was Wyclif's pen more prolific than in these last two years of life. The consciousness that the end was near, the bitter isolation of his position, the knowledge that his friends were few while those who sided with Antichrist were many,[5] the suppression by persecution of his Poor Priests, the recantation of Repingdon and other schoolmen, only made him devote himself with incredible activity to the bringing out of tracts for the times, the editing of his sermons, both English and Latin, and the publication of an orderly *Summa* of his doctrines in thirteen volumes. He refuses to believe that ' God is asleep and antichrist full lord '. Hope still shines in him like a pillar

[1] *Op. Evang.* i. 410, 414. Cf. *Pol. Works*, i. 313, 315 ; *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 368, 369, 370.

[2] *Op. Evang.* i. 37 ; *Mon. Franc.* i. App. XI ; *Pol. Poems*, i. 254 f.

[3] *Pol. Works*, i. 264. From *ib.* i. 269, we learn that he held a disputation on the matter at Oxford.

[4] Kingsbury, a D.D. of Oxford, was provincial from 1379 or 1380 to 1390 or 1392 (*Mon. Franc.* i. 538, 561 ; Little, 250).

[5] *Pol. Works*, ii. 605.

of fire, nor is he discouraged because now 'the fiend's side have mastery'. He is convinced that 'the day of judgement that is present to God is full nigh'. 'Rest in the belief', he writes, 'that the day shall come when the fiend's side shall lurk (hide), and truth shall shine without let, and men abide by rule of law that Christ hath given.' 'Now the prince of this world has spread his armies throughout the whole universe, but the King of kings has promised to assist his Church even unto the end of the world.'[1] Writing in the spring of 1383 he professed to believe that 'persecution and horrible death threatened' him.[2] In a short letter to an unknown friend he dwells on 'the celestial recompense of perseverance'. 'I trust', he writes elsewhere, 'that by the mercy of God after this short life I shall receive a superabundant reward.'[3] With tireless energy he once more repeated his attacks, dwelling on the old theme of the need of disendowment, holding up to ridicule the misdeeds of the friars, the unapostolic character of the episcopate, and the claims of the papacy. The defence of his tenets on the Eucharist was never far from his thoughts. He even wrote letters to the Roman pontiff, to his diocesan, Buckingham, and to certain secular lords 'asking that they would help in securing its condemnation if his doctrine was heretical, but if catholic that they equally assist in securing its confirmation by the Church militant'. All these are now lost except the one to the bishop of Lincoln. A letter sent to Courtenay is also preserved in which he reasserted his tenets, adding his protest against 'the slaughter of the people' in Spenser's Crusade. This last, especially the part taken in it by the friars, roused all Wyclif's ire. Even if 'the stars showed their approval' of this invasion, he would never consent that it was right.[4]

In those days the copying of books by unskilled clerks who were not even 'stationers' was a slow process, and in all Wyclif's works there are long stretches of repetition[5] from

[1] *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 172, 181, 363; *Apos.* 22.

[2] *Pol. Works*, ii. 466. Cf. *Serm.* iv. 49. Note the sharper tone in the Eng. version (*Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 184) of the Latin, *Op. Min.* 10, pointing to a later date for the translation by Purvey.

[3] *Op. Min.* 10 (this friend cannot be, as some manuscripts indicate, Ralph Strode); *Trial.* 262.

[4] *Op. Min.* 3–6, 123–8; *Op. Evang.* ii. 171.

[5] For wearisome repetition see *Apos.*, p. viii; for incorporation of a passage in other works, cf. *Ver. Script.* i. 152–3, with *Ziz.* 481.

authorities, sometimes even from his own works, the writing out of which would be chiefly mechanical. In consequence Wyclif seems to have been occupied with many works at once, dictating the main lines of thought, leaving to his disciples, especially Purvey, the filling in of detail, the translation into English, and the copying of material—a procedure which led at times to inconsistency of argument.[1] Only in this way could his restless brain cope with the limitations of his partial paralysis and of a century without the press. Several of his works were still unfinished when the end came. But the marvel is not that some were not completed, but at the vast extent of Wyclif's labours at Lutterworth in the two and a half years before his death. The consciousness that he was running a race with death may also account to some extent for the confused style. Wyclif had so much to say and so few months in which to say it that he became careless of all form. A brief notice of the chief writings of these closing days [2] will give but a slight indication of his incredible industry.

To these last years we must assign Wyclif's important *Trialogus*.[3] Its value does not lie in any fresh presentation but in its forming a brief compendium of Wyclif's final views on most of the subjects on which he had written. As such it secured at an early date the recognition of the printing-press. The title is due to an etymological mistake. The work takes the form of a discussion between three people, one of whom, however, according to his own confession, falls asleep. Wyclif, who imagined that a dialogue was a discussion between two (as if the word were ' Dyalogue '), called this a Trialogue. To this work he added a *Supplement*, in which the dialogue was

[1] As an illustration, cf. *Pol. Works*, ii. 574, where he tries to shield ' our Urban ' from responsibility for Spenser's Crusade, with the later, *ib.* ii. 593, where the phrase is reintroduced though in the midst of most violent attacks on Urban.

[2] Among the doubtful works may be assigned *de Religione Privata I* in *Pol. Works*, ii. 485–518, on whose genuineness see Buddensieg, *ib.* ii. 486–8. The *de Religione Privata II*, printed by Buddensieg in *ib.* ii. 524 f., is really part of one of his sermons (*Serm.* iii. 230 f.). The decision of the genuine English works is especially difficult. See vol. i. App. C.

[3] Ed. G. Lechler, Oxford, 1869. For previous editions see *supra*, i. 13, 14. The date both of *Trialogus* and *Supplementum* is between the Earthquake Council (*Trial.* 339, 374, 445) and Spenser's Crusade, to which Wyclif makes no reference.

dropped, mainly concerned with the question of endowment.[1] Though unshaken in his convictions, the tone is less vehement and dogmatic. This is especially true of his philosophical positions. He realized that he 'had often fallen into the depths of the sea'. He warns his readers against the folly of an extreme realism. 'I confess', says Wyclif speaking of ideas,

'that I am ignorant of much because of the loftiness of the subject, but in the fatherland I shall see clearly, as I believe, the views which now I only stammer.'

In a memorable sentence Wyclif takes his stand beside Luther:

'Were there a hundred popes and all the friars turned into cardinals, their opinions in matters of faith should not be accepted except in so far as they are founded on Scripture'.[2]

But the restraint of the *Trialogus* did not last. Wyclif was roused to new fury by Spenser's Crusade, the persecution by the friars of his Poor Priests, and the outrages of Urban VI. In tract after tract, packed with invective, sometimes in Latin, sometimes in an English version for circulation among the people, Wyclif attacked the papacy, the bishops, the friars, and the whole polity of the medieval church. It should be noted that his English editions, whether his own work or the translation of his 'glossator', Purvey, are less restrained in temper and generally more diffuse than the Latin.[3] At times, in his anger against the evils of his age, Wyclif seems to cut himself off from all his former life at Oxford. He maintained that the colleges of the universities, though much good springs from them, should yet be abolished. They foster jealousy, perjury, and simony, while their rich endowments, especially their appropriation of parish churches, withdraw wealth from the Church, and yet fail to bring back the priesthood to its

[1] Printed only in Lechler's *Trialogus*, 405–56.

[2] *Trial.* 6, 66, 69, 266, 272.

[3] For specimens of these double tracts compare

(*a*) *de Dissensione Paparum* (*Pol. Works*, ii. 567–76), with *Sel. Eng. Works* iii. 242 f. where the title is taken from Bale, i. 454. The English version has eight chapters, of which only one is extant in Latin (*Pol. Works*, ii. 571 *n.*). For its date, beginning of 1383, *ib.* ii. 568. For Shirley's idea that it was a letter to Spenser, *ib.* ii. 567 *n.*, 576 *n.* A large portion is reproduced in *Cruciata*. See *Pol. Works*, ii. 589, 593, and cf. *Serm.* iv. 118.

(*b*) *de Fide Catholica* in *Op. Min.* 98–128, with the very violent and fuller *The Church and its Members*, published by Todd in *Three Treatises* (1851), and from the more accurate Bodleian manuscript in *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 338 f.

ancient purity of life. To their existence Wyclif traces the falling off in numbers at Oxford! The Hospitallers also must follow the Templars. 'Whatever good they do they will be able to do it more freely and meritoriously in the most free sect of Christ', i.e. in the general Church.[1]

If the former Master of Balliol could write thus about his old college, we are not surprised that he maintained that priests waste their time in vain learning. He instanced not merely the study of law, 'both of pope, caesar and king', but the uselessness for the priest of natural philosophy, logic, and the 'vain curiosity of theologians' who spend their time in subtle argumentation. This last he compared as a source of 'vain glory' to the tournaments of knights.[2] At one time Wyclif had rejoiced in physics; but now he falls foul of the

'curiosities of mathematics. Let the faithful man discover what science or mensuration helps most to virtuous life and labour hard to grasp it'.

Christ, Whose apostles had no degrees, does not want 'learned graduates, promoted to fat benefices, but simple men affecting the school of Christ and His doctrine'. Graduation leads to artificiality in preaching, the substitution of 'poems and fables', and is not founded on Scripture. There would be no loss if this were ended, for there are perils in the title of Master. When accused of 'fouling his own nest' he owns to the charge, 'humbly confessing his past sins and seeking to warn others lest they fall into the same danger'.[3] It is difficult to decide whether we have here signs of a growing fanaticism, the result of conscious defeat, or proofs of the ill effects of his stroke.[4] When in the next century lollardy had been driven underground by persecution Wyclif's attitude won the approval of many of his humble followers, who forgot that much of this crudeness may be attributed to the pain of Wyclif's last days, and to his consciousness of helplessness.

[1] *Pol. Works*, i. 270–3. For the numbers see *supra*, i. 88.
[2] *Serm.* ii. 18; *Op. Evang.* i. 246.
[3] *Op. Min.* 245, 324–5, 329, 331, 441, 446; *Op. Evang.* ii. 22.
[4] Against this more charitable view is the fact that we find these views in *Blas.* 242 f., written in the early months of 1382. On the other hand, in almost his last work he affirms the need of a theologian being trained in metaphysics (*Op. Evang.* ii. 325).

In his last days Wyclif departed also from such sacramentarianism as he had hitherto held. No doubt the sacraments were of value, but 'the church lives not in sacraments invented by the satraps (of Antichrist) but in definite faith in the Lord Jesus'. The sacraments, too, could be administered by any of the predestinate. Wyclif is a little inconsistent with his theory when in the same tract he maintains that the king should provide that in every parish church in England there should be a resident priest. If such should prove unworthy he should be removed and another appointed. Probably Wyclif would have replied that the parish priest was a convenience. But every priest should live like Christ a life of poverty, nor would he allow that the many prayers, frequent singing, the confessions and other ceremonies of the Church are commanded by the Gospel. Christ did not ordain the disciples 'to sing together but to build up the Church'. Nevertheless such a Use as that of Sarum has its advantages, though too often counted as of more weight than the Scriptures. This negative attitude to the sacraments was followed up, as might have been expected, with an attack upon other ritual. Prelates are not bound to enforce the keeping of saints' days.[1] He protests against the need of reconciliation of a church after bloodshed. 'Holiness in the soul makes the foulest place clean', as Job on his dunghill or Christ in the inn. As for

> 'the consecration and benediction of wax, bread, palms, lights, salt, wallets, staves, arms and the like, they have nothing to do with the substance of the Christian faith. It would therefore be more commendable if bishops would teach and preach the catholic belief instead of dispensing these sacraments or consecrating churches'.

He objects also to the 'new prayers by great crying and high song' instead of the 'still manner' of Christ and His Apostles which would enable us to 'understand what we sing'.[2]

One of the former friends of Wyclif, estranged from him by the violence of his attack on the papacy, entered the lists in defence. The name and writing of this 'socius' is lost; but

[1] *Serm.* ii. 183. The student will not forget that Wyclif published a full series of sermons for saints' days both in English and Latin, *Serm.* vol. 2; *Sel. Eng. Works*, i. 165 f.

[2] *Pol. Works*, i. 257, 261–2, 275, 278, 345; ii. 620; *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 203, 228; *Op. Evang.* i. 261–3.

Wyclif's reply, one of the last works he wrote, is still extant,[1] and contains long quotations from his adversary. His former friendship for one whom he recognizes as 'eager for the truth' induced in Wyclif an unusual moderation. The work itself, with its complete repudiation of the papacy, brings forward nothing that is new, though Wyclif's attribution of the papacy in its then form to pope Sylvester is not without interest in view of the date of his own death and the strictures founded thereon. We note also that according to Wyclif's opponent the universities were seething with heretics.[2] In many respects the tract is a compressed edition of the arguments of a treatise that Wyclif was writing at the same time, the *Opus Evangelicum*,[3] probably the last large work that he attempted. 'Autoris vita finitur et hoc opus ita' wrote its copyist,[4] and there is in the work the final calm of one who is conscious that he is passing beyond controversy.[5] Of this book, which was never completed, the first volume is in the main an homiletic commentary upon the Sermon on the Mount, largely made up of quotations, especially from Augustine, Chrysostom, and Grosseteste. Wyclif's library at Lutterworth, it would seem, was by no means limited. A second volume is nominally about Antichrist, but deals with hypocrites and blind guides of all sorts from the pope downward. With the utmost plainness he reiterates his former convictions and repeats his charges, taking as his text the denunciations of Christ. Wyclif so emphasizes the general sufficiency of 'God's law', i.e. of the Bible, without, if necessary, church or sacraments,[6] that Hus, when he copied the treatise with but slight alterations, gave it the title *de Sufficentia Legis Dei*, under which it passes in his works. His sympathies with the people are shown in his desire to abolish serfdom, as well as in his pronounced bias towards socialism. In a state of innocence riches should be in common, as air and water. But like the Puritans he insists that the State must be the Commonwealth of God: 'The voice of the

[1] *Op. Min.* 258–312. From p. 296 we learn that there were a number of leprous, lame and blind priests. For a leprous vicar see *Reg. Grand.* i. 573.
[2] *Ib.* 303. For Sylvester, see *infra*, p. 318.
[3] Ed. J. Loserth, 2 vols., Wyclif Soc. 1895, 1896.
[4] *Op. Evang.* ii. 336.
[5] J. P. Whitney in *Eng. Hist. Rev.* x. 790.
[6] *Op. Evang.* i. 375.

people is only the voice of God when it is the voice of a people led by the Spirit of God '.[1] In conclusion, he declares that he is willing to be taught any truth ' by Scripture or living reason '. Nevertheless he is ready to face death as ' a glorious martyr ' and so ' pass to bliss '.[2]

§ 4

Gregory's citation of Wyclif to Rome still hung over his head as a possible weapon for his adversaries. There are grounds for believing that the friars in their anger at Wyclif's attacks, despairing also of effective help from Courtenay, appealed to Urban to renew the citation. Urban, probably, was too busy with his own affairs to reply, but the rumour of the friars' intentions drew from Wyclif a bitter attack. In a tract entitled *de Citationibus Frivolis*,[3] Wyclif in the autumn of 1383 dealt with the whole subject of papal citations. He contests their legality; they are derived neither from God nor from temporal lords, but from Satan alone. Every one who favours such citations, be he prelate or prince, is assisting Antichrist. They are part of the system of government of the Church by the judicial notions of the Canon Law, accompanied by the constant interference of the pope in secular matters, rather than government in accordance with the rules of the Gospel. All such secular administration of the Church is diabolical, carried on in the spirit of a trader bent merely on the amassing of benefices. Forward then, soldiers of Christ, against this Antichrist who claims to be supreme lord of all your actions, goods, and lives![4] Repeating his old objection to the perils of the journey Wyclif adds a new personal note. Referring to his stroke he claims that he is ' hindered by God ' from obeying,

' and so a certain feeble and lame man cited to the curia replies that he is prevented by a royal prohibition, for the King of kings has willed it effectually that he should not go '.

[1] *Op. Evang.* i. 338, 415; *Pol. Works*, ii. 606.

[2] *Op. Evang.* i. 376; ii. 305. So also in *Pol. Works*, i. 287; ii. 671; *Serm.* iii. 254, there is the same concession, on which see Woodford's criticism in Brown, *Fascic.* i. 265. It was a common formula for making things easier without closing down discussion.

[3] *Pol. Works*, ii. 546–64. The pertinent sections are also in *Eng. Works*, 485–7.

[4] *Pol. Works*, ii. 547–51, 553.

The pope 'who cannot even cleanse his own body of disease is unable to restore to health those whom he cites to his presence'. Wyclif sarcastically points out that those who are cited to Rome may legitimately ask for the expenses of their journey and assurances of safety.[1] To clinch matters Wyclif, or one of his followers, republished in an English translation his former letter to Urban VI with some striking alterations. The sentences expressing confidence in Urban are omitted, and the whole letter thus becomes a keenly ironical statement of his attitude to the papacy. The letter ends with a new paragraph:

'And I suppose of our pope that he will not be Antichrist and reverse Christ in this working to the contrary of Christ's will. For if he summons against reason by him or any of his and pursue this unskilful summoning he is an open Antichrist. And merciful intent excused not Peter that Christ cleped (called) him Satan. So blind intent and evil counsel excuses not the pope here, but if he ask of true priests that they travel more than they may tis not excused by reason of God that he is Antichrist'.[2]

The sentence expressing Wyclif's willingness 'meekly to be amended if by the death' was left in with the pathetic addition 'for that I hope were good for me'. Three years earlier Wyclif had written of death as 'a good thing; the freeing from the prison of the body that our soul like an eagle may soar on high'.[3]

[1] *Op. Evang.* i. 20, 434; *Pol. Works*, ii. 548, 556.

[2] The date and fact of this citation and Wyclif's *Letter* are the subject of dispute. No evidence of it has been found in the Vatican (Lechler, 416 *n.*). The older historians, following Lewis, who assumed that it was a fact (*op. cit.* 100, 284 *n.*), dated in 1382. In *Ziz.* 341 the date is given in the manuscript as 1384. Loserth was the first to point out in *Hist. Zeit.* lxxv. 476–80, and afterwards in *Op. Min.* p. ii, that Wyclif's Letter with its confidence in Urban must be dated in 1378. In this I have followed Loserth (*supra*, i. 310), as also in the same dating of *de Servitute Civili*. But I cannot agree with him that the *de Citationibus Frivolis* belongs to the same year (*Op. Min.* p. xxviii). The reference to Hereford's imprisonment (*Pol. Works*, ii. 554), as well as to Wyclif's paralysis (ii. 556), prevent a date earlier than 1382, nor can I allow with Loserth that the reference to the Eucharistic controversy (ii. 553) is an interpolation. I date therefore the *de Cit. Frivolis* with Buddensieg (*Pol. Works*, ii. 541) as written in 1383, and accept the explanation that in calling Urban 'refuga' (*ib.* ii. 557) Wyclif refers to Urban's flight to Naples (*supra*, p. 71). Wyclif's letter in Latin is preserved in eight manuscripts. It is printed in *Op. Min.* 1; *Ziz.* 341–2; Lechler, ii. 633, and Eng. trans. in Foxe, iii. 49. When translated by his followers into English (manuscripts in Bodleian and New College, text in Lewis, 283–5; *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 504) considerable alterations were made, for which I have tried to give an explanation in an attempted revival of the citation.

[3] *Blas.* 154.

The 'good thing' was nearer than his enemies dreamed. Nor was his excuse of physical inability trumped up for the purpose. The 'emaciated frame, spare and well nigh destitute of strength' had for some years been kept alive only by his indomitable will. According to 'John Horn, a priest of eighty years, who was a parish priest at Lutterworth at the time when Wyclif died', and who in the year 1441 gave his evidence on oath before Dr. Thomas Gascoigne—'as I shall answer before God I know that these things are true; because I have seen and bear my testimony'—'Wyclif was paralysed' by a lesser stroke 'for two years before his death,' an illness which probably led to Horn's employment as Wyclif's curate. The end came suddenly. 'On the day of the Holy Innocents' (28 Dec.), continues Horn,

'as Wyclif was hearing mass[1] in his church at Lutterworth, at the time of the elevation of the host, he fell down, smitten by a severe paralysis, especially in the tongue, so that neither then nor afterwards could he speak'.[2]

Three days later on St. Sylvester's Day (Saturday, 31 Dec. 1384)[3] the tired worker entered into rest. A ripple of disorder at Oxford in the following January may be attributed to the news of his decease reaching friends and foes in the place where for so long he had ruled in the schools.[4] Three weeks after Wyclif's death a successor, John Morhouse, was instituted at Lutterworth. Unfortunately Morhouse has not handed down any record of the condition in which he found his parish, or of the steps he took to eradicate the teaching of the late rector. No doubt there was but short shrift for Purvey and Horn. As Horn was but a young man of twenty-three the world lay before him. It is possible that he drifted back to Oxford, served

[1] Not administering, as Vaughan, *Mon.* 468.

[2] Leland, *Collect.* ii. 409; Tanner, 768 *n.* In Lewis, 286, there is a longer form from Cotton, MS. Otho A, 14, said to be in Gascoigne's own handwriting. This I have followed.

[3] Date given in Gascoigne, 116, as also in the Lincoln register of the appointment of his successor (A. H. Thompson in Wilkins, *Westbury*, 88). Walsingham, ii. 119; Capgrave, 240, give 1385. Bale, i. 456, also in his *Oldcastle*, 15, and *Index Script.* 268; and Davies, *Eng. Chron.* 6, give 1387; *Eulog. Cont.* iii. 367, 1388. From this uncertainty we deduce that Wyclif had fallen into obscurity with the public.

[4] *Close Rolls*, ii. 510. The lawyers were at the bottom of it (*ib.* ii. 521; *Pat. Ric.* ii. 526).

as the chaplain at Balliol (1407–11)—if so he would witness the last stirring revival of Oxford lollardism—and in 1417 was vicar of St. Mary's, Oxford.[1] But this identification is mere conjecture, though it would account for his intimacy in extreme old age with Gascoigne. He lives by his one reminiscence of younger days when he was associated with the Master.

Where Wyclif was buried we do not know. Many rectors availed themselves of their privilege to lie in the chancel, if possible opposite the high altar.[2] Others desired to be buried in the processional path or at the west door, where their names would ever be remembered in prayer by those who passed by.[3] Was he buried, as was the custom, in his priestly dress ?[4] If so, the stripping it off would be an added detail at the exhumation. In one of his latest sermons Wyclif had protested against sumptuous funerals with their flattering sermons and costly tombs.[5] Purvey and Horn would see that his wishes were carried out. As Wyclif lay under no excommunication—years later his friends could plead that he was still a 'Catholic doctor'[6]—the full service could be read in the church, though for that matter Purvey would have defied all inhibitions. A stone slab of some sort there was—alas that no one copied its inscription !—for at a later date enthusiastic Czechs took chips from it home to Prague.[7] In those days no funeral was complete without the burning round the body of one, two, or three hundred pounds of wax candles and torches borne by poor men, generally a dozen, sometimes even one hundred, all clothed in white.[8] If torches and candles were used at all, were they placed 'about his body in the form of a cross', or borne by some of his Poor Priests ?[9] In his will—if will there was,[10] long since destroyed by some fanatic or lost—did he leave as his mortuary his old Oxford gown ? Did he order his

[1] Salter, *Deeds*, 207, 211–12.
[2] e.g. Gibbons, 61, 76, 78, 79 *et passim*.
[3] *Ib.* 122, 132.
[4] *Ib.* 23.
[5] *Serm.* iv. 17–19. Cf. *ib.* iv. 89, 92, 432 (an early sermon).
[6] *Infra*, p. 348.
[7] *Infra*, p. 348.
[8] Nicolas, *Test. Vet.* i. 81, 114, 118, 120 *n.*, and for Grandisson's funeral, *Reg. Grand*, iii. 1511 (5 tapers each 20 lb. in weight).
[9] Gibbons, 31, 39, 64, 185, &c. *Reg. Stafford*, 411 ; Sharpe, *Wills*, ii. 119, 235. For the cross, Gibbons, 81 (funeral of rector of Oundle in 1393).
[10] For Wyclif's denunciation of probate tolls as a cause of sin see *Serm.* iv. 19, 95 ; *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 305.

pall to be given to the poor for clothing?[1] Funeral feasts were customary; did Wyclif prohibit the same except for his poor parishioners?[2] If he had any goods did he remember Purvey and Horn, at any rate did he leave them his books and his vulgate? or did he direct that the whole be sold and the proceeds given to the poor, for the education of poor children, or to aid the marriage of poor girls?[3] In his lifetime he had protested against the uselessness of masses for the dead. His friends would see that his wishes were respected. There would be no provision for 3,000 masses or the like within a month of his decease.[4]

Wyclif's enemies pursued him with their hatred beyond the grave. Exaggerating the suddenness of the attack and altering dates to suit their purpose, they represented the seizure as the judgement of God for a sermon Wyclif had prepared to 'vomit forth' against St. Thomas Becket. 'John Wyclif,' writes Capgrave in his free translation of Walsingham,

'the organ of the devil, the enemy of the Church, the confusion of men, the idol of heresy, the mirror of hypocrisy, the nourisher of schism, by the rightful doom of God was smitten with a horrible paralysis throughout his body. And this vengeance fell upon him on St. Thomas day in Christmas; but he died not till St. Sylvester day. And worthily was he smitten on St. Thomas day, against whom he had greatly offended, letting (hindering) men of that pilgrimage, and conveniently died he in Sylvester feast, against whom he had venomously barked for dotation of the Church'.[5]

Attacks of this sort, as well as the general belief of the age that unusual sickness must be a visitation for special sin, led Purvey

[1] Sharpe, *Wills*, ii. 105, 261.
[2] e.g. *Reg. Stafford*, 412.
[3] Sharpe, ii. 132.
[4] *Ib.* ii, 178, *et passim.*
[5] Walsingham, ii. 119; Capgrave, 240. Wyclif always speaks of Thomas with respect and did not, as Walsingham avers, 'blaspheme him with poisoned tongue'. He was martyred because 'he spoke against wolves that were about to murder lambs', maintained the right to rebuke kings, and would rather lose all than do injustice or forsake the cause of the poor (*Civ. Dom.* i. 248, 289, 291, 296; *Eccles.* 199, 310; *Serm.* ii. 33–5; *Sel. Eng. Works*, i. 330–1). But he omitted Becket from his sermons for saints' days (*ib.* i. 295), and this may account for Walsingham's charge.

As regards Sylvester, Wyclif regarded the Donation of Constantine as the beginning of the degradation of the Church, 'a damnable crime' (*Op. Min.* 226; the strong attack in *Eng. Works*, 375–80, is not by Wyclif), but avers that Sylvester acted with good intentions and was forgiven by God. He even speaks of 'Sanctitas Silvestris' (*Pol. Works*, i. 176; *Eccles.* 362 f.; *Serm.* ii. 37; *Blas.* 55, 61; *Trial.* 196, 303, 407, 408, 413). Wyclif could have pleaded the well-known support of Dante, and, of course, of the Spiritual Franciscans.

to put forward in 1395 a curious, almost apologetic, defence of Wyclif's paralysis :

'And though in hap he erred long, wittingly, and obstinately, almost all his life, and was very contrite in the end after loss of speech, which sudden repenting no mortal man knoweth, by what boldness dare any blind prelate full much conformed to the world deem blasphemously that such a man is the son of hell and damned without end. Therefore cease the blasphemous deeming of simonient prelates and uncunning in God's law to condemn a sovereign doctor whose books they cannot understand, nor read with worship without great stumbling and default.' [1]

Wyclif's enemies did not suffer his body to lie undisturbed in the grave. Exhumation of dead heretics was a common act of the Inquisition. Perhaps the most remarkable illustration was that of Armanno Pongilupo of Ferrara, over whose remains war was waged between the bishop of Ferrara and the Inquisition for thirty-two years (1269–1301). Between 1308 and 1322 the famous inquisitor, Bernard Gui, exhumed and burnt in southern France sixty-seven corpses.[2] Wyclif's friends could plead that he had not been officially pronounced a heretic by a true pope or council. But on the 4th May 1415 a committee of four,[3] appointed by the Council of Constance on the 17th April to examine the heresies of Wyclif and Hus, brought in an interim report. Wyclif was condemned on no less than 260 different counts. His writings were ordered to be burnt, and

'his bones to be dug up and cast out of the consecrated ground, provided they could be identified from those of Christians buried near.' [4]

[1] Purvey, *Rem.* 133. Cf. Gascoigne's belief (34–5, 61, 181) that archbishop Arundel died from choking as a visitation for his putting down preaching.

[2] Lea, i. 405, 495. In 1323 it cost 5 livres 19 sol. to dig up three heretics and throw their ashes into the Grève (*ib.* i. 553). The bill for Wyclif's exhumation has not been kept. One of the latest cases in England was William Tracy, a Gloucestershire squire who died in 1530 and was exhumed three years later (Brewer, *Letters*, v. 438 ; vi. 17 ; Wilkins, iii. 746–7 ; Hall, *Chron.* 796 ; Flenley, 197). For the exhumation and burning of the bodies of Martin Bucer and Paul Fagius at Cambridge, 6 Feb. 1557, see *Historia de accusatione, condemnatione, exhumatione atque combustione Buceri et Fagii*, Eng. Trans. (1562).

[3] Mansi, xxvii. 610, 631 ; Hardt, iv. 118. The English delegate of the committee is variously named William Coru (Hardt, iv. 118), Cotu and Comes (Mansi, *l. c.*, evident misreadings), and William Gorach (Mansi, xxvii. 597). Dacher's list (Hardt, v. 24) is too incomplete to help us. Wylie, *Council Constance* (1900), 150, identifies him with William Gray (cf. margin Mansi, xxvii. 597, ' Grachi '), vice-chancellor of Oxford, 1439 (Wood, *Fasti*, 47).

[4] Hardt, iv. 149–57 ; Mansi, xxvii. 635–6 ; Palacký, *Doc.* 569 ; Brown,

After some years' delay, for Repingdon would do nothing of himself, and other more important matters prevented the papacy from acting, this decree was carried out by bishop Fleming, himself at one time accounted a lollard. Fleming had no alternative. On the 9th December 1427 he received peremptory orders from Martin V [1]

' to proceed in person to the place where John Wyclif is buried, cause his body and bones to be exhumed, cast far from ecclesiastical burial and publicly burnt, and his ashes to be so disposed of that no trace of him shall be seen again '.

Lest there should be any miscarriage of the matter, letters were sent by Martin to the king's council, to archbishop Chichele and to Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, requesting them to assist Fleming. A week later (16th Dec.) similar letters were sent to the mayors of Exeter, London, Winchester, Coventry, Northampton, and Leicester.[2] So in the spring of 1428 Wyclif's bones were disinterred, burnt to ashes, and then cast into the little river Swift, ' to the damnation and destruction of his memory '.[3] ' His vile corpse ', shrieks Netter, ' they consigned to hell, and the river absorbed his ashes.' Thirteen years earlier (6th July 1415) the ashes of Wyclif's disciple Hus, still hot from the fire, had been heaped in a barrow and tilted into the Rhine.[4] But to both the words of Fuller apply : " Thus this brook hath conveyed his ashes into Avon, Avon into Severn, Severn into the narrow seas, they into the main ocean. And thus the ashes of Wyclif are the emblem of his doctrine, which now is dispersed all the world over ".[5] Equally familiar is the verdict of Milton : " Had it not been the obstinate perverseness of our prelates against the divine and admirable

Fascic. i. 266–95. The real stress was, however, laid by the Council on the forty-five articles, see *infra*, p. 366 *n.* A ' brief censure ' by the Council is in Hardt, iii. 168–211 ; a ' diffusa condemnatio ', *ib.* 212–335, is of value for the study of Wyclif.

[1] Not Clement VIII as Lechler, 467.

[2] *Pap. Let.* vii. 23. See also Raynaldi, *Ann.* 1427, § 14, for the one to Fleming.

[3] Netter, *Doct.* iii. 830 ; Lyndwood, *Prov.* 284, where the date is given and the action attributed to Fleming. From the fact that Bale, i. 456, dates in ' 1428 ' it was evidently after 25 March. In Gregory, *Chron.* 163, the authors, more accurately, are ' the pope and his clergy '. In *Eulog. Cont.* iii. 367 ; Davies, *Eng. Chron.* 6, no date is given.

[4] See Mladenowic's *Relatio* in Palacký, *Doc.* 323.

[5] Fuller, *Hist.* ii. 424.

THE RIVER SWIFT AT LUTTERWORTH

The modern bridge marks the place from which Wyclif's ashes were thrown into the river

spirit of Wyclif, to suppress him as a schismatic and innovator, perhaps neither the Bohemian Hus and Jerome—no, nor the names of Luther or of Calvin—had ever been known: the glory of reforming all our neighbours had been completely ours".[1] Both Fuller and Milton evidently regarded Wyclif as the forerunner of the Reformation. But in reality, though his critical spirit prepared the way for future reconstructions, the Anglican Settlement owed little directly to Wyclif's influence. He should rather be regarded as the stern, unbending forerunner and father of the Puritans, Covenanters, and Nonconformists of Great Britain and America.

At the risk of some repetition we will try to sum up Wyclif's character. Such a summary is no easy task. For centuries his name has been the sport of excited partisans, as unduly execrated by some as unduly exalted by others. There is the added difficulty that modern adjectives applied to Wyclif may have a misleading connotation. Some writers, for instance, talk of Wyclif as an "Oxford don", and tell us that his reformation was "academic". But "Oxford dons" do not become leaders in revolt nor the trusted protagonists of political parties, and Wyclif's reformation was only "academic" in the sense that it was thought out to logical conclusions which could never have been attained in the age of Richard. Others again have declared that "Wyclif was essentially a religious thinker, not a preacher and not an organizer".[2] But this verdict overlooks, we think, his inspiration of the Bible translations, his Poor Priests, and the intense loyalty and affection which he kindled first among the masters of Oxford, and then among a band of disciples who were content that their names should be lost if only they could assist in carrying on his work. The difficulty in all brief characterization of Wyclif lies in the fact, to which we have already drawn attention,[3] that Wyclif is representative of both the medieval and modern world, and that the words which would truly describe him in the one sphere fail to apply in the other.

Wyclif's personal character was beyond the reproach even of his enemies. His intense moral earnestness is evident on every

[1] *Areopagitica* (Bohn), ii. 91.
[2] Bigg, *Wayside Sketches*, 130.
[3] *Supra*, i. 4 f.

page. On his own confession he was passionate, and like other passionate men often failed to maintain a due balance in speech and thought, in spite of a severe intellectual outlook and training. But to this same note of passion we owe the forceful, nervous style of his English writings, which entitles him to a high place among our early authors. Of an indomitable will-power which defied sickness and difficulty there can be no question. That Wyclif was built for battle may be conceded, nor was he careful to count the number or quality of his foes. In the fearlessness of his courage he is the equal of Luther, without, however, Luther's supreme opportunity at Worms. In the higher moral courage he was the superior of Luther; Wyclif would never have consented to the pitiable condonation of Philip of Hesse. He lacked, however, Luther's warm emotions. His humour is rare and generally acid, as when he tells us that St. Paul on his way to Jerusalem with the collection was beset by robbers, though at other times 'Cantabat vacuus coram latrone viator'.[1] Poetry, music, singing, architecture made no appeal to him. But for the downtrodden, the serf, and the poor his sympathies were unbounded, and well out in the midst of arid, scholastic reasoning. Probably, it is true, they were impersonal sympathies, bitterness against wrong in the abstract rather than sorrow for one of the wronged. Wyclif would have wept over Jerusalem, but could never have gone into the wilderness to find the one lost sheep. Owing to his identification of being and knowing, the poignant sense of individual transgression is lacking. The man of to-day may laugh at Luther's struggles with a personal devil; but one secret of the success of Luther lay in his consciousness of the reality of sin, just as one secret of the failure of Wyclif lay in his doctrine that sin is but a negation—'that it has no idea'. Thus in the earnestness of his life he stood almost alone, for the interest of others in reform was too often that of politics and greed. Hence the failure of his proposed reformation inasmuch as it was little more than an external movement, without suitable environment for the spread and development

[1] *Civ. Dom.* i. 141, from Juvenal, x. 22 (true reading, 'cantabit'). Lechler, 432–3, makes too much of the few instances of humour in the vast acres of Wyclif's writings.

of his ideas. Wyclif was a mighty, but isolated force; the Reformation, on the contrary, formed part of a movement larger than itself.

Considered as a statesman, Wyclif was not sufficiently opportunist. For instance, in 1382, he took no part in the struggle of the seculars for the independence of the University, though largely fought on his behalf. In his idealism, he even regarded the loss of Oxford with indifference, fatal though it proved to his cause. Like most schoolmen, he trusted too much in his logic, and allowed it to lead him too far. We see this in his proposal to include the universities in his scheme of disendowment, and in his advocacy of a system of voluntaryism which would have reduced the clergy to the level of the mendicant friars whom he ceaselessly denounced. Another illustration will be found in the length to which he carried his demand that the life of the priest should be purely spiritual. He wished to narrow down their studies to theology merely; 'the lore that Christ taught us is enough for this life, other lore' should be 'suspended'. Nor did Wyclif know how to gain the reform that lay next to hand by keeping back ideas not immediately acceptable. He failed also to see the injury he did his cause by mixing himself up with doubtful politics. He allowed his hatred of the false to get the better of his judgement, while by the vehemence of his language he estranged many. But, "in spite of some crudity of thought and utterance" Wyclif is entitled to the judgement of Trevelyan, that he was "the only man of his age who saw deeply into the needs of the present and the possibilities of the future". Even the vehemence of his temper was not without its advantages. A calmer spirit would have counted the cost where Wyclif placed himself at the head of a forlorn hope.

We believe that the failure of Wyclif's premature reformation was, on the whole, for the good of the Church. His conception was altogether too Erastian, and would have made the Church a mere department of the State. The more enlightened public opinion, the new worlds opened out by the Renaissance, the action and reaction of the Puritans, the political liberty which modified the Erastianism of the later Reformation, could have found no place in the England of the century after Wyclif. The

Wars of the Roses had yet to do their work in breaking the power of the nobility, the towns must grow in consciousness of rights and liberty, the serfs had yet to win their freedom by other means than revolt, before the England of Wyclif would be ripe for the great Revolution.

Finally Wyclif's revolt was too negative. He rather swept away than established, though in his assertion of the supreme authority of Scripture he laid the foundation upon which, until the close of the nineteenth century, the religious life of England was built. But his teaching, though containing the principles of the sixteenth-century Protestants, lacked the definiteness of theological reconstruction, without which all reformation is incomplete. He abolished existing forms of Church government without devising, like Calvin, any scheme that should take their place. But the removing of the things that are shaken must always come first; the receiving of a kingdom that cannot be moved belongs to a later age.

X

BROKEN REEDS

§ 1

With what emotions the news of the death of Wyclif was received by his followers we can only guess. Though it was no sudden blow that fell upon them, his passing would be the more felt inasmuch as so many of Wyclif's Oxford associates had already fallen away. Repingdon, Alington, Brightwell had joined the enemy. Those who remained would instinctively turn to Purvey and Hereford after the latter's return from Rome in the following summer. Within a few weeks, through the appointment of Wyclif's successor, Lutterworth was no longer open to them; and Purvey and Hereford transferred their head-quarters to the West. But the new leaders and the humbler disciples alike showed their determination to carry on the work of the master. In town and country Poor Priests proclaimed Wyclif's doctrines, while Purvey and Hereford issued tracts embodying the master's teaching. In these tracts two things stand out clearly: a fidelity of the disciples to Wyclif's teaching so complete that it is difficult to decide whether they are Wyclif's or not, and the increasing vigilance with which the authorities harried the lollard preachers. The tracts abound with complaints of the threats and dangers under which they laboured.[1] It is characteristic of lollard writings that they make no reference to Wyclif's life or death. He seems to have imbued his disciples with his own impersonalness. With a right instinct they avoided calling themselves 'Wyclifists', a nickname given them, especially in Bohemia, by their enemies. Among themselves they preferred to be known as 'true men' or 'Christian men'.

Many of these tracts have been printed; some are still in manuscript only. At one time they were attributed almost wholly to Wyclif; criticism now assigns them to different

[1] *Eng. Works*, 57, 88, 119, 137, 177, 222, 259, 279, 369, 444. Cf. *supra*, p. 204.
[2] *Ib.* 57, 298, 451, &c.

authors.[1] The variety of styles, subject-matter, and method shows us how large a band of competent writers Wyclif had gathered round him. By discarding the myth of Wyclif's authorship of everything from the translation of the Bible to the merest broadsheet we have learned to see the lollard movement in its right proportions. Wyclif was the master, the source of inspiration and doctrine, but he had many able co-workers. At their head were Hereford, Purvey, and Aston, to whom we have already assigned certain tracts on linguistic or other grounds. There were others whose names we know not but whose writings remain. Some of these tracts were written before Wyclif's death ; one or two when the end was near ; others after his decease. On the whole, they are late rather than early, the work of a school that found itself when their Elijah was taken from them.

The tracts contain certain common characteristics. They are full of invective, not less sharp and bitter than the master's, often more extravagant. The object of attack varies, but there is no mincing of words. The time for reasonable argument seems past. For the most part they are war-tracts written in times of persecution. Especially is the sword drawn against the friars. In the tract *Of the Leaven of the Pharisees*,[2] written shortly after Spenser's Crusade, the acid bites deep. There is a lively description of the tricks of the friars that agrees well with other records, for instance, Chaucer and Langland, but which adds a touch peculiar to itself that the friars make friends of women by giving them pet dogs. In some of its details the tract reminds us of *The Fifty Heresies and Errors of Friars* which we have assigned to Purvey. The tract also charges the friars who do not ' keep Francis' rule and testament '[3] with the grossest sins. Under cover of physic they commit adultery, they seduce wives and maidens, and as the result of the ' devil ' gathering together ' such lumps of young men ' sodomy abounds—this last a charge that Purvey repeated a few years later in works that are undoubtedly his.[4] But the writer spared not the merchants intent on ' the drit or

[1] See vol. i. Appendix C. [2] *Eng. Works*, 1–27.

[3] *Ib.* 12. From the reference to the ' friars serabaites ' it is clear that the writer favoured the Spiritual Franciscans.

[4] See *infra*, pp. 395, 399.

muck of this world', the priests who do secular work in hope of a benefice, running 'out of our land over great seas and through lands of enemies, . . . for worldly worship and stinking drit', and especially the 'Rome-runners who bare the king's gold out of our land and bring again dead lead'.

The bishops do not escape castigation. A tract entitled *Of Prelates*,[1] also written after Spenser's Crusade, exposes their faults and sins in forty-three chapters. The writer pictures the bishops securing promotion by running to Rome 'as to a well of truth and ghostly help', though some die by the way. Before their profession the bishops could hardly obtain 'bean-bread and water or feeble ale', now 'the lusts of the belly have all the business'. They show their pride in their 'fat horses with harness of silver and gold', their crowds of attendants swearing by 'the heart and bones and nails and other members of Christ', and their law suits which cost a thousand marks. Their sin-rents[2] bring in £2,000 a year to these 'Pilates not prelates'; their lechery makes the 'lower curates say, why may not we have lemans since the bishop hath so many?' They care more for the 'breaking of their parks than the breaking of God's commandments'.[3] 'Dumb hounds that may not bark in time of need they suffer Christian souls to be strangled with wolves of hell', and thus they become 'the devil's jugglers to blind men's ghostly eyes'. By their deceits they 'bring men to Satan their master, and in this manner they play the pagin (pageant) of Scots' when the Scots took the scutcheon of St. George to surprise the English, a reminiscence of border warfare which the writer may have heard from Wyclif himself.[4] The work is redeemed from its extravagance by the new lollard note of social sympathy: 'poor men have naked sides and dead walls have great plenty of waste gold.'[5]

The tract *Of Clerks Possessioners*[6] deals with the misdeeds of monks who instead of being the 'mirror of all virtues to

[1] *Eng. Works*, 52–107. There seems a reference to Joanna of Naples, strangled May 1382, on p. 83. The style of the tract is more supple than Wyclif's, but is monotonous in its conditional clauses.

[2] *Supra*, p. 117.

[3] *Eng. Works*, 98. See Matthew's note, p. 503, for illustrations.

[4] *Supra*, i. 35. The incident is not otherwise known.

[5] *Eng. Works*, 91.

[6] *Ib.* 114–40.

worldly men' have become 'antichrist's martyrs'. The writer uses many of Wyclif's phrases, 'Caim's castles' and the like, and reiterates all Wyclif's charges. From its many allusions to the persecution of Poor Priests we are driven to assign a somewhat late date, certainly after 1380, while its freedom from all mention of the sacraments—a theme which Wyclif after this date could never avoid—as well as its style, leads us to assign it to another author. From the reference to the monk who 'will live poorly and justly and go freely about and teachen freely God's law' and who in consequence is imprisoned as an 'apostate', it has been suggested that the author was the lollard monk Dan Gotray of Byland.[1] But this is a pure guess. In his description of the monks who 'feign them to rise at midnight, and spend much light, and by day sleep much more therefore', in his comparison of the lack of hospitality shown by a monastery to the poor contrasted with that given to lords, ladies, and the stewards of rich men, as well as in his complaint that the monk's robe catches the wind and stops work, we detect the note of personal experience. But his objection that monks, though they get all the treasure of the land into their hands by the amortization of great lordships, will not pay taxes[2] does not sound like the complaint of an inmate of a Benedictine house.

A third tract on *The Office of Curates*[3] was written, probably, by one of Wyclif's Oxford followers shortly after the conclusion of Spenser's crusade. It castigates the secular clergy for their misdeeds, their study of law books instead of the Bible, their litigious spirit, their neglect of preaching—'they run fast by land and water to get fat benefices, but they will not go a mile to preach the gospel'—their haunting of taverns, their pitiless excommunications, and the like. It is especially severe on the clergy who when they have obtained

'great benefices, peradventure by simony, and connen not teach their subjects to save their souls, and dare not hold their lemans at home for clamour of men, go to school (Oxford) and fare well of meat and drink and rest and study with the cup and strumpets. Where good priests travel to learn God's law they go to civil or

[1] *Eng. Works*, 127, cf. 125. For Gotray, see *supra*, p. 140.
[2] Byland as a Cistercian foundation was exempt.
[3] *Eng. Works*, 143–63. For date see p. 152.

canon, and do little good there as true men think. . . . Hereby he that can crack a little Latin in consistories and can help to annoy a poor man is holden a noble clerk and ready and wise, though he cun (know) not read well a verse in his Psalter '.[1]

A similar tract is one on *The Order of Priesthood*.[2] Here the complaint is that rich men support priests who are students of law but will do nothing to help ' poor children to school '.[3]

The English tract *de Officio Pastorali*[4] might seem to be a translation from Wyclif's Latin treatise of the same name. But while, of course, many of the ideas are the same, the tract is really independent,[5] and in our judgement is the work of one who had assisted in some way at the translation of the Bible, though probably not Purvey himself.[6] The tract is notable for its vehement attack on ' colleges in Oxneford and Caumbrige founded on appropriations ', the writer making short work of the plea that thence ' collegians wend out and preach and quicken many parts of England '. The ' apostles took no such degree ', and ' priests without degree of school may profit more than do these masters '. Nevertheless, the writer defends leave of absence for a parson ' to study God's law in school '.[7] More striking still is its defence against the friars of translations of the Bible into the vernacular. One sentence, usually attributed to Wyclif, is very familiar :

' Also the worthy realm of France, notwithstanding all lettings, hath translated the Bible and the Gospels with other true sentences of doctors out of Latin into French, why should not English men do so ? As lords of England have the Bible in French, so it were not against reason that they had the same sentence in English.' [8]

Its references to the faults there may be ' in untrue translating, as might have been in turning from Hebrew into Greek and from Greek into Latin and from one language into another ' reminds the reader of Purvey's prologue.[9] Evidently it belongs to the period of controversy that followed the publication of

[1] *Eng. Works*, 156.
[2] *Ib.* 164–79.
[3] *Ib.* 176.
[4] *Ib.* 405–57.
[5] Chapter XV, for instance, on Bibles, &c., is a new addition.
[6] Deanesly, 378, argues for the authorship of Purvey. But Purvey would not have derived ' mount ' from ' moving ' as does this writer, or stated that the ' pope dwelleth in Avignon ' (*Eng. Works*, 457).
[7] *Ib.* 419, 427–8, 454.
[8] *Ib.* 429. Cf. *supra*, p. 156.
[9] *Ib.* 430. Cf. *supra*, p. 178.

the first English version, before Purvey had completed his revision.

The tracts witness also to a fact of the highest importance. The appeal they make is no longer to Oxford but to the people at large. Even before Wyclif's death Oxford had failed him, in part because of Courtenay's vigour, but the more because Oxford lollardy was the dissidence of academic rather than religious conviction. Henceforth lollardism ran in two channels that ever drew farther apart, and of which one, the academic and political, soon became exhausted. In the other channel we trace the growth of lollardy among the people of the towns and villages. With varying phases this lasted right through a century and a half of oppression, until it merged itself in the larger movement that we call the Reformation. But this is too large a subject to treat in the present volume. In the present chapter we shall confine ourselves to the fortunes of lollardy at Oxford and among the gentry.

§ 2

The story of the later Oxford lollards is of more than personal interest. It witnesses to the forces within the Church, the whole system of preferments and the like, which made reform from within so difficult, not merely because of the vested interests that were at once aroused, but because the reformer, cut off from all official place in the Church, could rarely be other than a rebel voice crying in the wilderness. Their story witnesses also to the purely academic character of much of this Oxford revolt. Wyclif himself was real; not even his bitterest enemy would refuse this tribute. But his Oxford followers, brought up in an atmosphere of logical trifling, rarely grasped the seriousness of the issues for which at one time they contended. Moreover, their story is of importance in the light it throws upon the privileged position that a schoolman held. Outside Oxford the lollards of the towns were harried and burnt; little mercy was shown to them. But these were the common people that knew not the law, for whom there were the terrors of the act *de Heretico Comburendo*. A clerk of Oxon was in a different category.

Of the earlier Oxford lollards, the associates of Wyclif, the most prominent was Philip Repingdon. After a stormy six months of lollardy Repingdon had been the first to yield. In the fall of 1382 he had publicly abjured his heresies and had been restored to his place in the schools. He had done with lollardy, and so entered on a rapid course of advancement. In 1393 he was chosen to be abbot of his old monastery of St. Mary de Pré, Leicester ;[1] for three years in succession he served as the chancellor of his university.[2] He shared the success of his intimate friend, Henry IV, who gave him a small cross of gold which Repingdon presented to his abbey.[3] A more valuable gift was Henry's grant that no corrodies should be imposed on the abbey.[4] Of the closeness of this friendship we have a striking illustration. After his victory at Shrewsbury (21 July 1403) over the Percies, Henry

'straightway made proclamation through the whole of his army that if there were any servant of the abbot of Leicester there he should present himself before him. Immediately there came forward a servant of the said abbot, to whom the king gave the ring from his finger, and at the same time 100 shillings, bidding him go with all haste to the lord Philip, abbot of Leicester, and not to use any delay till he had given him the said ring, and that he was thus to say to him : "The king lives, having obtained victory over his enemies ; blessed be God !" '[5]

A letter of Repingdon's, dated the 4th May 1401, is still extant, in which, with much frankness, many compliments, sixteen quotations from Scripture, and many pious phrases, he tells the king the evils of his government, without suggesting, however, a single remedy except the use of force.

'May God', he writes, 'take away the veil from before your eyes, that you may clearly perceive what you promised before God, at your happy entrance into the kingdom of England, and what has

[1] Congé d'élire granted 18 May 1393 ; assent of King on 12 June ; temporalities restored 4 July (*Cal. Pat.* v. 266, 279, 305. In *D. N. B.* wrongly dated 1394). Leland, *Comment.* 408, throws on Bale the onus of the identification of the lollard and the bishop. But Philip Repingdon, prior of Great St. Bartholomew's, is an alias for John Eyton (*Cal. Pat.* iv. 386).

[2] 1400–spring 1403. Wood, *Fasti*, 34–6, adds 1397, but the chancellor that year was Beaufort. See *Snappe*, 332. To the proofs for Repingdon as chancellor there given add Rymer, viii. 164 (Nov. 1400), and *Chart. Rolls*, v. 410 (13 Nov. 1401).

[3] Usk, 232 *n.*

[4] 10 Nov. 1402, *Cal. Pat.* ii. 176.

[5] Tanner, 622, and more accurately Usk, 231, n. 3.

been your performance of your promises, so that you may remedy what is wanting, while you return thanks to God if anything has been done. May God give you a heart teachable and tractable to perform aright your kingly office, and to understand clearly and provide a remedy for the miseries of the people.'

This letter [1] has received extravagant praise. "It may be doubted", writes the editor, "whether the annals of the Church present a more worthy example of religious duty well discharged." So far from resenting Repingdon's boldness, Henry IV, who, be it remembered, had asked his advice, rewarded him by making him in 1404 his confessor,[2] and a few months later obtained the papal provision of Repingdon to the see of Lincoln.[3] The receipt still exists for 625 gold florins which Repingdon paid to the papal camera.[4]

One of Repingdon's first acts as bishop was to issue a general licence to all theologians of the University of Oxford, whether graduate or not, and to all graduates in arts who were in orders, to preach anywhere in his diocese.[5] His reason, probably, was the dearth of preachers; though it may be reckoned to him for righteousness that he showed no sympathy with Arundel's later action in suppressing preaching. That men should not presume on his former lollardism was demonstrated by Repingdon's summons, a few months after his consecration, of Robert Hoke, parson of Braybroke, to appear before him as a suspect.[6] The royal favour is also shown in his obtaining a licence shortly after his consecration to nominate to the pope twenty-four 'discreet persons' for provisions to benefices.[7] Two years later (1407) William Thorpe the lollard speaks of 'how now Philip Rampington'—the scornful name given him among his former associates—'pursueth Christ's people'. To this archbishop Arundel replied:

'the day is now come for which he (Repingdon) fasted the even.

[1] Bekynton, *Corr.* i. 151–4; cf. Pref., p. lxii. There is another copy in Usk, 65–9. Repingdon probably showed it to Usk when they went together to investigate a scandal concerning the priest Bowland (Usk, *Chron.* 57).

[2] *Cal. Pat.* ii. 412, 441; Wood, *Fasti*, 35.

[3] 19 Nov. 1404 (*Pap. Let.* vi. 6); consecrated 25 March 1405 (Le Neve, ii. 16); temporalities restored 28 March (*Cal. Pat.* iii. 2). His successor elected at Leicester on 3 May 1405 (*ib.* iii. 8, 11).

[4] *Pap. Let.* vi. 95 (15 July 1406).

[5] Wood, *Univ.* i. 541.

[6] 15 Jan. 1406. For Hoke's prolonged case, see Wilkins, iii. 433 f.

[7] *Cal. Pat.* iii. 44, 50; Rymer, viii. 409 (18 Aug. 1405).

For neither he holdeth now nor will hold the learning thought (*v.l.* taught) when he was canon of Leicester. For no bishop of this land pursueth now more sharply them that hold thy way than he doth '.[1]

That Repingdon could turn his back on his past was discovered also by the canons of his old abbey at Leicester. The abbey had secured from the pope certain rights of episcopal exemption. In October 1413 Repingdon took steps to get them annulled.[2]

In April 1408 Repingdon was ordered by the pope to absolve ' all persons of whatsoever estate or condition ' concerned in the execution of Richard Scrope, archbishop of York. The excuse given for thus overlooking so great an offence against the Church is of interest. Gregory XII states that ' the shouts of the victors, bidding the king to carry out the law that the traitor shall die ', led Henry to consent, ' fearing that if he resisted the multitude he would expose himself and his realm to great danger '.[3] Shortly afterwards (19 September 1408) Repingdon received the purple at Siena, among a batch of nine new cardinals [4] made by the recusant Gregory XII. By his inclusion of Repingdon, Gregory probably hoped to win over Henry to his side. In this he was disappointed. For on the 12th November the king wrote to Gregory protesting his surprise,[5] and on the 24th December announced his intention of dispatching representatives to the Council of Pisa. The upshot was the deposition of Gregory and the annulling of all his acts after May 1408. Whether because of this, or because the time had not yet come when the cardinalate could be held in England with an English bishopric,[6] Repingdon is never styled a cardinal in official English documents nor by pope Martin in accepting his resignation of Lincoln. That Repingdon visited Gregory is probable, at any rate he seems to have been absent for a while from his diocese. But on the 19th March

[1] Foxe, iii. 82 ; Pollard, *Garner*, 120.
[2] *Cal. Pat.* iv. 457 ; *Pap. Let.* vi. 419.
[3] *Ib.* vi. 98.
[4] For list see Eubel, i. 30. Creighton, i. 218, seems to date on 8 May, though see *ib.* i. 223. Ciaconius, ii. 769, wrongly in 1406.
[5] Rymer, viii. 567.
[6] The first was Beaufort. See *Privy Council*, iv. 100 ; Rymer, x. 497 (Nov. 1431), and Gascoigne's lament, *op. cit.* 146–7.

1411 we find him present at a royal council,[1] and in October of the same year he obtained from John XXIII the revocation of an indult of Innocent IV who had granted the chapter of Lincoln exemption from all procurations for the visitation of parish churches situated in their prebends.[2] A month later Repingdon, with a number of other English bishops, received a special yearly absolution from John XXIII to hold good 'even in cases reserved to the papal see'.[3] In 1414 he proposed to hold a visitation of Oxford, on account of the continuance of heresy.[4] In 1415, when Henry V was pressed for money for his French expedition, Repingdon loaned him £400 secured on the wool-subsidy of Boston.[5] In 1417 he took over an old hospital of St. Leonard by Newark, really founded in 1125, and refounded it for a priest and three bedemen.[6] In 1419 he issued a proclamation against certain priests in Lincoln city who neglected processions, especially the procession on Corpus Christi and the following Sunday from 'a certain church in Wykford in the suburbs of our said city to our cathedral'.[7] Equally without any "Wycliffist leaven" are his extant published writings, a collection entitled *Sermones super Evangelia* or *Sermones Dominicales*.[8] Bale ascribes to Repingdon a *Defensorium Wiclevi*, and a *Pro doctrina morali ejusdem*, but to their withdrawal from circulation, so far as in him lay, Repingdon himself would see. At all events they no longer exist.

Thus Repingdon had his reward, and died wearied of honours in 1424.[9] Four years previously he had resigned his bishopric.[10]

[1] *Privy Council*, ii. 7.
[2] *Pap. Let.* vi. 299.
[3] *Ib.* vi. 336.
[4] *Infra*, p. 373.
[5] *Cal. Pat.* i. 338.
[6] Clay, 313; *Thoroton Soc. Proc.* (1913), 89.
[7] Wilkins, iii. 396. This church is just outside the L.N.E. station.
[8] See Tanner, 622. Bale, i. 501, distinguishes two sets of sermons, but the two seem one, as in Bale, *Index Script.* 324.
[9] His will is dated 1 Aug. 1424 (Reg. Chichele P. i. 373*b*, not 1434 as Godwin, 296; Le Neve, ii. 16, followed by Eubel, i. 30). Presumably he died shortly afterwards, though the exact date is not known. Chichele claimed administration and excommunicated one of the executors, Canon Thomas Savage. Trouble continued until Oct. 1436 (*Pap. Let.* viii. 598–9).
[10] His proctor, appointed 12 Oct. 1419, was Robert Foston (not Forster, as Eubel), Franciscan bishop of Elphin in Ireland (provided Feb. 1418; *Pap. Let.* vii. 68). Resignation accepted by Martin V on 20 Nov. 1419, but not intimated to Repingdon until 1 Feb. 1420, when he ceased to discharge

An annuity of 300 marks, afterwards increased to 500, was reserved for him.[1] Two years later he gave 'to the new library to be built in the cathedral' the copy of the *Breviary of the Bible* of Peter de Aureolis now in the British Museum. By his last will he desired to be buried 'naked in a sack', under the open heavens in the churchyard of St. Margaret;[2] but his friends, interpreting probably his real wishes, placed him in Lincoln Cathedral, near the grave of Grosseteste, with an inscription over his tomb:

> Marmorea in tumba, simplex sine felle columba,
> Repyngton natus, jacet hic Philippus humatus,
> Flos adamas cleri, pastor gregis, ac preco veri,
> Vivat ut in celis, quem poscat quisque fidelis.[3]

To describe him as 'a powerful and God-fearing man, a lover of truth and hater of avarice'[4] may be but the official flattery of an Oxford convocation. Nevertheless, let it be remembered to his credit that he refused or neglected to obey the orders of the Council of Constance, to disinter the remains of his former master from the grave at Lutterworth.

The career of Repingdon is typical. Of Wyclif's Oxford disciples it may be written that their "lollardy was as the seed which fell upon stoney places; it sprang up quickly in a shallow soil, and withered in a moment before the sun of authority".[5] To the relapse of Brightwell and the award that awaited him we have already referred. Aston, it is true, made some show of resistance. But on the 24th November 1382, he too made his recantation at Oxford at the same assembly and with the same form of words as Repingdon.[6] He afterwards atoned for his fall and became an ardent lollard missioner.

episcopal duties, his interim acts receiving papal confirmation, Oct. 1422 (*Pap. Let.* vii. 116, 134, 213; Reg. Repingdon, f. 103, in Godwin, 296 *n.*; Le Neve, *l. c.*; Tanner, *l. c.*).

[1] *Pap. Let.* vii. 116, increased by Fleming, 9 April 1421, from the manors of Banbury, Dorchester, and Newark (*Pat. Hen. V*, ii. 379; *Pat. Hen. VI*, i. 111). At the same time he obtained a portable altar, and plenary indulgence (*Pap. Let.* vii. 335, 339–40, Dec. 1419).

[2] Gough, ii (ii), 76, from Godwin, 691–2.

[3] Gough, *l. c.*; Bale, *Index Script.* 324; slight variants in Le Neve, *l. c.*; Tanner, 622 *n.*

[4] Wood, *Fasti*, 35, quoting a Univ. statute of 5 May 1400.

[5] Trevelyan, 303.

[6] Wilkins, iii. 172, which is ambiguous as to date. But this is settled by *ib.* iii. 169.

Possibly he was roused to his old enthusiasm by the preaching of Spenser's Crusade. At any rate he was back again on the 21st September 1383 in Gloucester denouncing the crusade 'as the most evil thing ever done'.[1] To Aston also may be ascribed with some measure of probability some of the anonymous lollard tracts. In 1387 he joined Hereford and other lollards in an evangelistic tour in the western counties. The missioners 'dogmatized and preached publicly both in churches, graveyards and even in squares and other profane places'. For this they were solemnly denounced on the 10th August 1387 by Wakefield of Worcester.[2] On the 23rd May 1388 Aston's writings were included with those of Wyclif and Hereford in the royal proclamation ordering their seizure.[3] Of Aston's last days we know nothing. According to one account he was condemned to perpetual imprisonment in St. Albans, 'daily weeping', adds Bale, 'over the damnable blinding by Antichrist of Christian people'.[4] Thorpe, writing in 1407, tells us that he was constant 'right perfectly unto his life's end'.[5]

The recantation of Hereford took place in the spring of 1390 or possibly earlier. With the zeal of a renegade, quickened possibly by anxiety to preserve an estate which had fallen to him in the previous May,[6] he plunged into the denunciation of his former friends.[7] According to his own statement he was driven to seek the king's protection against 'these envious

[1] Knighton, ii. 178. The editor's date, 1382, is incorrect.

[2] Wilkins, iii. 202, where for 'Hinley' (203) read 'Henbury'.

[3] Knighton, ii. 264.

[4] Brodrick, 227, who gives no authority. So Foxe, iii. 285, but without the place and with wrong date. The source is really Bale, i. 495, who dates 19 July 1382. If so it was not carried out until some years later when he was captured. Bale's date is probably incorrect, for neither Aston nor Repingdon were punished after their recantations. But the penalty for relapse would be severe.

[5] Pollard, *Garner*, 119; Foxe, iii. 258. Foxe, iii. 285, inaccurately dates Aston's death in 1382.

[6] By the decease of his nephew Thomas. See Cooke, 70, 85. On 20 June 1390 and 26 April 1391 a Nicholas Hereford took steps to enfeoff certain persons with the manor of Mordiford, *alias* Sufton (*Pat. Ric.* iv. 261, 399). On 7 July 1394 he surrendered this for 10 marks a year to his son Roger (*supra*, p. 132) with remainder in tale to Roger's brother John (*ib.* v. 467). If Hereford of Sufton is the lollard this will explain the conversion and the need of seeking royal protection.

[7] Bale, i. 502, credits Hereford with six works, but gives no incipits. But his *Wiclevicae doctrinae Censura*, and possibly his *Sermons for Lent*, will belong to his relapse.

members of Antichrist', lest 'he should be sued maliciously in diverse temporal courts with a view to his imprisonment' (12 December 1391). This protection was granted 'out of reverence for God', but was 'not to be made a precedent', though it was repeated almost *verbatim* a few years later.[1] Possibly Hereford was in debt as the result of his land transactions, and took this means of preventing civil actions. On the 3rd October 1393 he assisted at the trial of his fellow countryman, the lollard Walter Brut.[2] A letter addressed to him on this occasion is still extant, preserved in the *Register* of Trefnant. In this 'the master of the Nicolaitans' is reproached for his 'horrible apostasy', and for his careless Latin pronunciation. The writer sneers that 'in an address you said *appetitis*, pronouncing the middle syllable long', to say nothing of 'many faults in grammar which I dare not recite for shame'.[3] The letter, which contained a pointed reference to Hereford's share in translating the Bible, is long and wrangling and may be a summary of discussions at the trial between Brut and Hereford. Such, however, was felt to be its effect that the Dominican Thomas Palmer entered the lists in Hereford's defence 'for lawfully looking back and correcting the errors which he had committed by so ploughing'.[4]

For this 'apostasy' Hereford was rewarded by the king in 1394, first with the renewal of his former office, the chancellorship, and afterwards with the treasurership of Hereford Cathedral,[5] as well as with the prebend of Pratum Minus.[6] On the 6th May 1395 Hereford received £6 13*s.* 4*d.* from the spiritualities of the vacant see of Worcester 'by mandate of the archbishop'.

[1] *Pat. Ric.* v. 8, translated in Cooke, 91; *Pat. Hen.* ii. 17.

[2] *Reg. Tref.* 359.

[3] *Ib.* 394–6; Foxe, iii. 188–9. The letter can hardly be by Brut as Deanesly, 286 *n.*, surmises, for Brut had just recanted. The author is called 'the master of the heretic Swinderby and other heretics' (*Reg. Tref.* 398).

[4] *Ib.* 396.

[5] Le Neve, i. 489, 492. He was granted the chancellorship (worth £20 a year, *Pap. Let.* iii. 75) for life on 16 Feb. 1394 (*Pat. Ric.* v. 372, not 12 Dec. 1391 as *D. N. B.*). In the long vacancy his house had gone to ruin (Capes, *Charters*, 249). He was appointed treasurer by Trefnant on 30 March 1397 (*Reg. Tref.* 181), his successor appointed 6 Nov. 1417.

[6] Le Neve, i. 524. He resigned it in 1417. He was appointed on 21 June 1394 and received the house on 24 June (*Reg. Tref.* 178, 193; but see Capes, *op. cit.* p. xli, who points out that there was really some delay).

His receipt to the prior was duly given on the 26th May, but for what services this grant was made is not specified.[1] Hereford also held for a short time the chancellorship of St. Paul's.[2] In the autumn of 1401 we again find him 'declaiming stoutly in sermons, private and open', against his old associates, 'conscience alone moving him'. Nicholas in fact dearly loved a conflict. In 1407 one of Arundel's clerks informed Thorpe that he had

'heard Nicholas Hereford say that since he forsook and revoked all the learning and opinions of the lollards, he hath had mickle greater favour and more delight to hold against them than ever he had to hold with them'.[3]

In 1401, in consequence of his zeal,

'the disciples of Antichrist, who strive to attract not only laymen but clergy and literates to their heresies were preparing to sue false quarrels against him in temporal courts and thereby to imprison and destroy him'.

So once more he obtained the king's protection. Two days later (24 November) he was granted for life 'a pipe of wine yearly from the king's prise at Bristol'; a receipt for delivery in 1403 still exists. A few years previously he had been granted annually six trees, called 'rotheres . . . from the forest of Haiwode'[4] for his fuel.[5] In the autumn of 1417 Hereford resigned all his preferments and entered the Charterhouse of St. Anne at Coventry.[6] This house, founded early in Richard's reign,[7] in its name bore honour to Richard's queen and to the

[1] *Sede Vac. Worc.* 370–1.

[2] From 1 July 1395 to 17 Dec. 1396 (Dugdale, *St. Paul's*, 232–3; Le Neve, ii. 359; ratified 27 Nov. 1395, *Pat. Ric.* v. 642). It was worth, says Dugdale, 25 marks.

[3] Pollard, 163; Foxe, iii. 297.

[4] Haywood Forest, 3½ miles south-west of Hereford.

[5] *Pat. Hen.* ii. 17, 20; *Queen's Wardrobe Acc.* (in Wylie, *Henry IV*, App.) iv. 206; *Pat. Ric.* v. 574.

[6] Tanner, 546. I reject as not referring to the two Oxford lollards the tempting *Cal. Pat. Hen. V*, i. 78 (12 May 1413), 'Nicholas Hereford, clerk, for not appearing to answer William James, touching a debt of £40'. James was in prison (*infra*, p. 340).

[7] In 1381–2 by William lord Zouche of Harringworth (*Vict. Co. War.* ii. 83–5, or Dugdale, *Warwickshire*, i. 205–8). On 18 Nov. 1382 it obtained licence to appropriate advowsons worth £100 (*Pat. Ric.* ii. 193, iii. 58). On 21 May 1399 Richard gave it extensive grants, including freedom from all taxes, 'murder-fines', &c. (*Charter Rolls*, v. 381–2). On 4 Dec. 1400 Henry IV gave a tun of Gascon wine (*ib.* v. 406). For other favours, see *Rot. Parl.*

new cult of St. Anne. Unless we are mistaken, Hereford was now eighty years of age or more; he was an invalid come to die rather than a brother of the order. We wonder if he saw to it that his 'pipe of wine yearly' was duly forwarded to his new address? Did he ever turn over the pages of the Bible he had assisted to translate, or remember his old fights with authority? When he died we know not. But the Herefords of Sufton, who claim direct descent, "in remembrance of so good a man covered with furs the eagles which they bore on their arms, fur among divines being the token of doctorship".[1]

With the relapse of the leaders we must not be surprised at the fall of the lesser men. The denial of Bedeman and Alington we have already noted. Of some lollards we know only the fact of their recantation, e. g. Robert Lychlade or Lechlade, another fellow of Merton.[2] Of Ralph Greenhurst, a fellow of New College, we have only the evidence of tradition.[3] More persistent in his lollardy was William James, M.A., the friend of Chancellor Rigg. When in November 1382 Aston and Repingdon recanted and were restored to their places in the Schools, James was doggedly true to his master. From an obscure reference in a letter of Richard Wyche it is possible that he even attempted missionary labours round Newcastle.[4] In July and December 1395 writs for his arrest were issued in London, Oxford, and Bristol—possibly, judging by the date, he was suspected of a hand in drawing up the *Twelve Conclusions*.[5] But on his arrest he recanted, and a few years later was restored by Henry to his place in the Schools [6] (5 November 1399). Unfortunately in the troubled times through which he had passed he had fallen into considerable debt. He owed

iii. 551. It stood on 14 acres of land 'in a field called Shortley field'. See the site delimited in *Pat. Ric.* ii. 107. For the few remains, see *Arch. Jour.* xlvii. 25.

[1] Cooke, 71.

[2] Brodrick, 209, where the date 1399 is inaccurate. As his name occurs in college accounts in 1338 he must have been a very old man in 1395, if indeed the same. See also *supra*, p. 291.

[3] Greenhurst is mentioned as an adherent of Wyclif in Birckbeck, *Protestant Evidence*, ii. 75 (see *supra*, p. 65 *n.*). If so he had recanted and become one of the king's clerks—'prothonotary'—before Dec. 1411 (*Pat. Hen.* iv. 389, 395, 396; Rymer, viii. 712, ix. 34, 41).

[4] *Eng. Hist. Rev.* v. 535. For Wyche, see my *Letters of Hus*, 30 f.

[5] *Pat. Ric.* v. 651 (16 July) and 586 (20 Dec.). See *infra*, p. 391 f. *Pat. Hen.* i. 75, which reads as if the recantation was of old standing.

John Wendover, the warden of Merton, forty pounds.[1] Since we find 'James' mentioned in 1410 as one of the fellows of Merton, it is possible that he would find opportunity to repay. But the identity is not certain, for the Christian name is lost. In his later years he seems to have studied medicine, for which Merton was then noted.[2] Falling again under suspicion of heresy James was 'imprisoned for many years'. At length his spirit was broken. On Palm Sunday (31 March 1420) he 'voluntarily presented himself' before Chichele and abjured his heresies in the presence of Roger Heron, master of the college at Maidstone, and of other chaplains. Chichele dealt with the old man leniently, and gave him permission to go where he liked within the bounds of his manor at Maidstone and his college there, and to practice medicine, with the right 'to receive money for his labour'. Beyond these bounds James swore that he would not stray.[3] And there we must leave him, for what further befell him we know not.

§ 3

On the 31st July 1396 archbishop Courtenay passed away in his palace at Maidstone. He had prepared for himself a tomb in the college which he had there founded.[4] But public opinion prevailed over his last wishes and he was buried under an alabaster monument at Canterbury in the presence of Richard and his court.[5] He had earned well the repute of all men, according to his lights. His suffragans spoke of his 'dignity', and rejoiced that he had shown himself a 'fruitful tree in the house of the Lord'. They put on record his diligence in extirpating the heresies and errors which the enemy of the human race had sown in the province of Canterbury.[6]

The death of Courtenay brought the lollards no relief. He was succeeded by Thomas Fitzalan, archbishop of York, whom

[1] *Pat. Hen.* i. 166 (27 Oct. 1399). As Wendover was warden from 1387 to 1398 (Brodrick, 158) he pressed James for his debt after his resignation.
[2] Brodrick, 37, 228.
[3] Wilkins, iii. 397.
[4] *Arch. Cant.* i. 179–80; *Pap. Let.* v. 96. For the inscription, see Weever, 285, who imagines he was buried there, as also Tanner, 204. Once he intended to be buried at Exeter (Hook, iv. 394, and cf. *Pat. Ric.* ii. 61, provision made in 1381 for two chaplains to celebrate for his father, mother, and himself).
[5] Hook, iv. 394 *n.*; Weever, 225.
[6] *Reg. Stafford*, 50.

Walsingham describes as ' the eminent bulwark and indomitable champion of the Church '.[1] Others remembered him as the son of one earl and the brother of another. His father, Richard of Arundel, made up for a profligate life by obtaining in 1355 that the feast of St. Augustine at Canterbury should be a double feast and holiday.[2] He was one of the richest men of his age, and in July 1371 loaned to the king £20,000. His son Thomas, who was born about 1353,[3] had received a special dispensation at seventeen to hold and exchange ecclesiastical benefices.[4] A year later he already possessed the archdeaconry of Taunton and prebends in Chichester, Hereford, and Shaftesbury, as well as ' the free chapel of the castle of Exeter ' and a canonry in York, but was pleading for more.[5] His career at Oxford was short. He had other ends in view than scholarship, nor is it known at what hall or college he resided. When Wyclif entered the king's service he would meet about court Arundel, who had been elected before he was twenty, at the suit of his father, to be bishop of Ely (13 August 1373).[6] A special faculty was given him to be ordained deacon and priest on the same day by any ' bishop of his choice '.[7] He looked on the Church, as his father had looked on it before him,[8] as bound to provide for his kinsmen also. In June 1391 Arundel obtained for his nephew William, a boy of ten, the right to hold benefices, and to be ordained at fourteen.[9] To such a man the doctrines of Wyclif, apart altogether from their theological bearing, would spell revolution. In this he was one with his rival, bishop Beaufort. Arundel's ability and energy as a man of business cannot be exaggerated. He made his influence felt in every department

[1] Walsingham, ii. 300. The bull for his translation (25 Sept. 1396) arrived 10 Jan. 1397 (*Ang. Sac.* i. 122).

[2] *Pap. Pet.* i. 281.

[3] The idea of Hook, iv. 524, that he was illegitimate is absurd. See *Reg. Grand.* ii. 988–9; *Pap. Let.* iii. 164, 254; *Pap. Pet.* i. 75, 81, 99. For his father's will (†24 Jan. 1376), see Nicolas, *Test. Vet.* i. 94–6. He left Thomas 2,000 marks.

[4] *Pap. Let.* iv. 161 (March 1371).

[5] *Ib.* iv. 178.

[6] *Ib.* iv. 129, 187. Temporalities 5 May 1374 (*Pat. Ed.* xv. 435). For an interesting account of the stock of the bishopric, see *Close Ed.* xiii. 3.

[7] *Pap. Let.* iv. 187. Consecrated at Otford 9 April 1374, enthroned 20 April 1376 (*Ang. Sac.* i. 664).

[8] *Pap. Pet.* i. 128, petition that his brother Edmund be made a bishop (1347).

[9] *Pap. Let.* iv. 394.

of Church and State. He entered in his register the 117 livings the presentation to which was his right as archbishop ;[1] and this attention to detail was characteristic. His was a great name, and he inherited to some extent the affection of the people for his brother, earl Richard, one of England's great sea captains, who had perished a victim of Richard's revenge upon the Appellants.[2]

The details of Arundel's career as a statesman must be read in the histories of the age. Both as bishop of Ely and as archbishop of York he served as chancellor of England, his tenure of the secular office depending upon whether Beaufort or himself had the ear of the king. His rule as chancellor generally coincided with increased stringency in persecution. His taking the great seal (27 September 1391) had been followed almost immediately by edicts against the lollards.[3] But Arundel knew that this would not suffice. So he determined to cut off the springs that fed it at 'the fountains of clergy';[4] he would purge both Oxford and Cambridge. He knew the difficulties such a visitation would involve. Courtenay's attempt in 1389 at Gloucester College had met with much resistance from the abbots of Westminster and other Benedictine houses. The matter had ended in a compromise ; the students of Gloucester, with Simon Sutheray at their head, appeared before the archbishop in St. Frideswyde's and begged for his favour. Courtenay replied that he did not intend to trouble them.[5] But the university was nervous lest this should be made a precedent. The chancellor and masters, in spite of the opposition of the regulars and of the doctors in law and theology,[6] decided to petition Boniface IX, and on the 12th June 1395 succeeded in securing from him a special bull.[7] By this the university was exempted from the juris-

[1] *Ann. Sac.* i. 175 ; Reg. Arundel, f. 258.

[2] 21 Sept. 1397. Details in Ramsay, *Gen. Lanc.* ii, c. 23. After his death he obtained the reputation of a saint because his head had become reunited to his body. On investigation Richard II found that it had been sewn on (*Ann. Ric.* 216–19).

[3] Powell, *Lollards*, 44.

[4] *Rot. Parl.* iii. 459 (28).

[5] Walsingham, ii. 189–92.

[6] *Pap. Let.* vi. 303 ; *Snappe*, 177.

[7] For this bull, not in the register of Boniface IX, see *Snappe*, 144 f., where wrongly dated 13 June. Also in Bulaeus, iv. 1 ; Wood, *Univ.* i. 363–5 ; *Mun. Ac.* 78–81 ; Ayliffe, *Univ. Ox.* ii. pp. xiii–xv, by all of whom it is wrongly ascribed to Boniface VIII and dated 1301, as also Wilkins, ii. 271 ;

A UNIVERSITY LECTURE

Early fifteenth century

ARCHBISHOP ARUNDEL IN THE PULPIT

From a fifteenth-century MS.

See note on p. xxvi

diction of all archbishops even if they were *legati nati*. Exemption from the control of Lincoln was confirmed, while the chancellor was granted jurisdiction in the university over all resident friars and monks. Tenacious of the rights they had thus obtained, the seculars determined to resist any interference.

The struggle began as soon as Arundel was enthroned. In his first convocation at St. Paul's the Oxford doctors of law and canonists lodged an appeal against the action of the university (27 February 1397).[1] The lawyers had suffered grievous wrongs, they alleged, from the other faculties, and one of their number had actually been thrown out of St. Mary's by order of the chancellor. The vice-chancellor, Dr. Nicholas Faux, a monk of Glastonbury, thereupon put in a copy of the papal bull 'which had been recently obtained'. But as the copy bore 'no authentic seal nor the signature of any notary public', Arundel pretended first to doubt its genuineness, and then, somewhat inconsistently, ordered the spokesman of the appellant faculties,[2] Michael Cergeaux, LL.D.—from his degree we judge that he had no authority to speak for the masters—to renounce the privilege 'recently obtained by fraud from the Roman curia'. Thereupon Hendeman,[3] the chancellor, declared that rather than do this he would resign his office, and left the chapter-house in a rage. Arundel cited Hendeman to appear on the morrow, and then stated that he would redress the lawyers' grievances. Arundel next took up the petition of a deputation from Oxford who complained that certain books of Wyclif, especially the *Trialogus*, were still read in the schools and their doctrines taught.

Potthast, ii. 1976, who dates 12 June 1298. Wood saw that such a date would make confusion of all university history. The ascription to Boniface VIII is repeated in a bull of Sixtus IV in 1479 (Wood, *Univ.* i. 632–5). The date is settled by text in *Snappe* ('per Ricardum regem'); *Pap. Let.* vi. 303; Usk, *Chron.* 120; Bekyngton, i. 277. Rashdall, ii. 430–1; Lyte, 292, state the bull was secured by assistance of Courtenay. But *Pap. Let.* vi. 303, expressly states the opposite—'in order to escape' Courtenay's 'correction'. Probably Rashdall was misled by Bekyngton, *l. c.*, *Snappe*, 152, that Courtenay, after first opposing, 'generosius conquievit'.

[1] For what follows, see *Snappe*, 146 f.; Wilkins, iii. 227 f.; Wood, *Univ.* i. 365, 532. Not 1396 as Rashdall, ii. 431; Wylie, *Hen. IV*, iii. 442.

[2] Not proctor as Wood, *Fasti*, 34. The proctor was Luke (*infra*, p. 363). But Cergeaux 'asserted that he was proctor' (*Snappe*, 151).

[3] For his career see Boase, *Exeter*, 21; *Reg. Stafford*, 127.

In the spring of 1395 the lollard knights in Parliament, under the lead of Purvey, in their petition for reformation had appealed to the *Trialogus* of the 'evangelical doctor'. As a consequence Richard appointed a commission to examine the work.[1] Their report was now ready. Eighteen articles were condemned, of which the first three refer to the Eucharist, the fourth to baptism, the fifth to confirmation, the sixth to ordination and the different grades of the hierarchy—'that in the time of Paul two orders sufficed for the Church'—the seventh, eighth, and ninth to matrimony, the fourteenth to extreme unction. The seven sacraments were thus treated in succession, that of penance only excepted. The remaining articles refer partly to ecclesiastical offices and possessions, partly to 'dominion', as conditioned by character, partly to belief as resting on the absolute authority of the Scriptures, and to the doctrine of determinism.[2] In accordance with these decisions, on the 10th March 1397 Richard ordered William Scrope, the sub-chamberlain, to bring before him 'with all haste all lollards in his custody'.[3] The preparation of a refutation of the *Trialogus* was committed by Arundel to William Woodford, who set to work upon it the following Easter at Framlingham, but did not finish it until some years later.[4] The work differs in nowise from the usual tractates on the subject except by its restraint in speaking of Wyclif himself.[5] As Woodford had already published a treatise against Fitzralph we are not surprised that he deals at length with Wyclif's indebtedness to the Irish archbishop in his theory of civil dominion.[6]

Arundel realized that the university—at any rate the

[1] 18 July 1395. Rymer, vii. 806; Powell, *Lollards*, 51–2; *infra*, p. 396.

[2] Wilkins, iii. 229–30; Mansi, xxvi. 811 f. The record in Arundel's register is incomplete; a space was left for writing in the remainder. Foxe, iii. 63, is translated from the first page of Woodford's work.

[3] Powell, *op. cit.* 53, from *Close Rolls*, 20, m. 10.

[4] Tanner, 784 *n.*; Brown, *Fascic.* i. 264, 'Henricus est rex', which may have been added later. Cf. colophon in *l. c.* i. 265. The work seems to have had several titles current; see Bale, i. 511, where it is entered twice over, and cf. Bale, *Index Script.* 153. It is printed in Brown, i. 190–265. For a MS. written *c.* 1430 by Cornelius Oesterwik in the Dominican friary at Oxford, see James, *MSS. Trin.* i. 473.

[5] Brown, i. 246, is the only exception I have noticed.

[6] *Ib.* 232 f. See *supra*, i. 131.

masters—would repudiate the action of the delegates in thus abandoning their freedom. Refusing to listen to the flatteries and pleadings of the university,[1] he obtained from Richard a writ ordering the university 'under penalty of losing all their privileges' to renounce 'its unwonted and unheard of exemption'.[2] Such exemption, it was declared, would greatly encourage the lollards. The king, therefore, sent to them his clerk, Master Richard Ronhale,[3] to bring back a certificate of their renunciation. This renunciation, we are told,[4] was actually made 'in the house of the congregation by the then Chancellor and by all others'; but the further history of the struggle shows that the renunciation was not authorized by the university, though doubtless Henry Beaufort, the Chancellor of Oxford,[5] was willing to help the Crown. Armed with this certificate Arundel set off to visit the university, "but the members would by no means suffer him to come within their borders".[6] The university then tried the clever device of separating Church and Crown by stating that visitation was the prerogative of the Crown. Arundel checkmated this move by securing from Richard the decision that the right belonged solely to the archbishop of Canterbury.[7] Fortunately for the university, the impeachment and banishment of the archbishop on the charge of sharing the treasonable designs of his brother, the earl of Arundel,[8] put a stop to further proceedings. For the next two years the nation was too busy resisting the absolutism of Richard to trouble about Oxford, nor was the intrusive archbishop, Roger Walden, the king's treasurer,[9] inclined to add to his difficulties by needless

[1] See letter in Salter, *Snappe*, 151–3.

[2] *Pat. Ric.* vi. 109; in full, *Snappe*, 153 f.; date 30 March 1397.

[3] Ronhale—not 'Rouhale' as *Snappe*, 155—'clerk of the late king', had obtained from Edward on 16 Aug. 1374 a grant of £50 yearly; confirmed 16 Dec. 1378, vacated 3 Feb. 1385 because Richard then gave him a grant of 500 marks (*Pat. Ric.* i. 293).

[4] *Pap. Let.* vi. 303, written in 1411; *Rot. Parl.* iii. 651.

[5] Chancellor March 1397 to July 1398 (*Snappe*, 37, 332; *Cal. Pat.* vi. 239; Wood, *Fasti*, 35).

[6] Wood, *Univ.* i. 531. I doubt the actual visitation.

[7] On 1 June; *Cal. Pat.* vi. 143; *Rot. Parl.* iii. 651; *Snappe*, 155. The charter of Richard renouncing this right is in Lambeth library, MS. 580, f. 443 (*Collect.* i. 55).

[8] 4 Sept. 1397. Ramsay, *Gen. Lanc.* ii. 323 f.

[9] *D. N. B.* and Wylie, *Hen. IV*, iii. 122–8, for his life.

interference. Boniface IX, willing to oblige Richard, had transferred Arundel to St. Andrews. As St. Andrews acknowledged Avignon, the transfer to this bishopric—for St. Andrews had not yet obtained the higher title—was a mere synonym for banishment, let alone that it was a Scots see. So released for a while from all duties, Arundel set off on the " grand tour ".

On Wednesday the 30th September 1399 an end was put to the misrule of Richard by his forced abdication and deposition. He had attempted to turn the Crown into an absolute monarchy, and for this purpose had allied himself with the most dishonourable factions. He had packed his parliaments and used the sanctions of the law to cover his illegalities. Now his enemies, learning the lesson he had taught them, used a packed parliament and the semblance of law to accomplish his overthrow. Faithless and pitiless himself in his treatment of all who resisted his absolutism, he was now imprisoned without trial, and a few months later (January 1400) starved to death in Pontefract Castle.[1]

With the fall of Richard fell also Richard's usurping archbishop, and the outlawed Thomas of Arundel returned to his own. Six cartloads of Arundel's goods which Walden had removed to Saltwood were seized and restored, while Walden's arms on the hangings at Lambeth were destroyed, as well as his register.[2] Arundel had played a conspicuous part in securing the crown for Henry. He had sailed with him to Ravenspur, and, on the deposition of Richard, taking Henry by the right hand had led him to the throne in the hall of Westminster. So on the 29th October 1399 the indictment against the archbishop was quashed, and Arundel, secure of the support of the king, was free to take up once more the task of crushing lollardy. For a few years he could accomplish little against the university, for Henry was by no means so secure on the throne that he dare risk a struggle with Oxford. For the nonce Arundel took the line of least resistance. He would prevent his claim from lapsing by insisting on it where it would not be questioned. So on the 16th September 1401

[1] See Wylie, i. c. 6, for full investigation.

[2] *Eulog. Cont.* iii. 382 ; Usk, *Chron.* 37. Gough, ii (2). 19, points out that the two pages cut out of Arundel's register could not contain all Walden's acts.

he arrived ' in a stately equipage ' at Cambridge. Three days later he departed for Ely. But in the interval he appointed commissioners to visit the colleges.[1] To the chancellor and doctors he put ten questions. One of these was significant : ' Were there any suspected of lollardy ? ' As soon as Henry's victory at Shrewsbury had produced a general peace, Arundel deemed that the time had come for the larger struggle.

Apart from the question of right of visitation, Arundel's presence at Oxford was necessary. Sympathy with the doctrines of the Reformer was not extinct in the schools. We see this in the daring forgery purporting to be signed by the chancellor[2] and masters assembled in the ' cellar '[3] or ' solar ' of St. Mary's on the 5th October 1406. ' To all and singular to whom these presents shall come ' testimony was given ' with one heart and voice ' ' to the intent that the fame and renown of the said doctor John Wyclif may be the more spread abroad '. This document,[4] stamped with the seal of the university, ' two students carried to Prague '. There ' Master John [Hus] read it aloud in a sermon, and showed the seal '. Hus further alluded to it in September 1411 in his controversy

[1] Details in Mullinger, i. 258 ; Cooper, i. 147.

[2] The Chancellor was Richard Courtenay. See *infra*. He was elected 24 June 1406 (Wood, *Fasti*, 37 ; not 1407 as *D. N. B.* xii. 340. Cf. *Snappe*, 332).

[3] i. e. the ground floor of the old two-story congregation house (cf. Wilkins, iii. 302 ; Lewis, 306, where we have simply ' domo nostrae congregationis '). The lower floor or cellar (cf. *Mun. Ac.* 227) was used for the meetings of congregation, the upper for a library. (For plate, see T. G. Jackson, *Church of St. Mary, Oxford*, 1897, p. 104. The room was better lighted then than now.) Violent disputes between Oriel and the University for the possession of the upper room or library were terminated by the leasing of the house ' on the north of the chancell in the cemetery of St. Mary ' by Oriel to the University on 17 March 1410 (*Cal. Pat.* iv. 190. The date 1409 in Rashdall, ii. 374 *n.*, should be corrected). The assembly in question was the so-called Lesser Congregation of Regents which alone met in the ' cellar ', the Great Congregation meeting in the chancel of St. Mary's (see Jackson, *op. cit.* 9 f. ; Wood, *City*, ii. 30 ; Rashdall, ii. 374). Moreover, not until the fifth day was a vote taken in a Great Congregation (*Mun. Ac.* 482), whereas a snatched vote might have been taken in the Lesser Congregation, which was charged with the general business of the University.

[4] " The only copy of this document now known in England is in MS. Cott. Faustina C. vii. 19 (125), which is itself a transcript in a late sixteenth-century hand without any indication as to its origin " (Wylie, *Hen. IV*, iii. 423 *n.*). There is another copy at Prague (see Buddensieg, *Polem. Works*, i. p. liv). It has often been printed : Wilkins, iii. 302 ; Lewis, 305–6 ; *Mon. Hus*, ii. 366 ; Höfler, *Concilia Pragensia* (1862), 53 ; Wood, *Univ.* i. 542, in part ; English translation in Foxe, iii. 57–8.

with the Englishman Stokes, though his words show that he was aware that its genuineness was then questioned.[1] Questioned further on the matter at Constance by the English delegates, who denied that the letter was genuine—nothing is said about the seal—Hus had replied that one of the students was 'Nicholas Faulfiss, of good memory, with another, I know not whom. Faulfiss had died somewhere or other between Spain and England'. 'That Faulfiss', laughed Palecz, who had once been the comrade of Hus but was now his bitterest enemy,[2] 'was not an Englishman, but a Bohemian, who carried off to Prague as a relic a chip of stone from the tomb of the said Wyclif.'[3] We may add that Faulfiss and the 'other' student—whose name was George of Knychnicz—had been busy at Oxford in 1407 transcribing Wyclif's *De Ecclesia*, his *de Dominio Divino*, and other works.[4] The document is also referred to by Netter, who, of course, maintained that it was a forgery.[5] Whether forgery or genuine—the result of a snatched vote in congregation—the testimonial was the reply of the lollards in the university to the attempts at the formal condemnation of Wyclif.

This forgery, while of uncertain value as evidence of the strength of lollardism in the university, bears witness to the continued great repute of Wyclif

'whose honest manners and conditions, profoundness of learning, and most redolent renown and fame, we desire the more earnestly to be notified and known unto all the faithful. His conversation from his youth to his death was so praiseworthy and honest in the university that he never gave any offence nor was the object of suspicion and infamous report, but in answering, reading, preaching, and determining he behaved himself laudably as a valiant athlete of the faith, and catholicly vanquished by sentences of Holy Scripture all such as by their wilful beggary blasphemed the religion of Christ. This doctor was not convicted of heretical pravity, nor by our prelates delivered to be burned after his burial.[6] God grant

[1] *Mon. Hus*, i. 109. There is an English translation of this reply in Foxe, ii. 58–9.

[2] For Palecz, see at length my *Age of Hus*, Index.

[3] Palacký, *Doc.* 313, from the *Relatio* of Peter de Mladenowic.

[4] See *supra*, i. 18. Hus was rector of the University when George took his degree (*Hist. Univ. Prag.* i. 402).

[5] Netter, *Doct.* ii. 19, 21, 25.

[6] *Ib.* ii. 21, 25, 26, alludes to this claim (cf. Palacký, *Doc.* 232) and points out that it was nullified by the decision at Constance. Possibly

that our bishops may never condemn a man so honest, so peerless in our university in logic, philosophy, divinity, morality, and speculation.'

We have called this document a forgery. Some historians of repute accept it as authentic.[1] The chief argument in its favour is the seal, which seems to have been genuine. This was not contested at Constance, and was also allowed by the southern Convocation in December 1411, where, however, it was claimed that the

' office-bearers had sealed the forged letters secretly, without consulting the masters and doctors, with the seal of the university and had then dispatched them to foreign kingdoms as well as all over England '.[2]

The valuelessness of the seal is also seen in the custom of the regents to have ' commendatory letters and testimonials for the lords and ladies within England and abroad, sealed with the university seal, free and as often as they pleased '.[3] Forms for these testimonials, issued in 1392, have been preserved [4] and show how easy it would be for an unscrupulous man to procure a testimonial and get it sealed by an easy-going proctor.[5] In some respects the forgery closely follows the language of these forms, which, as is usual with testimonials, abounded in exaggerations. So common was the abuse of the seal that in 1426 a statute was passed ' that nothing shall be sealed except in full congregation of the regents, or if it be vacation-time in the congregation of regents and non-regents '. Moreover, nothing must be sealed on the day that it was first introduced, and only then if its ' tenor has been discussed for the space of a natural day '. Similar abuses had led to similar regulations at Paris under the rectorship of Marsiglio of Padua.[6]

this statement by the lollards strengthened the determination of Arundel to secure Wyclif's exhumation. Gascoigne, 141, emphasizes that Wyclif was thrice condemned.

[1] Lechler, 455. Wylie, *Hen. IV*, iii. 426, speaks doubtfully. On the other side Rashdall, ii. 433 *n.*, and Poole, *Civ. Dom.* i. p. ix.

[2] Wilkins, iii. 336. This convocation on Dec. 10–11 dealt with the forgery by a Dominican friar of bulls elevating him to a bishopric.

[3] *Mun. Ac.* 735 (18 Nov. 1452), and cf. *Chart. Par.* ii. 286, for Paris in 1325.

[4] *Mun. Ac.* 471–4 ; for Paris, *Chart. Par.* ii. 509, iii. 641.

[5] Cf. also the forged letter to Henry IV in 1411 (*Snappe*, 169 f. ; *infra*, p. 367).

[6] *Mun. Ac.* 282 ; *Chart. Par.* ii. 158 (12 March 1313).

We must further remember that forgery in medieval times seems to have been regarded as a venial offence provided the corporation or order thereby benefited. There were few monasteries which had not at one time or another resorted to it when engaged in establishing new privileges.[1] Two instances, purposely chosen from the university, will serve as illustration. In 1380, a date convenient for our purpose, the canons of St. Frideswyde's found themselves involved in a lawsuit with the university. So they forged a charter, seal and all, purporting to have been granted by the chancellor of the university 'in the house of our congregation' in the year 1201, binding the university never to summon into its courts any one residing in the precincts of the convent. Another forgery of the same versatile canons is still found in their records.[2] If we turn to Cambridge we find equal skill and daring. In the early years of the fifteenth century the university desired to emancipate itself from the control of the Bishop of Ely. So it succeeded in passing off on Eugenius IV on the 18th September 1433[3] a bull, to which it assigned the date the 7th February 625.[4] In this document Honorius I tells us that he himself had studied at Cambridge—'poculum doctrinae salutaris scientiae hausimus tunc agentes in minoribus'—and in consequence confers on the university exemption from all interference, excommunications, or interdicts, episcopal or archiepiscopal, and hands over the power of amending statutes to 'the chancellor and rectors'—this last stroke, with its

[1] For illustrations turn over the pages of Jaffé's *Regesta Pont. Rom.* (2nd ed., Leipzig, 1885), and note the number so marked, chiefly monastic. Cf. the forgery by Combermere abbey in 1331 (*Chart. Rolls*, iv. 203, 206). There are some excellent observations on medieval forgeries in Poole, *Chanc.* c. 7. Innocent III drew out five rules for detection. One of these has a bearing on the case before us. The seal might be genuine but the original string removed and a new one substituted to attach it to a forged document. For other forgeries, see *Eng. Hist. Rev.* xxxv. 405 f.; and T. F. Tout, *Medieval Forgers and Forgeries* (1920).

[2] *Cart. Frid.* i. 39, 44. Cf. *Collect.* ii. 192. The forgery deceived Bulaeus. See his *Univ. Par.* ii. 545.

[3] See *Pap. Let.* viii. 484–5, and in full in Caius, *de Antiquitate Cantab. Academiae* (1574), 58–60. Not in Jaffé.

[4] Not 624 as Rashdall, ii. 550, following Ayliffe, pp. ii–iii, where it is dated 20 Feb. 624. Honorius was not consecrated until 3 Nov. 625 (Jaffé, i. 223). Honorius I was a favourite with English forgers. Cf. the bull assigning to Canterbury the 'primacy of all the churches of Britain', Jaffé, i. 225; Wilkins, i. 35; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 85.

mention of rectors, shows the employment of an Italian agent. To make assurance doubly secure the bull claims to have been confirmed by Sergius I on the 3rd May 699.[1] The pretensions of University College, Oxford, with its foundation by Alfred the Great, were thus left far behind.[2]

Assuming that the letter is a forgery, can we determine its author? Some writers have attributed it to Nicholas Faulfiss, who has been further dubbed "a count" and credited with being the first to introduce Wyclif's works into Bohemia. This last statement is a manifest error.[3] That Faulfiss was at Oxford at this time is probable, that he carried the testimonial back to Prague is certain, but that he should have forged a testimonial is hardly likely, let alone the difficulty that a stranger would have in obtaining the seal. We may therefore dismiss the story, including the alleged death-bed confession of Nicholas to a priest, Sigismund of Gistebnitz.[4]

A more likely source is the Englishman Peter Payne. Gascoigne roundly asserts that Peter stole the seal of the university and affixed it to this document,[5] which may have been either a snatch vote of Congregation during the Long Vacation,[6] or more probably, the forgery of a few interested lollards. Of Oxford lollards the leader at this time, without doubt, was Payne, whose daring and indifference to compromise would carry him through so risky a proceeding. Payne is of importance in our story not only for his influence at Oxford but because he formed one of the connecting links between lollardism in England and the work of Wyclif in Bohemia. As an international wanderer his name turns up in various guises,[7]

[1] See also Ayliffe, ii. p. iv. Cambridge also claimed a diploma from Arthur dated 7 April 531 (Ayliffe, ii. p. i). For the forgeries of Honorius and Sergius, see James, *MSS. Caius*, i. 305.

[2] See *supra*, i. 58, 59.

[3] See *supra*, i. 17. To the references there given add Palacký, *Doc.* 315, Sigismund's statement that he was a young man when lollardy was first introduced into Bohemia.

[4] Palacký, *Doc.* 342. The statement was first made in 1455 by Stanislas of Welwar in an oration still extant (Loserth, *Hus*, 72–3).

[5] Gascoigne, 20.

[6] Lyte, 280, following Lewis, 186. 5 Oct., the date of the document, certainly fell in the vacation.

[7] Gascoigne, 187. For Payne in general see the exaggerated James Baker, *A Forgotten Great Englishman* (1894), or the concise biography in *D. N. B.* The basis for his English career is Gascoigne, whom Wood, *Univ.* i. 585,

Peter Clerk, Peter Freyng, i.e. the Frenchman, or Peter Inglys, i.e. the Englishman, Peter Hough from the name of his birthplace, Hough-on-the-Hill near Grantham,[1] and, strangest of all disguises, Peter Crek.[2] Though his mother was English, his father was a Frenchman.[3] At Oxford, where he graduated as master before the 5th October 1406, Payne was introduced by a certain Peter Partridge to the works of Wyclif. Partridge[4] himself abandoned lollardy when he saw that it would be an obstacle to his advancement, and, according to his own statement, besought Payne to follow his example. Payne refused, and Partridge was present at the citation in 1416 of his former friend for heresy. At the Council of Basel in 1433 Partridge took a leading part in the debate with Payne, the details of which he was requested by Chichele to relate to Convocation (10 December 1433). Partridge was a pugnacious man, but as chancellor of Lincoln he more than met his match in the dean, John Macworth,[5] who on the 8th June 1435, while vespers were being sung, sent his servants to attack Partridge. They tore off his robes and left him half dead on the floor.[6] Dean and chancellor alike died in 1451 and were buried in Lincoln Cathedral.

Partridge's friend and opponent, Payne, was of a similar fighting character. At Oxford all attempts to make him swear that he would not teach Wyclif's doctrines were vain.[7] About 1407 this 'clerk of Oxford', according to Thorpe, openly

followed. For Payne abroad, see Petrus Zatacensis, i.e. Peter of Saaz, *Liber Diurnus*, i. 343–7.

[1] Baker, *op. cit.* 32–2; Gascoigne, 6, 187; Tanner, 582.

[2] *Scotichron.* iv. 1299. A corruption for 'clericus', or for Czech?

[3] Gascoigne, 5, 6, 186–7.

[4] For Partridge see *D. N. B.*; Zatacensis, 344; *Privy Counc.* v. 97–9; Wilkins, iii. 523. Partridge's protest at Basel against Payne is in the Bodleian, Digby, 60, dated 5 May 1433. Partridge became Chancellor of Lincoln 30 Oct. 1424 (*Cal. Pat.* i. 253). His *Tabula super Cowton* is in the chapter-house library (Tanner, 577). See *supra*, i. 118.

[5] Not in *D. N. B.* Appointed dean 1412. For his long controversy with his chapter, see *Vict. Co. Linc.* ii. 84–6; Bradshaw, ii. p. clxxiv; *Cal. Pat. Hen.* ii. 404–6; *Pap. Let.* vii. 272. For his pugnacity, *Pap. Let.* vi. 366; Gascoigne, 153.

[6] *Pap. Let.* vii. 284. Partridge was usually an absentee from Lincoln 'recreating with preachings' his parishioners at Biddenden in Kent (*ib.* vii, 497).

[7] Ragusa, 269–70. Payne's statement that Henry IV assisted him is the fiction of 25 years later.

preached a lollard sermon at St. Paul's Cross, and even appeared at Lambeth before Arundel 'and denied not there this sermon but two days he maintained it'. How he escaped we know not. Arundel evidently was nettled at the memory. 'That harlot', he retorted, 'shall be met with for that sermon.'[1] In 1410 Payne became principal of St. Edmund's Hall, as also of the adjoining White Hall.[2] His lollard views and his refusal to give bread to friars begging at his hall[3] involved him in a dispute with Netter. Payne had been appointed by a certain nobleman—the silence of Netter is against the identification with Oldcastle—to dispute with a Carmelite called William Bewfu,[4] but was challenged by Netter himself, who sorely resented Payne's influence with his friend John Luke. Netter states that Payne, when the day of controversy arrived, 'choked with madness withdrew'—'venimus, assumus, sed defecit Petrus'.[5] If so it was not from lack of dialectical skill, for in all argument Payne was like 'a slippery snake'.[6]

Payne's influence was not confined to Oxford. He taught his lollardy 'openly in London and elsewhere'.[7] In 1416 Payne was charged with heresy, and on his failing to appear was excommunicated. On the day of the citation Partridge, who was at that time a priest in London, met him; but shortly afterwards Payne, as Partridge later taunted him,[8] left England 'to escape martyrdom'. He took with him many of the works of Wyclif,[9] and on the 13th February 1417 was received among the masters of Prague. He also seems to have won the confidence of Henry V's agent, Hartung von Clux, who 'much honoured Payne and said nothing evil of him, but everything good and yet was of more account with the king than any'.[10] Payne's career in Bohemia, where he soon obtained a prominent position, belongs to the history of the Hussites.[11] But it is of interest to note that at the Council of

[1] Pollard, *Garner*, 159. [2] Wood, *Coll.* 663; *Univ.* i. 586.
[3] Zatacensis, 344.
[4] On whom, see Bale, i. 117; Tanner, 630. In Bale, *Index Script.* 65 *n.*, wrongly 'Beusu', correct in *ib.* 116. [5] Netter, *Doct.* i. 7–8.
[6] Ragusa, 260. [7] Wilkins, iii. 498.
[8] Zatacensis, 335. [9] Gascoigne, 10; Loserth, *Hus*, 72.
[10] Zatacensis, 344. For a 'Nicholas English', an associate of Payne at Prague in 1415, see Loserth, *Mittheilungen*, xii. 265.
[11] See the authorities set out in full by Kingsford in *D. N. B.*

Basel this restless " intellectual adventurer ", who, however, never identified himself completely with any one of the Hussite sects, was one of the orators of the Bohemians, and in his address to the council compared the doctrines of Wyclif and Hus to the rays of the sun.[1] For three days also he discoursed on the lollard theme ' de civili dominio clericorum ', and tried to show that certain opinions had been attributed to Wyclif by John of Ragusa without justification.[2] The rest of Payne's life was troublous.[3] On the 4th May 1440 Henry VI wrote with joy to John de Burian of Guttenstein in Bohemia, who had captured Payne in February 1439: he had heard that Payne would be handed over to him in Nuremberg, and had instructed Hartung von Clux to render thanks for this great service.[4] Further correspondence followed between Henry and Eugenius IV. On account of the dangers of the way and the ' idol of Basel '—thus does Henry, or Bekynton, allude to the Council—Henry proposed that Payne should be sent to Florence for judgement.[5] In the upshot Payne was never handed over, being ransomed by the Taborites for 12,000 groschen. As one of the leaders of the Taborites he held his own until the fall of Tabor (1 September 1452). He seems to have died in prison at Prague in 1456[6] faithful to the last to the teachings of Wyclif. According to the testimony of those who knew him Payne was an eloquent, stubborn man, whose unconciliatory character was redeemed by a fund of humour and powers of repartee.[7] He himself probably would have

[1] For the prominent part of Payne at Basel, see Zatacensis, 304–7.

[2] Ragusa, 223; cf. 64, 264, 269.

[3] I see no evidence for the statement of Kingsford (*op. cit.* 116) that Martin V demanded a subsidy from the English church for his prosecution. This rests on Foxe, iii. 538, but the tenth in question was demanded from a council held 10 May 1428 (*Privy Counc.* iii. 295) and from Convocation in July and Nov. 1428 for the Crusade against the Hussites (Wilkins, iii. 493, 496); nor was Payne then, as Foxe states, at Basel. No doubt Payne's enemies spread the report in 1433 that he was to be prosecuted (Zatacensis, 317).

[4] Bekynton, i. 187; *Chron. Grey.* in *Mon. Franc.* ii. 169. Cf. *Brut*, ii. 503. Lewis, 185, misdates in 1433, following *Chron. Grey.* and Nicholas, *Chron. Lond.* 120.

[5] Bekynton, *op. cit.* i. 188–9.

[6] Gascoigne, 187, who expressly corrects the year; Wood, *Univ.* i. 586. Nov. 1455, as *D. N. B.*; Tanner, 582.

[7] Zatacensis, *passim*, who, after the manner of a modern reporter, is careful to put in " much laughter ". Cf. *op. cit.* 335.

regarded it as his highest praise that he was described by that champion of the faith, Henry VI, as

'a cruel and savage beast, excelling all men living in his enmity to the faith and to the orthodox Church, who by his pestiferous and virulent teaching has intoxicated many nations and innumerable people'.[1]

If we may trust the taunts of Partridge it was Payne that led Oldcastle into treason.[2]

But to return to Oxford. Protest and forgery were alike useless. The only effect was to drive Arundel to attempt once more to purge the university. He was the more anxious to do this because of the recent debates at Oxford, stirred up by Purvey and Payne, on the legality of English translation of the Bible.[3] The summer of 1407 had proved disastrous, the plague raging fiercely especially in the western counties and in London, where with characteristic exaggeration it was said that 30,000 people had died.[4] In consequence the courts were closed and all legal business postponed; so Parliament was summoned to meet in the abbey at Gloucester on the 20th October. The main business was Henry's demand for the increase of the taxes from one-tenth to three-tenths. While the Commons were still discussing the matter,[5] Arundel, who was chancellor of England as well as archbishop, summoned the Southern Convocation to meet at Oxford. Probably he was not sorry that the plague had made London impossible, and so given him the excuse he needed. In the chancellor of the year, Richard Courtenay,[6] as also in the vice-chancellor, Richard Ullerston, he possessed allies on whom he could rely for measures against the lollards. Ullerston especially 'strove in every way to drive them from the university'.[7]

Accordingly the Southern Convocation met at St. Frides-

[1] Bekynton, i. 188.
[2] Zatacensis, 343.
[3] *Supra*, p. 169.
[4] Walsingham, ii. 276.
[5] Supplies were not granted until 2 Dec. (*Rot. Parl.* iii. 611).
[6] Wood, *Fasti*, 37; Salter, *Snappe*, 332; Rymer, viii. 497.
[7] Wood, *Univ.* ii. 117. For Ullerston, see *D. N. B.* His *de Officio Militari* was 'written at the request of his tutor, Richard Courtenay'. See copies James, *MS. Trin.* i. 487; *MS. Corp.* i. 409. Though only 'diaconus ordinatus' (1 June 1409) he had been provided with a canonry at York 18 Nov. 1406 (*Cal. Pat.* iii. 272). Ullerston's *pro Ecclesiae reformatione*, 1408, dedicated to Hallum, is in Hardt, i. 1126–71, but does not repay reading. His *Defensorium dotationis Ecclesiae* was in Exeter Cathedral library (Leland, *Coll.* iv. 151).

wyde's on the 28th November 1407 [1] and agreed to increase their grant to the king from the usual one-tenth to three-twentieths to be paid in three instalments. This done, Arundel turned to the continued prevalence of lollardy. 'This university', he complained,

'which once was a fruitful vine, and brought forth its branches for the glory of God and the advancement and protection of His Church, now brings forth bitter grapes; and so it comes to pass that our province is infected with the unfruitful doctrines of the lollards.'

To remedy 'this damage and loss' he brought forward a series of thirteen 'constitutions' to be binding on all clerks in the province of Canterbury, but specially aimed at crushing out freedom of thought in the schools. No tract or treatise written by Wyclif and his contemporaries was to circulate or be 'copied by the stationers' except by direction of the universities of Oxford or [2] Cambridge, or unless 'unanimously sanctioned' by at least twelve doctors and masters chosen for the purpose. If such sanction was given, 'the original must remain perpetually in a university chest'. Henceforth no speculation by preacher or graduate must be allowed on 'the sacrament of the altar or other sacraments of the Church' or any article of faith. 'Masters teaching the boys in arts or grammar' must not allow 'exposition of Scripture, except as the text was wont to be expounded of old'. Disputations about homage paid to the Cross, the adoration of saints, images, pilgrimages, the lighting of candles, and the like were forbidden. Every warden or head of 'college, hall, hostel, inn, or entry' must hold an inquiry once a month into the opinions of the inmates with the power of expulsion for all offenders whether doctors, fellows, or students. Negligent wardens were to be deprived or excommunicated. Most important of all were the restrictions upon the translation of the Scriptures into English. The university officials also did their part in making the Constitutions more effective. To prevent the introduction of the old heresies by a side method, a stricter check was placed upon determinations. 'Every determiner

[1] See *infra*, Appendix U for date.
[2] Wylie, *Hen. IV*, iii. 427, wrongly says 'by both'.

must obey his Master'—very different this from the old freedom of the schools—who must stop him at once if he introduce 'irrelevant arguments or disputatious matters'. The names of the disobedient must be sent to the chancellor, whose duty it would be to punish them.[1]

One of the most dangerous of the Constitutions in its effect on the general life of the Church was Arundel's suppression in the first constitution of unlicensed preaching of every sort: 'No secular or regular shall presume to expound the word of God to people or clergy in Latin or English, within a church or outside', unless he had first received a licence from the bishop of the diocese and had also submitted to an examination both as to character and 'fitness for preaching'. Every preacher must exhibit to rector or vicar his licence duly sealed,[2] while the parish clergy must confine themselves strictly to preaching four times a year on the elementary matters set forth in Peckham's constitution. These themes, 'the fourteen articles of the faith, the ten commandments, the two precepts of the gospel (on love), the seven works of mercy, and the seven deadly sins' were to be expounded 'without the fantastic texture of subtilty of any kind'.[3] Orders were given that this constitution be read in the next three months in every parish church in the province of Canterbury. In order to encourage priests to present themselves for this examination in preaching Arundel ordered that no fees should be charged. We wish that he had told us how the examination was carried out—was there a trial sermon? or was the licence determined by general repute and a written or oral test? The penalty for preaching without examination was excommunication, confiscation of goods, and all the pains and penalties of the schismatic or heretic.[4]

Arundel's intention, no doubt, was to hit hard at lollard

[1] *Mun. Ac.* 246, from the proctors' book in 1408. Not in the Constitutions.

[2] For a specimen licence given in 1417 to Lyndwood, enabling him to preach anywhere in the province of Canterbury, 'in Latin or in English', see Wilkins, iii. 389.

[3] Peckham's Constitutions of Oct. 1281 are in Wilkins, ii. 51–61. The special constitution *Ignorantia Sacerdotum*, with full details of the themes, is in *ib.* ii. 54–6, or Lyndwood, *Provinciale*, App. 28. Cf. *supra*, p. 158.

[4] Wilkins, iii. 315–16. See Lyndwood's comments (*Provinciale*, 288 f.) for the actual working of this canon.

preachers. And in this, without question, with the help of his suffragans,[1] he succeeded. Some of the lollard preachers fled, e. g. Reseby to Scotland; others were silenced. But in accomplishing his purpose he crushed out, as Gascoigne complained, preaching as a living thing in the Church of England.[2] Every hindrance was thrown in the way; money was charged for the licence, and the whole function regarded as otiose, if not dangerous.[3] So loosely drawn was the constitution that seculars and monks soon discovered that it was a most convenient weapon for crushing out their rivals the friars; one writer even went so far as to claim that this was Arundel's object.[4] So on the 10th March 1410 Arundel found it necessary to issue an order against this 'sinister interpretation' and to explain that it did not abrogate the customs of the friars.[5] But rigid as the constitution was it did not accomplish all that Arundel desired, so in July 1413 it was further strengthened. The whole parish in which any unlicensed preaching took place was henceforth to be involved in the sentence of interdict and excommunication.[6]

The Constitutions of Oxford were reaffirmed and promulgated in a provincial synod held at St. Paul's from the 14th to the 31st January 1409,[7] the main object of which was to appoint delegates for the approaching council of Pisa, namely, bishops Hallum and Chichele, and Thomas Chillenden, prior of Christ Church, Canterbury.[8] On the following 13th April Arundel posted copies from his castle of Queenborough to his suffragans with orders that they should be published in every diocese of his province before midsummer day.[9] Why Arundel did not

[1] Rede of Chichester seems to have disliked them. He labels them as directed against 'doctores evangelicos' (*Reg. Rede*, i. 145).

[2] Gascoigne, 34, 61, 181.

[3] *Ib.* 128, 188.

[4] *Eulog. Cont.* iii. 412.

[5] Wilkins, iii. 324; wrongly called a statute in *Eulog. Cont.* iii. 417, an interpretation accepted in Stubbs, iii. 65 *n.*

[6] Wilkins, iii. 352; Mansi, xxvii. 514. Note the following cases in one register: South Pool (1410), Axminster (1412), Pilton (Cornwall, 1412); *Reg. Stafford*, 10, 293, 298, 334.

[7] Wilkins, iii. 314; Mansi, xxvi. 1046. Summoned on 30 Nov. 1408 (Wilkins, iii. 312; Wake, App. 85).

[8] Otterbourne, *Chronica* (ed. Hearne, 1732), 265.

[9] 'in England', Wylie, *Hen. IV*, iii. 428. But Wilkins, iii. 320 and Wake, 86, expressly state 'nostrae provinciae', and Arundel had no jurisdiction in York (see Maitland, *Canon Law*, 114). The instructions were repeated to

lay them before the Provincial Council held at St. Paul's on the 23rd July 1408,[1] if they needed confirmation at all, we cannot say, unless indeed it were the large lay element of lords and knights who had also been summoned made it inadvisable to deal with a matter that was solely within the spiritual functions of Convocation. The object of that Convocation, it is true, was special, to decide what course should be taken now that pope Gregory had shown so little desire to end the Schism. At this Convocation " each house deliberated apart, but by God's inspiration arrived at a unanimous conclusion which was curiously identical with an order drawn out by the Council a month before ".[2] They did not recommend subtraction of English obedience as this course was felt to be full of peril, but they ' shut the pope's hands ' by keeping back all papal dues until the Schism should be ended. In the meantime the funds in question were to be collected by officers nominated by the king. On Sunday the 29th July this decision was announced in St. Paul's in the presence of Henry, and was afterwards explained to the people at St. Paul's Cross by Arundel himself.[3]

§ 4

The Constitutions had called upon the university to appoint a standing committee of twelve without whose imprimatur no work of Wyclif could be copied.[4] But so strong was the tradition of lollardy, or the jealousy of the university of any interference with its liberties, that almost a year later the university had to explain to the archbishop that the proposal to elect had not yet secured the votes of the faculties and

Rede of Chichester on 20 May (*Reg. Rede*, i. 145) and are copied out in full in Beaufort's Register, ff. 18–20 (*Vict. Co. Hants*, ii. 45), and *Reg. Stafford*, ii. f. 318.

[1] Summoned on 25 June, Wilkins, iii. 306–8 ; Wake, App. 82 f.

[2] Wylie, *Hen. IV*, iii. 354.

[3] *Eulog. Cont.* iii. 412 ; Wilkins, iii. 309–10.

[4] The source of the following narrative is Cotton MSS., Faustina C. vii, now fully printed and luminously arranged in Salter's *Snappe*, 90–144. This source was used by Lyte, 282 f., Wylie, &c., and was fully known to Wood, who, nevertheless, " concocted a myth which has held its ground ever since " (Salter, *op. cit.* 96). See also Wilkins, iii. 322–3, which is full of mistakes. As regards Fleming I had come to much the same conclusion before Salter's publication of *Snappe*. The chronology of the story in Rashdall, ii. 433, seems to me impossible.

non-regents. A promise was made that when the Long Vacation was over another effort should be made. Eventually in 1409[1] the twelve censors were elected,[2] four doctors, four bachelors, and four students in theology, six from the north and six from the south, with John Wyttenham of New College as their head. Wyttenham, who showed his zeal for orthodoxy in his being one of the court at the formal trial of Oldcastle in 1413, at once issued a challenge that the twelve would defend orthodoxy against all lollards. Of the doctors Thomas Claxton was a Dominican, who in 1419 was provincial of his order, William Ufford a Carmelite, while the monks were represented by Dr. John Langdon of Christ Church, Canterbury,[3] afterwards Bishop of Rochester.[4] Langdon was a noted preacher who for years took a leading part in the prosecution of lollards. Appointed in July 1432 one of the representatives to the Council of Basel, he died in that city (30 September 1434)[5] and was buried in the choir of the Carthusians.[6] The committee, while containing two or three who failed to make good, contained among its seculars several young men of promise. In addition to Fleming, of whom more anon, two of the censors, Thomas Rudbourne of Merton and Robert Gilbert of Exeter, became bishops. A lover of books and an historian,[7] a correspondent of Netter, in 1416 Rudbourne[8] was

[1] Kingsford, in *D. N. B.*, dates 1411. But this is too late.

[2] For the names, see *Snappe*, 130; Wood, *Univ.* i. 551–2; Wilkins, iii. 172, where it is absurdly tacked on to a document published in 1382. In Lewis, 384–7, dated 1396. As Wilkins, iii. 172 and 339 are identical, save for the different name of the archbishop, it is evident that there is here a mistake which has given rise to much trouble, cf. Lyte, 283, n. 2. I am inclined to think that Wilkins, iii. 172, is correct, except for the list of names belonging to 1410 that has been attached to it, and that in 1410 this old condemnation of Wyclif was used up unaltered as a preamble to the condemnation of the 267 conclusions.

[3] Tanner, 465, dates his profession in 1398. Wood, *City*, ii. 295, wrongly assigns him to Gloucester College.

[4] By papal provision, 17 Nov. 1421 (*Ang. Sac.* i. 380). For Langdon see *D. N. B.* He must be distinguished, as Poole in Bale, *Index Script.* 224 *n.* fails to do, from John Langton a Carmelite. See *Ziz*, 348, and *supra*, p. 293. Langdon wrote an *Anglorum Chronicon*, now lost, of which Rudbourne made use (Bale, *op. cit.* iii. 224, 452; *Ang. Sac.* i. 287, 380).

[5] *Privy Counc.* iv. 281; *Ang. Sac.* i. 380.

[6] *N. and Q.* 3rd Ser., ix. 274, for his epitaph.

[7] His *Chronicon perpulcrum* is no longer extant (Bale, i. 544).

[8] For Rudbourne, see *D. N. B.*; Brodrick, 158–9. For his numerous preferments, see *Cal. Pat. Hen. IV*, iii. 223, 244, 281; Tanner, 645; *Cal. Pat.*

elected Warden of Merton. During his tenure of office he built the tower over the college gate. In 1420 Rudbourne served for a few months as Chancellor of Oxford.[1] He acted as chaplain both to Henry V and Henry VI, and in 1417 went with Henry to Normandy. Provided to the see of St. David (5 October 1433) Henry VI nominated him to the rich see of Ely, but the monks refused to elect him.[2] He died in 1442. The Cornishman Gilbert,[3] who succeeded Rudbourne at Merton (probably in 1417, a position he resigned in 1421), accompanied Henry V to Agincourt as dean of the Chapel Royal. Archdeacon of Durham,[4] of Northampton,[5] then dean of York,[6] in 1436 Gilbert was appointed bishop of London,[7] and died on the 22nd June 1448.[8] The other censors were Richard Snetisham, B.D., Richard Cartisdale, B.D., and 'two students in divinity', Robert Roudby and Richard Garsdale. Of Cartisdale and Roudby,[9] apart from Snetisham, nothing is known. But Snetisham,[10] a native of Shipdam in East Anglia, was a man

Hen. VI, i. 132, ii. 328. For a fulsome letter of the University on his behalf to Eugenius IV (30 Oct. 1433), see Anstey, *Ep. Ac.* i. 97–9. He must be distinguished from Thomas Rudbourne the historian, a monk of Winchester, for whom see *Ang. Sac.* i. 177 f.; Bale, i. 577; Tanner, 646.

[1] Wood, *Fasti*, 41. He was proctor in 1399, 1401, 1402 (Wood, *Coll.* 35–6).

[2] Bekynton, i. 4 f.; *Pap. Let.* viii. 230.

[3] For Gilbert, see Brodrick, 38, 159, 221. There is no life in *D. N. B.* He obtained his M.A. at Exeter in 1402 (Boase, 26). He was precentor of Lincoln, 5 Nov. 1411 to 1420 (Le Neve, ii. 84); treasurer of York (July 1425; *Cal. Pat.* i. 292).

[4] 1 March 1420 (Le Neve, iii. 304). Permission to visit by deputy, *Pap. Let.* vii. 279, Sept. 1423.

[5] *Pap. Let.* viii. 358, possibly a mistake—not in Le Neve—and this will explain the new provision made to Gilbert as dean of York, 21 May 1436 (*Pap. Let.* viii. 613).

[6] 19 Sept. 1426 (Le Neve, iii. 124).

[7] Provided 30 April; repeated 21 May (*Pap. Let.* viii. 358, 625).

[8] Hennessy, *Nov. Rep.* 2. Licence to elect his successor granted 23 Aug. (Rymer, xi. 218).

[9] In Wood, *Univ.* i. 552, wrongly 'Rondbery'.

[10] For Snetisham, see Tanner, 680; Boase, *Exeter*, p. lxv *n.*; Bale, i. 519; *Reg. Stafford*, 166, 332; Rymer, ix. 159. A fellow of Oriel, he had been ordained priest by Braybroke on 18 Sept. 1400. He succeeded Rigg as chancellor of Exeter (12 April 1410), of which diocese he was licensed a preacher (18 Feb. 1414). On 18 Sept. 1414 he received a licence to dwell in Paris for two years with three servants 'pro Scotis ibidem exercendis'. He died in the following year (Dec. 1415). His *Abbreviatones Cowton* (*supra*, i. 118) still exists in Merton (Coxe, i. 48), but his *Lectures on Theology*, once at Balliol (Leland, *Coll.* iv. 62), are lost. That he was chancellor of Oxford in 1412 is a mistake of Bale and Leland, doubtfully adopted by Wood, *Fasti*, 40.

of repute, remarkable as a disputant for his ' torrent ' of words. As a theologian ' he interpreted the Scriptures with much erudition '. Garsdale, who in 1417 became Provost of Oriel, was a writer of works of history, as well as of some ' carmina '.[1]

The functions of the Committee had been enlarged. Instead of being confined to censoring for publication, Southern Convocation in January 1409 had added the duty of drawing up a list of Wyclif's errors. Considerable delay occurred before the censors reported. The Committee explained to the impatient Arundel that haste might lead to the uprooting of wheat with tares. But the real cause was that one of their number, Richard Fleming, was ' sufficiently suspect ' himself. Fleming was a handsome Yorkshire man of worshipful family from Wath near Wakefield. Lancashire, however, can make some claim to him. Before 1318 the Fleming family had obtained the manor of Croston in the hundred of Leyland through the marriage of Sir John Fleming of Wath to the heiress Isabel de la Mare.[2] Born about 1385 Fleming had received in 1403, when only in his eighteenth year, permission to hold a benefice with cure whether in parish or collegiate church.[3] At Oxford, where he entered as a member of University College, he had proved himself a brilliant scholar both in arts and theology, and had distinguished himself as northern proctor in 1407 by causing the Junior Proctors' book to be written out at his own expense for the benefit of his successors. In 1408 he had finished his course in arts, hiring for his final determination from Exeter College ' the school with a bench in the middle '. He was now a student in theology and showed his ability—whether before or after his doctorate is uncertain—by introducing a method of discussing theological points still in use in Gascoigne's time.[4] Possibly this new method was

[1] In Feb. 1414 Garsdale, having obtained his B.D., had leave to farm out his benefice of Rudstone in E. Riding for ten years while studying at a university. The titles of his writings, part of which were in verse, were *de Aetatibus Mundi*, *de Regnis et Civitatibus*, and *de Praeliis Famosis*. See Bale, i. 560–1 ; Tanner, 339 ; *Pap. Let.* vi. 439.

[2] See Appendix W.

[3] *Pap. Let.* v. 528, May 1403. This proves that his birth was not in 1360, as *D. N. B.* xix. 218, nor 1378, as Salter, *Snappe*, 95. In May 1398 we find a Richard Fleming provided with a canonry in Dublin (*ib.* v. 100). Our Fleming was given a canonry in York on 22 Aug. 1406 (Le Neve, iii. 205).

[4] Gascoigne, 184. For Fleming's ability see Stone's eulogy in *Snappe*, 139.

the result of his own experience. In a ' scholastical act ' or disputation held in October or November 1409 he had uttered " diverse propositions rankly smelling of heresy ". These Wood interpreted to indicate Fleming's sympathy with lollardy ; they may, however, have been a mere attempt to score points in the unreal debates of the day. Be this as it may, an opportunity to trip him up was given to his opponents, chief among whom was a certain Nicholas Pont or Punt of Merton.[1] The matter was brought before the Committee, six of whom declared that Fleming's contention was false, though one, it is true, made the reservation that it was only false if words were used ' in their common sense '. Fleming thereupon appealed to congregation, and when nothing was done journeyed to court and requested the help of the king. So on the 4th December 1409 Henry wrote from Groby near Leicester ordering the summons of a congregation within three days to consider the appeal. The Committee at once dispatched either John Wells or, more probably, their chairman, Wyttenham, with a request that the king would reconsider his decision. They urged that the Committee had been appointed not by the university but by the Southern Convocation. Probably, also, the Committee wrote to the archbishop. At any rate Arundel, without waiting for the king's reply, wrote from Ford to the chancellor a monition that the Constitutions must be observed. Together with this he dispatched his well-known letter in which in his customary turgid style he fell foul not only of Fleming but of another censor, John Luke, and three masters of arts, Roland Byris of Queen's, Robert Burton and John Kexby, both of University College, who had dared to speak ' bitterly against our provincial constitutions '. Against these five ' learners of error ' the archbishop stormed as ' beardless blabbering boys who tried to read before they could spell, and deserved to be well birched '. He would show them that he was ' no reed shaken with flame '—' *arundinem flamine*[2] *agitatam* ',

[1] Wood, *Univ.* i. 552 ; Bale, i. 575. For Punt, see the meagre Brodrick, 228, or the fuller Bale, i. 533, Tanner, 604, or Leland, *Comment.* 399.

[2] In Wilkins, iii. 332, ' flammis '. A better text is in *Snappe*, 121 f. Wilkins, iii. 172, also is full of errors, e. g. ' Bwys ', ' Redbourne ', ' Suedisham ', ' Keyby '. For Arundel's rhetoric, cf. Wylie, *Hen. IV*, i. 107 ; a good specimen in Isaacson, i. 132–4 ; and the extraordinary letter in *Snappe*, 163–5.

a curious pun on his own name and that of Fleming—nor did he 'intend to turn Jerusalem into a place for keeping apples',[1] but 'would extinguish the spark before it became a flame'. If they did not give in within ten days, they should pay the penalty. They were ordered therefore to appear before the archbishop immediately after the feast of St. Hilary (14 January 1410). That Fleming's lollardy was love of dialectic and not heresy is shown by a letter of the king modifying his previous decision. He suggested that the question of Fleming's orthodoxy should be referred to a committee of eight, four to be nominated by Fleming and four by his opponents. At this sub-committee, no doubt, all matters were satisfactorily arranged and Fleming acquitted. At any rate we hear no more of any charge of lollardy. To say with Wood that Fleming's "mouth was stopped with preferments"[2] is to give undue value to these academic triflings. But Arundel had some justification for his outburst. Whatever be the facts about Byris, Burton, and Kexby—Wood as usual calls them all "Wyclifists"—John Luke, with whom Fleming had associated, had been a friend of the lollard Payne.

All five had chosen the easier path and in due course received abundant preferment. To Fleming fell the great prize of the bishopric of Lincoln. At his enthronement he had the rare honour of the presence of the king. At the Council of Siena he endeared himself to Martin V by his advocacy of the extreme papal claims (23 January 1424). The council would have taken steps against him if he had not been protected by being a papal chamberlain. But Martin's attempt to reward him by providing him to the archbishopric of York (14 February 1424) proved unsuccessful, and 'Richard archbishop of York' was retranslated by bull back to Lincoln (20 July 1425). He is remembered to-day by a stately chantry in his cathedral which holds his tomb, by his burning of Wyclif's bones, and by his foundation of 'a little college' of theologians at Oxford, with the avowed object of suppressing heresy. An oath against heresy was exacted from all its fellows, who were bound to

[1] Wylie, *op. cit.* iii. 435, shows that this is a reference to the Vulgate of Ps. lxxviii. 1.

[2] Wood, *Coll.* 234. Stone, a contemporary Carthusian, in his long account of Fleming (*Snappe*, 138 f.) never hints at Fleming's lollardy.

take priests' orders. To its library Fleming left a copy of Netter's great work against Wyclif, in this again showing his intentions. But at his death all was still, as Wood puts it, "without any maturity"; there were neither statutes nor buildings. Only through the later munificence of Bekynton and Rotherham was Lincoln College finally established. By an irony of history Fleming's college for the perpetual extirpation of lollardy became the home of John Wesley. In one matter Fleming would have delighted Wesley, and that was in his insistence upon clearness in the pulpit. He urged his preachers to leave their congregations in no doubt as to the object of their sermons.[1]

The others also had lesser prizes. Luke[2] was rewarded for repentance by prebends in Salisbury and Wells, and by the restored friendship of Netter, who called him 'confrater', and to whom he dedicated a *Dialogus*.[3] Though licensed as a preacher for his diocese (17 April 1411) he rarely visited his living of Uffculme near Lyme Regis, but lived on in Oxford until his death in August 1435. Kexby, who judging from his name was a Yorkshireman,[4] obtained the chancellorship of York,[5] and on his death (30 May 1432) was buried in the cathedral.[6] While chancellor he compiled a commonplace-book from Augustine.[7] Burton[8] was present at the Council of Constance and would see Hus burned. He gave a book on its doings and those of Pisa to the library of Durham College. Appointed Master of University College (7 May 1420) he also received a Crown living in Buckinghamshire and in 1427 the archdeaconry of Northumberland. Byris, who was at this

[1] Gascoigne, 183–4.

[2] For Luke, see *Reg. Stafford*, 360; Jones, *Fasti Eccles. Sarisberiensis* (1879), 376, 395, 418; *Pap. Let.* vi. 89. Bale, i. 556, credits him with four works but gives no incipits. He served as proctor in 1396 (Wood, *Fasti*, 34; *Mun. Ac.* i. 236).

[3] Villiers, ii. 840; Netter, *Doc.* i. 7.

[4] Kexby is a village in E. R. Yorks.

[5] Le Neve, iii. 164; Gascoigne, 194.

[6] Epitaph in Willis, *Survey*, ii. 79.

[7] Compiled at Odington in Co. Glos., of which rectory the chancellor of York was patron (Tanner, 455).

[8] For Burton, see *Cal. Pat. Hen. V*, ii. 395; Gascoigne, 157, 160; Wood, *Coll.* 51; Le Neve, iii. 307. On 13 May 1411 the chancellor of Oxford was directed to arrest Robert Burton and eight others and bring them before the council (*Cal. Pat.* iv. 317). But whether this is the same Burton is doubtful.

time but a junior at Queen's, never left the college. He became chaplain (1411), junior bursar in 1413, fellow in 1415, and finally provost (18 December 1426).[1]

With all opposition from Fleming and Luke removed, the opponents of Wyclif carried all before them. On the 26th June 1410 John Wells moved a decree in congregation against 18 false conclusions in the works of Wyclif; others brought forward a list of 61 errors and secured their condemnation. The chancellor of the year, Thomas Pressbury, abbot of St. Peter's, Shrewsbury,[2] a man of influence in the councils of the Church, was quick to seize his opportunity. Fourteen of Wyclif's works accordingly were burnt at Carfax.[3] But the opposition was not yet tamed. Lollard doctrines were still maintained and 'many opprobrious words and verses were published' against the Committee, so that the king was forced to interfere with threats of imprisonment (22 October 1410).[4] Five months later the Committee forwarded to the Southern Convocation at its meeting in St. Paul's on the 17th March 1411 a list of 267 heresies and errors[5] 'worthy of the fire', which they had extracted 'after long deliberation' from certain specified works of Wyclif, 'novellus doctor, non electus sed infectus'.[6] Their report was unanimously adopted, and the articles were forwarded to John XXIII with a request that he would endorse their condemnation.[7] In this letter Arundel showed his contempt for the university. Oxford under the influence of 'the son of the ancient serpent' had become a garden of 'poisonous herbs and infectious plants', whose

[1] Magrath, i. 138–9; Wood, *Univ.* i. 553. His parents hailed from Carlisle. He died in 1432.

[2] For Pressbury, see Appendix Y. For Wells, Appendix P.

[3] Gascoigne, 116; Wood, *Univ.* i. 547. The date 1410, probably after 26 June, is given in Bale, *Index Script.* 268.

[4] *Snappe*, 136–8.

[5] At Constance reported as 260 (Palacký, *Doc.* 313; Mansi, xxvii. 747). In Hardt, iv. 149–57; Brown, *Fascic.* i. 266–95. The real stress was laid on the Forty-five, for which see Leclercq-Hefele, vii. 516 f., Palacký, *Doc.* 327–31 (condemnation at Prague, 28 May, 1403).

[6] *Snappe*, 128–30; Wilkins, iii. 171 and 339–49.

[7] *Snappe*, 133–5; Wilkins, 350–1. No date in MS. Cotton. In Wilkins dated 1412, and in *Eng. Hist. Rev.* xx. 446, as 1413. But as the pope's reply was dated 20 Nov. 1411 (*infra*, p. 372) the date is manifestly 1411. It is evident that Arundel had not received the bull *Sedis Apostolicae* of Alexander V issued 20 Dec. 1409 (Palacký, *Doc.* 374 f.).

seeds, ' scattered by the wind of pride ', were corrupting ' the fair fields of England '. A further petition was added that John would consent to the digging up of the bones of Wyclif that they might be flung on a dung-hill or burnt. On the 8th May the decision of the synod was forwarded to Oxford, and was carefully copied by Gascoigne.[1] The Oxford lollards retorted by a scurrilous letter to Arundel, in which ' we poor little priests on the authority of the gospel peremptorily cite you to appear before the King of kings ', there to answer for the blood shed by him ' both at Shrewsbury and elsewhere, and especially at Bristol '. The letter states that there are 100,200 lollards in England, of whom 70 are knights, 200 squires, and 500 priests.[2] These wild figures, if generally believed, will explain the confidence with which Oldcastle rushed into rebellion. Possibly the Oxford lollards had been emboldened to this step by a motion of the proctor, John Birch, that the Committee of Twelve should be abolished (May 1411). His action, though attributed by his enemies to lollardy, was but the outcome of the struggle of artists and theologians.[3]

Encouraged by his success, Arundel made another effort to secure his right of visitation and to purge the university of lollardism.[4] The time was not opportune ; the university was seething with the struggles of North and South.[5] But Arundel

[1] Gascoigne, 116.

[2] For this letter, see *Snappe*, 130–2. The reference to Shrewsbury can only be to the experiences of Thorpe in 1407, in which, however, there was no bloodshed (Pollard, *Garner*, 142 ; and cf. Owen and Blakeway, *Hist. Shrewsbury*, 1825, i. 201–3). Probably by a mental twist Arundel was held responsible for the triumph of the persecuting Henry at the battle of Shrewsbury. Bristol was a stronghold of lollards, as we learn from Wilkins, iii. 265 (no date, really 1401), and from Usk, *Chron.* 3, 4, who says it had been ' infected by the seeds which master John Wyclif had sown '. But we know of no bloodshed, though Usk gives the absurd story of 23,000 lollards ' who suffered a miserable fate '. There was evidently some absurd canard about, even if Usk was speaking of the sum total of the people slain in connexion with Oldcastle's revolt, with the usual exaggerations.

[3] Salter in *Snappe*, 114.

[4] For the following struggle the main documents from MSS. Cotton, Faustina, C. vii, have been carefully edited by Salter, *Snappe*, 101–15, 144–80. Add also the Oriel roll in Clark, *Coll. Ox.* 101–3 ; *Hist. MSS. Com.* ii. 137 ; *Rot. Parl.* iii. 651–2 (see *infra*). Wood, *Univ.* i. 547 f., used the first, but in addition to many errors of detail, especially dating, made the whole centre round lollardy. Lyte, 293 f., and Wylie, *Hen. IV*, iii. 442–9, used both, not always with accuracy.

[5] *Cal. Pat.* iv. 316 ; *Snappe*, 103.

counted on the support of the chancellor Pressbury.[1] On the 23rd June he issued a commission to five men that they should take an oath from all graduates and undergraduates that they would not maintain any of the 267 errors of Wyclif. At the same time he ordered Richard Courtenay and Roger Coringham to begin the visitation of the university, notice of which was duly published by the chancellor.[2] The storm at once broke out. Pressbury was mobbed in his house, one of the proctors, John Birch, taking the lead, and after six days was forced to resign. In his place the congregation of regents elected about the 1st July Richard Courtenay, either with the hope that his influence at Court might win over the king to their side, or of thus drawing the teeth of one of the appointed visitors. At the same time they wrote to the king stating that if their privilege of exemption were infringed the university would be driven to fall back upon its old weapon of dispersion.[3]

The choice of Courtenay[4] to be chancellor a second time, despite all that may be said of his ability, culture, and eloquence, marks the loss by Oxford of its former democratic freedom, the transition to the days when the chancellorship became confined to the higher nobility. Writers speak of his handsome, tall appearance; he was also a keen buyer of rare books,[5] a judge of good jewellery,[6] and a dabbler in astrology[7] The favourite nephew of the late archbishop, a courtier and diplomatist,[8] a wealthy pluralist[9]—livings conferred before he was fifteen brought him in 320 marks a year—a friend of the Prince of Wales,[10] tenderly nursed by Henry V in his last illness

[1] Not Courtenay as Wylie, *op. cit.* iii. 443. See *Snappe*, 38, 333.

[2] *Snappe*, 156–8, 160 (28 June).

[3] *Ib.* 158 f.

[4] For R. Courtenay, see Tout's article in *D. N. B.*. For the date of his birth, 1381, see *Pap. Let.* iv. 510, and cf. *ib.* iv. 448. There are accounts of him in *Ang. Sac.* i. 416; Prince, 162–3; E. Cleaveland, *Family of Courtenay* (1735), 265 f.

[5] See his purchases in Paris in 1414 (Wylie, *Hen. V*, i. 425).

[6] Appointed keeper of Henry's jewels, 30 May 1415 (*Cal. Pat.* i. 329); cf. his own purchases (Wylie, *l. c.* i. 424).

[7] Fusoris sold him in 1414 seven astrological instruments for 400 crowns, and gave him the rules for working them (*ib.* i. 499 f.).

[8] Employed constantly in Henry's negotiations with France (e. g. Devon, 336).

[9] For his numerous preferments, see *Pap. Let.* iv. 448, v. 140, 150, vi. 59; *Cal. Pat. Hen.* ii. 9, 93, iv. 117; *Ang. Sac.* i. 589; *Vict. Co. Sussex*, ii. 116–17; *Reg. Stafford*, 72, 168; *Reg. Brant.* i. 125.

[10] Though chancellor he joined Henry in his Welsh war at Aberystwyth (Sept. 1407; *Cal. Pat.* iii. 359, 361 Rymer, viii. 497).

in the camp before Harfleur,[1] a great landowner—on the death of his father (November 1406) he succeeded to the family estates at Powderham Court, as well as to the estates of his uncle Sir Peter Courtenay in Somerset and Devonshire[2]—Courtenay had nothing in common with the rowdy enthusiasts of the schools. His detestation of lollardy had been shown by his preaching the sermon at the burning of Badby. For reforms he cared nothing. Appointed by John XXIII bishop of Norwich,[3] he never saw his diocese, and left the work to his suffragan, John Leicester.[4] All this disposes of Wood's suggestion that the resistance to Arundel in 1411 was the result of lollardy, though no doubt the lollards, whose heresies were nominally the subject of the visitation, took full advantage of the university turbulence.

"At the time appointed Arundel drew near to Oxon with a fair retinue before and after him containing many persons of honour, particularly his nephew Thomas, Earl of Arundel." [5] He reached Godstow on the 26th July, but did not attempt his visitation of the university until Friday, the 7th August.[6] He filled up the interval with visiting the monasteries and colleges, excepting Queen's. Meanwhile the University, under the lead of the proctors, John Birch of Oriel [7] and Benedict Brent of Exeter,[8] prepared for resistance. The chancellor, Courtenay, was induced to threaten with excommunication any graduate who perjured himself by attempting aught against the privileges of the university. Arundel, whom 'Oxford had nursed with her milk from tender years', was especially named

[1] Courtenay died of dysentery on 15 Sept. 1415 and was buried in Westminster Abbey behind the high altar (Stanley, 193).

[2] *Inquis.* iii. 307; *Pat. Hen.* iii. 279. Sir Peter died before 26 May 1405 (*ib.* iii. 31). For Courtenay's own estates, see *Inquis.* iv. 19. His heir was Philip, son of his brother John (*Pat. Hen.* i. 369).

[3] 28 June 1413 (*Pap. Let.* vi. 453). As Courtenay had been elected by the Chapter John annulled the election, then provided him. Temporalities restored 11 Sept. (Rymer, ix. 50; *Pat. Hen.* i. 97); consecrated at Windsor by Arundel on 17 Sept. in the presence of Henry (Stubbs, *Reg. Sac.* 85). He had a dispensation to be consecrated by one bishop only (*Pap. Let.* vi. 450).

[4] Leicester, titular archbishop of Smyrna (d. 1424), had been suffragan since 1398 (Stubbs, *Reg. Sac.* 198, corrected by Eubel, i. 480).

[5] Wood, *Univ.* i. 547. [6] *Snappe*, 108.

[7] Not University, as Wood, *Fasti*, 39.

[8] Fellow 1403–15; rector of Exeter 1413–14. Ordained subdeacon and licensed to preach at his native village of Brent (3 April 1416) and in the deaneries of Woodleigh and Plympton (27 Jan. 1419). See Boase, 26.

as a graduate in arts.[1] Steps also were taken to prevent his use of St. Mary's. Arundel retorted by threatening Courtenay and the university with an interdict 'unless you leave St. Mary free for this visitation and remove all the impediments that you have plotted to the contrary'.[2] When the day arrived he found that Birch and Symond, another Fellow of Oriel,[3] had fortified St. Mary's against him, locking the doors and persuading a noisy crowd 'of insolent boys' to appear in the streets with bows and arrows and swords.[4] Of actual fighting there was little or none.[5] Arundel sent for a locksmith, then began the visitation with a sermon on the text "Come into the garden".[6] Sermon over, 'a dove with an olive-branch' appeared in the shape of a summons from Henry that all parties were to appear before him on the 9th September.[7] In all probability this compromise had been reached by Courtenay and Arundel, neither of whom were anxious to drift further into conflict. Arundel, after bursting into tears of gratitude—we find it difficult to picture the scene—wrote a letter of thanks to the king, broke off his visitation, put St. Mary's under interdict, and left Oxford (8 August). He would hear that on the previous evening Birch and Symond had broken open the doors and caused the bells to be rung as usual. On Sunday (9 August) in spite of the interdict they celebrated mass. 'Devil take the archbishop and break his neck', said the Dean of Oriel, John Rote—'radix malorum omnium predictorum'.[8]

Arundel's strategic retreat was soon followed by victory. On the 20th August Henry wrote to the pope demanding 'with all speed' the revocation of the bull of Boniface IX, 'a copy of which the archbishop is forwarding'.[9] Shortly

[1] *Snappe*, 161; Bekynton, i. 277. For Arundel's degree, see Gascoigne 34, 61, 180, 181, who doubts it.

[2] *Snappe*, 162.

[3] Proctor 1412, 1413; Wood, *Fasti*, 40, who wrongly assigns him to University.

[4] Arundel's letter to the king, *Snappe*, 163 f.

[5] Usk, *Chron.* 120, exaggerates into 'the slaughter of men on both sides'. But no trust can ever be put in his figures, and Usk loved a riot.

[6] *Cant.* v. 1.

[7] *Snappe*, 165–6.

[8] In 1414 Rote was elected Provost of Oriel, but Chichele quashed the election (Clark, *op. cit.* 104). Rote was supported by two other Oriel Fellows, both Northerners, against whom charges were brought of habitual 'night-walking', knocking up the Provost at 10 p.m., 'calling him a liar, and challenging him to come out and fight', &c.

[9] *Pap. Let.* vi. 303; *Snappe*, 179.

afterwards the king took up his residence with Arundel for three weeks ;[1] the archbishop believed in leaving nothing to chance. Courtenay and his proctors duly appeared at Lambeth on the 9th September, and a week later the decision was given. The archbishop's claim to visit the university—except only Queen's, of which the visitor was his brother of York[2]—was reasserted and a penalty of £1,000 imposed for resistance. Courtenay ' resigned ' ; the proctors were imprisoned in the Tower. Orders were sent that the " senior theologist ", Edward Bekynham, Warden of Merton, should act until a new chancellor was elected. Congregation meekly obeyed ;[3] but a few hot-heads—' degenerate brothers '—got hold of the university seal and sent a letter to the king that Courtenay had been re-elected. Apologies and explanations followed.[4] At last peace was made through the intervention of Courtenay's friend, the Prince of Wales, and Courtenay was re-elected. The university a few days later (22 November) wrote a humble letter to Arundel—' a great pontiff able to be touched by the infirmities of his brethren '—beseeching his clemency on the proctors still in the Tower. Before March they were reinstated.[5]

Arundel's victory was complete. Restraining his grandiloquence he entered merely the bare facts in his Register. But with the instinct of a statesman he desired to put the matter beyond future discussion. He had secured the assistance of the Crown ; he would bring in the power of Parliament. So at its meeting on the 13th November 1411 the archbishop put in a long petition reciting the history of the case—naturally with some bias—and asking that the decisions should receive full ratification. Both houses agreed that the petition and schedule should have the same weight and authority ' as if the matters had been done in the present parliament and by its authority '.[6] There remained the bull itself. Aware of the

[1] 3–26 Sept. except 8 Sept. (Wylie, *Hen. IV*, iv. 301).

[2] Rymer, viii. 675–6. In Nov. 1411 Arundel promised that he would not visit the said college if he found the exemption in order (*Rot. Parl.* iii. 652 b. ; Shadwell, i. 13). Wood, *Univ.* i. 554, wrongly dates as given in 1412.

[3] *Snappe*, 166–8. For Bekyngham, see Brodrick, 158.

[4] *Snappe*, 169–174.

[5] *Ib.* 175 ; *Mun. Ac.* 250.

[6] *Rot. Parl.* iii. 651–2 ; Shadwell, 7–14 ; also set out fully in W. Prynne, *Oxford's Plea Refuted* (1647), 20–6 ; Griffiths, *Enactments in Parl. relating to*

king's request to the pope, the university sent an abject letter to Arundel,[1] beseeching him not to pursue a 'dead dog' or a 'quick flea'. They would even surrender their old-established claim and receive as their visitor the bishop of Lincoln, thus giving up 'not only their tunic but their cloak also', if only Arundel would not press the case against them in a foreign court.[2] The appeal was too late. On the 20th November 1411 John issued a bull rescinding the exemption granted by Boniface IX.[3] This would reach England in January, and was at once published by the university.[4]

Arundel was not slow in following up his victory. On the 2nd December 1411 a synod met at St. Paul's. Proceedings were opened by a sermon against the lollards preached by John Langdon.[5] On the complaint of Arundel that heresy was still rampant at Oxford, the synod requested him[6] to visit the university which once was 'the mother of virtues, the lamp of knowledge, the prop of the catholic faith, and a singular looking-glass of obedience', but now had become the mother of degenerate sons. Too crushed to resist, congregation decreed (12 March 1412),[7] 'in order to root out the tares of heresy and error' and lest any should plead ignorance, that all the said conclusions should be written out and kept in a book in the university library, so that principals of halls might take copies. Henceforth all graduates on admission to their degrees must swear that they would not openly teach nor privately defend the said conclusions. Every year before the 1st November all principals and heads must swear before the chancellor that

Oxford (1869), 1 f. The next archbishop to visit Oxford was Laud, and the precedent of Arundel settled his rights (Shadwell, i. 13 *n.* Cf. Prynne, *op. cit.* 36–9).

[1] 20 Nov. 1412 (*Mun. Ac.* 261).

[2] Bekynton, i. 276–9. Bekynton was admitted a Fellow of New College in 1408, and so was at Oxford during this struggle (*ib.* i. p. xvii).

[3] *Pap. Let.* vi. 302–4; Wood, *Univ.* i. 366. Printed in *Snappe*, 176–9. There is a copy in Lambeth library. From the language of the bull and its references to Arundel's actions on 27 Nov. 1397 (*supra*, p. 345) it is clear that Arundel had prompted John.

[4] Letter to Arundel in *Snappe*, 179.

[5] Harpsfield, 619; *Ang. Sac.* i. 380. In Wilkins, iii. 273, mistakenly assigned to 1403–4, and in Villiers, ii. 25, attributed in 1404 to the Carmelite John Langton (see *supra*, p. 293).

[6] Wilkins, iii. 334–6, on 4 Dec.

[7] *Mun. Ac.* 250 (wrongly dated), 268–70.

they would not admit any master, bachelor, scholar, or even servant suspected of lollardy under pain of losing both office and degree. Regular forms, probably introduced about this time, were kept in the proctors' book for summarily handing over to the secular arm heretics who continued obdurate in spite of the greater excommunication.[1] Along with this surrender a formal copy of the condemned conclusions of Wyclif was sent to the archbishop, together with a suitable preface.[2] So crushed was the university that when Repingdon wrote on the 12th February 1414 demanding that it should submit to his episcopal inquisition and admit his commissioners, Edmund Lacy and Robert Gilbert, the university assented with but slight demur.[3]

The triumph of the hierarchy was confirmed by the action of a Roman council. The Council of Pisa, before it adjourned (7 August 1409), had decreed that another council should be held ' for the reform of the Church in its head and members '. After some delay there gathered in St. Peter's a council, or rather a shadow of one—' a few monks and simoniacs of Rome met in a corner ', sneered Hus' friend Jesenicz. At its first session, January 1413, as the council was singing *Veni Creator Spiritus* an owl, with a startling hoot, swept into the church and perched on a beam opposite the pope. ' The Holy Ghost is present in the shape of an owl,' tittered the cardinals. As the owl, ' herald always of a second funeral ', continued to stare at him, John, in confusion, broke up the assembly. The next day the owl was again present, until driven out with sticks. The incident, though not strictly true,[4] was generally believed, and showed, at any rate, the repute in which the pope and his council were held. Its one achievement was the condemnation of ' the *Dialogus, Trialogus* and other works inscribed with the name of the said John Wyclif ' (2 February 1413). These were ordered to be publicly burnt, which was

[1] *Mun. Ac.* 474–5. [2] Wilkins, iii. 339.

[3] *Snappe*, 181–6, with eighty signatures, dated 4 March 1414, the day proposed for the visitation itself (' the Monday after St. David's day '). Wood, *Univ.* i. 556, doubted the visitation; Rashdall, ii. 436, assigns it to the vacation.

[4] The incident really occurred the previous Whitsun. See Hardt, i (2), 67–8, ii. 375; Brown, *Fascic.* i. 402. The owl appears in Picart's portrait of John in Lenfant, *Hist. Conc. Const.* (1714) ii. 4.

done a week later before the doors of St. Peter's.[1] On the same day a mandate was dispatched forbidding the reading, teaching, or keeping of Wyclif's works, and ordering the burning of the same wherever found.[2] After delivering the Church from 'this leaven of the Pharisees' the council was prorogued on the 3rd March to the following December.

Thus, by the labours of Courtenay and Arundel, and by the zeal of Repingdon and Fleming, Oxford was won back to orthodoxy. The revolt of the seculars against the regulars was crushed, and an iron curb put upon thought. But with the destruction of religious freedom, the loss of its autonomy, and the triumph of the friars, the university ceased to be what Matthew Paris had called it, 'the second school of the Church'.[3] Paris once more gained its lost pre-eminence, while Cambridge, hitherto insignificant in numbers, destitute of scholars of more than local fame though amply supplied by the wealthy Eastern counties with colleges, now "came into fashion with cautious parents", for 'of heresy it bare never blame'.[4] By the middle of the century the inceptors in arts at Cambridge were almost equal to the average at Oxford.[5] So great was the fall in numbers at Oxford that in March 1414 we find but 74 resident graduates.[6] In 1420 doubt was expressed whether there were sufficient inceptors 'to deliver the necessary lectures (*ordinarie legant*) on the seven sciences and the three philosophies', and in 1431 they were reduced to bringing in 'the junior masters of the grammar boys'. In August 1430 the authorities wrote to Cardinal Beaufort that their numbers were 'daily' diminishing. In 1432 they informed Chichele that though the university abounded in men of learning able to refute the heresies now prevalent, they could not afford to send a deputation to the Council of Basel without his financial assistance. At the same time they informed Duke Humphrey that if they

[1] 10 Feb. For this council, of which we are singularly destitute of knowledge, the best account is in Finke, *Acta Conc. Constant.* (1896), i. 108–68. Cf. also Palacký, *Doc.* 467–71; Raynaldi, xxvii. 358–9; Leclercq-Hefele, vii. 93 f. Mansi, xxvii. 506, is slight and inaccurate; Creighton, i. 281, wrongly dated.

[2] *Pap. Let.* vi. 343–4.

[3] *Chron. Maj.* v. 648.

[4] Lydgate's verses quoted in Mullinger, i. 637.

[5] Rashdall, ii. 553 *n.* Cf. Major, f. 8, for the beginning of the sixteenth century.

[6] *Snappe*, 183–6. But many, probably, did not sign. See *supra*, p. 373 *n.*

lost the 6*s*. 8*d*. which every Benedictine paid to his 'master', the recent revival of learning would receive a mortal blow.[1] These begging letters, like straws, show the drift of the times. In 1438 the authorities wrote even more gloomily. The university, 'whose fame and glory was once renowned among all nations' and which was 'full of men illustrious in arts and sciences', has now become almost a desert. Scarcely one thousand students remain out of the 'many thousands' who once flocked there. 'Halls and inns are locked, the doors of schools closed.' As the object of the letter was to urge the archbishop to encourage learning by promoting deserving graduates to benefices, much must be allowed for official exaggeration. In 1471 there was the same bitter complaint that the schools were half empty and that the numbers were steadily decreasing.[2] Nor did the tide turn until late in the next century.[3]

Thus Wyclif, the first of the Reformers, was not only the last of the schoolmen but the last outcome of the intellectual vigour of the great medieval university. The century which followed the triumph of Courtenay and Arundel is the most barren in her annals. Though it is an exaggeration to say that Oxford, once the 'sun, eye, and soul' of the kingdom, "became a home for adventurers and loungers",[4] it is certainly true that it lost its former spirit. In 1425 Chichele complained that the light of Merton which once like a beacon 'shone forth to all the inhabitants of this realm' was now 'shamefully cast into the shade'.[5] What was true of Merton was true of the whole university. Sufficiently tamed to vote as desired, its main concern was to keep on good terms with authority. As bishop Pecock found to his cost in 1457, independent thought was no longer tolerated. So sunk was the university that in 1465 it could write to the Benedictines the grovelling untruth that it was to the monks that Oxford owed a faculty of theology. Oxford was not even allowed to appoint its own

[1] *Mun. Ac.* 273, 287; Anstey, *Ep. Ac.* i. 57, 72–4, 76–8.

[2] *Ib.* i. 155–7, 186–7 (Dec. 1439); ii. 359–62.

[3] C. W. Boase, *Register of Univ. of Oxford* (1885), p. xv, shows that the number of determining graduates in 1507 was 36; 1508, 47; 1509, 41; 1511, 55; 1512, 42. According to Brodrick, 43, in 1546 the number of halls had sunk to 8, incepting graduates to 13.

[4] Rogers in Gascoigne, pref., p. lxxxvi.

[5] Brodrick, 27.

bedel without going on its knees to Edward IV.[1] No wonder that we can read the warning of a distinguished if unscrupulous statesman, written in 1509 in the Tower: 'Look well upon your two universities, how famous they have been, and in what condition they be now.'[2] Nor was the sleep of the university broken till the advent of the New Learning restored to it some of the life and liberty which the two archbishops had so roughly trodden out. Even when the new day slowly dawned with the Reformation, it was Cambridge which led the way. Never again would England see that complete union of all classes in one great centre of learning, tempering medieval absolutism with the fiercest workings of democracy and thought.

§ 5

From the universities we turn to the fortunes of Wyclif's teaching among the gentry, including the knights in parliament and a few of the higher nobility. The motives which led the gentry into lollardy were as mixed as the motives which had led the Oxford seculars to embrace Wyclif's teaching. With many, lollardy was a revolt against the tyranny of clericalism, a desire to obtain more freedom, or a hankering after Wyclif's schemes of disendowment. With others there was the consciousness that all things were not well in Church and State, and that there should be reform. With but few was there a yearning after greater spirituality.

No doubt much lollardy might be traced to the prevailing discontent. The times were out of joint. The years that immediately followed Wyclif's death were full of evil. In the summer of 1385 there had been an invasion of Scotland with a great force of 8,000 men-at-arms and 8,000 archers.[3] Scotland, like its ally France, cleaved to Avignon and not to Urban VI. The expedition therefore partook of the nature of a crusade, with outrage of all the usual laws of war. But the Scots wisely refused to fight and took to guerrilla tactics, laying waste the country. Edinburgh, then only a poor town of 400 houses, as well as the abbey and palace of Holyrood

[1] Anstey, *Ep. Ac.* ii. 375, 464–7.
[2] E. Dudley, *Tree of the Common Wealth* (first printed 1859), 31–2.
[3] Walsingham, ii. 131 f.

were burnt to the ground. In return the Scots harried the coast-line of Cumberland. The tactics of the Scots reduced the expedition to a failure, and Richard in disgust, in spite of the efforts of Lancaster, returned to England. At home rumours of French invasion were rife; while Parliament requested the king to adopt the reactionary policy of curtailing the facilities for emancipation offered to 'natives' by the chartered towns.[1] This measure would not lessen the favour with which these towns looked on lollardy as the proclamation of a larger liberty. The older nobility were outraged by the favours showered by the king on Robert de Vere; while the Commons were vexed by Richard's reckless alienation of Crown rights. Meanwhile England was astir with the preparations for John of Gaunt's crusade in Spain, a reckless wasting of England's resources on a solemn farce. But Lancaster was encouraged by Richard, who was anxious at all costs to get his uncle out of the country.

We see the strength of the current discontent as well as of lollard leanings in the various steps taken in parliament to check the abuses of papal provisions. Time after time regulations were issued forbidding the import into the kingdom of bulls or other instruments of the Roman court, and ordering the arrest of those who had obtained papal provisions.[2] On the 7th September 1388 parliament was opened at Cambridge, a new honour for the rising university. In this parliament, noted for the consideration of the interests of landlords and farmers at the expense of the labourers, a fresh edict was passed against provisors. All benefices so accepted without licence from the king were deemed void. But, as Malvern tells us, the 'act of parliament was in nowise put into force'; Richard, as Edward III before him, freely granted licences to persons to go beyond seas to obtain benefices from the pope 'notwithstanding any statute to the contrary'.[3]

In the Parliament which met at Westminster on the 17th January 1390 the most important measure was the strengthening

[1] *Rot. Parl.* iii. 212.

[2] e. g. 4 Nov. 1379, 8 and 16 July, 8 Aug., and 16 Nov. 1380 (*Pat. Ric.* i. 421, 567–8, 574, 577).

[3] Higden, ix. 197, 205; *Statutes*, ii. 60; Knighton, ii. 298, 308; Walsingham, ii. 177.

of the *Statute of Provisors*. On the day of the assembly of parliament, and for the two or three days previous, as if in anticipation of coming difficulty, Richard had granted about twenty licences a day for clerics to obtain provisions from the pope, and this practice had been going on for some time.[1] Parliament felt that its intentions were being defeated. So to the former statute there were added further safeguards. Any person accepting a benefice in contravention of the Act was subjected to forfeiture and banishment; any person sending to Rome or inducing the king to send to Rome in contravention of the Act was liable to heavy money penalties, while life and limb would be forfeited by the man who should introduce any 'summons, sentence, or excommunication' into the kingdom for the said purpose. If any prelate attempted to give effect to such 'summons, sentence, or excommunication' he should forfeit his temporalities.[2] Immediately on the passing of the statute a protest was made in open ('plein') Parliament by the two archbishops on behalf of their suffragans against the measure as an infringement of Apostolic rights and of the liberty of the Church. In spite of this protest the statute was promulgated and a copy forwarded to Boniface IX with a covering letter under the seals of the king and the lay baronage. The letter, which was carried to Rome by two knights and a cleric, fiercely denounced all Provisions, but offered a backdoor of escape from humiliation by humbly asking the pope himself to provide a speedy remedy for the evils in question.[3]

Boniface IX replied by a bull (4 February 1391) which abrogated the whole legislation and warned 'the unlawful occupiers of benefices' to which the pope considered that he had rights of provision 'to resign them within two months under pain of excommunication'. On the 13th February the letters of annulment were 'read and published in a loud and intelligible voice' and then posted up 'on the inner doors of St. Peter's, Rome'.[4] On the 14th April Boniface dispatched as

[1] *Pat. Ric.* iv. 40, 96, 111, 170, 171, 174 ff. Cf. Rymer, vii. 701, 702.
[2] *Rot. Parl.* iii. 266–7; *Statutes*, ii. 61; Higden, ix. 225–7, 231–3.
[3] Higden, ix. 221 f.; Walsingham, ii. 198; *Rot. Parl.* iii. 264; Rymer, vii. 672–4; Wilkins, iii. 208.
[4] *Pap. Let.* iv. 277, a most interesting document.

nuncio a certain Nicholas, abbot of the Benedictine monastery of St. Silvester at Nonantola near Modena, to discuss the whole matter and seek a concordat.[1] Richard replied on the 3rd May by prohibiting the importation of any bull, by cutting off the exportation of money to Rome, and by recalling all English subjects at Rome. The nuncio, on his arrival in the middle of June, pressed for the repeal of the statutes of *Provisors* and *Praemunire*, and laid stress on the support Rome could afford to checkmate the French schemes of aggrandizement encouraged by Avignon. Richard promised to lay the matter before Parliament, and held out some hopes of a papal subsidy. When Parliament met at Westminster (3 November 1391) Arundel, who had succeeded Wykeham as chancellor on the 27th September, dwelt on the strained relations with the papacy. The king, he claimed, was anxious for some compromise which would enable him ' to render unto Caesar the things that were Caesar's, and unto God the things that were God's '. But all the efforts of Arundel, assisted by Lancaster, to secure the repeal of the statutes were unavailing, though as a concession the king was given authority for a limited period to grant exemptions. Lest we assign to this Parliament too great reforming zeal, it is well to remember that it was this same Parliament which petitioned the king, in vain, that henceforth it should be illegal for neif or villein to send his children to school, thus enabling them to join the ranks of the clergy.[2]

When Parliament met on the 20th January 1393 at Winchester the matter of Provisions was again reviewed, at the instance of the chancellor Arundel. The universities of Cambridge and Oxford had also petitioned in the interests of their graduates for some modification, and their argument was duly noted by the Commons. Sanction was obtained not merely to grant exemptions as hitherto, but for the king to make

[1] *Pap. Let.* iv. 279; Higden, ix. 247–9; Wilkins, iii. 235. Nicholas of Nonantola (not ' Novantulensis ' as Higden) was succeeded on 17 Oct. by Dr. Damiani de Catheneys, a knight of Genoa (Higden, ix. 248, 258, 261; *Pap. Let.* iv. 280–1), for whose procurations a levy was made at the rate of 1*s.* 4*d.* in the pound (28 Feb. 1393, *Reg. Wykeham*, ii. 431).

[2] Rymer, vii. 698, 707; Walsingham, ii. 200–1, 203; Wilkins, iii. 212–13; *Rot. Parl.* iii. 284–5, 294; Higden, ix. 247–62.

' modifications ' in the statute itself, provided that such ' modifications ' received the assent of the Council and were laid before Parliament at its next meeting. But as if to show that these ' modifications ' did not denote any weakening in the national resistance, the same Parliament passed a drastic *Statute of Praemunire*. In the petitions on which the Act was based the Commons averred that the pope had recently issued letters of excommunication against English prelates for giving effect to orders addressed to them by the courts of the realm, and that it was commonly reported that the pope intended to translate certain English bishops without consulting either the king or the bishops concerned. When Courtenay was challenged to give his opinion on the legality of the pope's actions, he replied that if any act of the papacy was an infringement of the royal prerogatives he would elect to stand by the king. In accordance with this answer the Act imposed penalties of outlawry, forfeiture, and imprisonment on any person who should procure, introduce, or publish any bull translating a bishop, infringing the king's prerogative, or passing sentence of excommunication. Room, however, was still left for king and papacy to arrange those deals without which neither could reward their servants.[1]

The student should beware lest he mistake this resistance to papal demands for lollard sympathies. On the other hand, we may claim that the resistance owed much of its strength to the teaching of Wyclif and to the support of the lollard gentry, whose numbers were larger than is usually supposed. At one time there were not many parts of England in which lollard gentry could not be found. In the west, when Hereford, Aston, and Purvey preached in the churchyards, the knight of the manor often stood by armed for greater security, ' thus showing ', wails Knighton, a startling contrast ' to the gentle and humble doctrine of Christ '. Even in the north of England, where lollards were few, at the trial of Richard Wyche for heresy in December 1400 two knights in the audience could not suppress their verdict : ' He seems to us to believe well.' Other lollard gentry ' who will help poor priests in right of God's law ' were also to be found, in spite of the law which

[1] *Rot. Parl.* iii. 301–4 ; *Statutes*, ii. 84–5.

put their lands under edict.[1] Accusations of lollardy, it is true, were freely banded about, for lollardy was a convenient label for anti-clerical or unconventional tendencies. But some there were whose sympathies were more than negative or political. Chief of these were Sir Thomas Latimer and Sir John Montague.

Latimer was one of the most influential of the gentry of Northamptonshire. His offence was that he welcomed lollards to his manor house of Braybroke in Northamptonshire. There he possessed copies of Wyclif's writings which were freely loaned to Czech scholars. For possessing these 'books and pamphlets concerning the error and perverse doctrine of Catholic faith' Latimer was summoned to appear before the Council in the spring of 1388, at the time when Courtenay made his great attack on lollardy. What the upshot was we do not know, but certain it is that for years afterwards the works of Wyclif could still be obtained at Braybroke or at the rectory of parson Robert Hoke, one of the most persistent lollards of the times.[2]

Prominent among the midland lollards, according to Knighton, were Sir John Pecche, Sir John Trussell, and Sir Reginald de Hulton. They assisted the lollard preachers at Leicester and defended them from the faithful. Other evidence than Knighton's there is none save that Pecche, who died in 1386, had an estate at Dunchurch near Lutterworth, and was a ward of Sir Richard Stury. Trussell had made an unconventional marriage, if it is true that his wife's first husband was the grandson of Hugh le Despenser the younger, whom Trussell's grandfather had tried and executed. That Hulton in 1390 ceased to be controller of Richard's household may be deemed some corroboration of Knighton's accusations.[3]

For Lewis Clifford the evidence is more satisfactory. Clifford, a cadet of the great Yorkshire family, the lords of Skipton, in 1377 had been made a Knight of the Garter and attached, with a pension, to the court of Joan, the widow of the Black Prince. In 1385, when fears of invasion were rife, he was specially deputed to look after the safety of this 'great lady'.

[1] Knighton, ii. 181; *Eng. Hist. Rev.* v. 532; *Eng. Works*, 79 (not Wyclif's).
[2] *Pap. Let.* iv. 54; *Close Ed.* xiii. 547; Devon, 236; *supra*, i. 19.
[3] *Pat. Ric.* and *Pat. Ed., passim*; *Close Ric.* i. 200, 215; Knighton, ii. 181.

With him were associated Stury and Latimer. A member of the Privy Council, his restless disposition led him to set off in 1387 with Lancaster on his Spanish crusade. In May 1390 he joined the Duke of Bourbon's expedition against Tunis and Barbary. After a futile attack on El Mahadia he returned home, and was employed on many missions by the Privy Council. His interest in things oriental had been much quickened, so in 1394 he joined other Englishmen, including bishop Gilbert, in the new Order of the Passion founded by the old crusading enthusiast Philippe de Mézières.[1] The object of the order was to teach the language and habits of the East and to prepare the way for a crusade of a reunited Christendom against the infidel.[2] A year later Clifford took part, along with his friends, in a lollard demonstration. But to this and its fortunes we shall return. Another leader of the lollards—'fautor maximus perfidorum'—was Sir Richard Stury, one of those useful men about court constantly employed by the Crown on a variety of business, for which he had been duly rewarded. An adherent and pensioner of Lancaster, he had aroused the contempt of the dying Black Prince, but had been taken into favour by Richard II and made a member of his Privy Council. He seems to have been a close friend of Clifford, with whom he is constantly associated.[3]

The greatest of the lollards, judged by rank and influence, was Sir John Montague, baron of Montacute or Montague, afterwards third earl of Salisbury and deputy marshal of England. His career in his later years belongs to English history; we need only here concern ourselves with such circumstances as throw light on his lollard sympathies. Born about 1350, he had won his knighthood at Bourdeille in France in 1369. In 1376 he was one of those appointed to investigate the charges against the notorious Richard Lyons. In March 1380 he was nominated a member of a strong commission appointed to inquire into the condition of the realm and the

[1] For whom see Wylie, *Hen. IV*, iv. 323 f.

[2] T. D. Whitaker, *Craven* (3rd ed.), 314 *n.*; G. E. C. ii. 537; Froissart, ii. c. 167 f., iii. c. 159; *Close Ric.* ii. 24, 553, iii. 230; *Privy Counc.* i. 6, 11, 12, 14, 17, 18, 19–24, 45; *Pat. Ric.* ii. 33, iii. 53; Rymer, vii. 667–70, vii. 758.

[3] *Ann. Ric.* 183; *Pat. Ric., passim*; *Privy Counc.* i. 6, 8, 14, 22; Devon, 239.

Commons' complaint regarding the destitution produced by the excessive taxation. He then succeeded to the responsible post of steward of the king's household. As such, with no prospect of succession to the great earldom, he had married Maud, the daughter of Adam Fraunceys († 1375), mercer and twice mayor, probably the wealthiest man of his day in London. When we remember his high birth, this marriage may be said to show either his liberal sympathies or his keen sense of the value of money. Maud had already married twice, her second husband being Sir Alan Buxhall, who as Keeper of the Tower had taken part in the Shakyl outrage. As Buxhall had been a tenant-in-chief, the marriage was in some way irregular, and pardon had to be obtained from the Crown. Among the estates which his wife brought Montague was the manor of Shenley in Hertfordshire, as well as lands in East Ham, West Ham, Stratford, and Barking, all of which had been the property of John Aubrey, her first husband. The chapel at Shenley had been adorned with images by the former two husbands of the lady. Montague caused these to be removed and hidden away, except the statue of St. Catherine. This he allowed to be placed in the corn-mill, on account of the popular reverence in which it was held. Walsingham attributes all this to Montague's lollardism. But it may illustrate nothing more than the danger of widows who have married three times dwelling too much on the good deeds of their previous spouses. Less credence should be given to the monkish tale that Montague 'received the sacrament in his church, voided it into his hand, bare it home and ate it with his oysters'—a story that had arisen, as we have seen, from confusion with Lawrence of St. Martin near Salisbury.[1] We may believe, however, that lollard priests found a refuge in his house, among them at one time being Nicholas Hereford. The date of Montague's marriage with Maud Fraunceys is uncertain, probably early in 1382. Shortly afterwards there came a great change in his fortunes. By the death of his cousin William, killed by Montague's father in a tilting match at Windsor (6 August 1382), Montague became the heir apparent to the earldom of Salisbury, including the lordship

[1] See *supra*. p. 255.

of Man and of the Isle of Wight. With a wealthy wife and a great future, Montague became a power in the land, but in September 1384 made himself unpopular with the London democracy by the part he took, at the instance of the Court, in securing the condemnation of John of Northampton. This incident should give pause to the common belief that both Northampton and Montague were lollards. Perhaps, however, it was the discernment of his son's lollard sympathies that led his father in his last will (12 March 1389) to desire his son 'to be ruled by the advice of John de Grandisson'. Two years later Montague was summoned to Parliament among the lords, and was one of the leaders in the lollard demonstration of 1395.[1]

There were others in popular repute dubbed as lollards who, no doubt, in various ways contributed to the anti-clerical movement. In Herefordshire especially we find lollard sympathizers, among them Sir Thomas Clanvowe of Cusop Castle, not far from Oldcastle's birthplace. Clanvowe, who was sheriff of Herefordshire from November 1397 to November 1399, was one of a band of soldiers—Oldcastle, Roger Acton, John Greyndor, and the like—the friends of Prince Henry, who fought and camped with the prince in the Marches of Wales in the days before his conversion. That these men earned the hatred of the clerical party is clear enough. But their lollardy, save in the case of Oldcastle and Acton, may be little more than the convenient label of hatred. The chief evidence against Thomas Clanvowe is that his wife, Peryn, left in her will, proved the 18th November 1422, 'a book of English, cleped *Pore Caitif*'.[2] The lollardy of this work, at one time wrongly attributed to Wyclif, is undoubted. But we can hardly imagine that in June 1401, a few months after the burning of Sawtre, an avowed lollard would have been selected, as was Sir Thomas Clanvowe, to be one of an escort including two bishops to conduct back to France Richard's girl-queen Isabella, or that on the 21st July 1401 he should have been specially summoned by Henry IV to an emergency Council

[1] For Montague see *D. N. B.*; Wylie, *Hen. IV.* I have made some additions from *Patent* and *Close Rolls*.

[2] *Arch. Camb.* 5th Ser., xiii. 81–4; Furnivall, 50.

held at Westminster. That he was one of the executors of Lewis Clifford proves nothing, for Clifford had already recanted his lollardy.[1]

The lollardy of John Clanvowe has more warrant, if only because of his association with the circle round the king's mother, Joan, of whose will he was one of the executors. In 1390 he took part in the Duke of Bourbon's expedition to Barbary. He died on the 17th October 1391 in a village near Constantinople.[2] His lollardy rests chiefly upon the ascription to him of an English work called *de Viis Duabus* with lollard tendencies. It is debated whether it was John or Thomas Clanvowe who wrote *The Cuckoo and the Nightingale*, long attributed to Chaucer.[3]

There were special reasons why the chroniclers should dub Sir John Cheyne[4] of Gloucester a lollard. Cheyne at one time had been in minor orders. He had abandoned the Church without dispensation in order to marry, and had joined the court of John of Gaunt as treasurer of his household and clerk of the wardrobe of the duchess. But his apostasy, as it was called, was never forgiven and led to his enforced resignation of the Speakership in 1399. His 'lollardy', if such it should be deemed, was of a mild order and probably was limited to farming the alien priories of Newent and Beckford in Gloucestershire and voting with the anti-clerical party in Parliament. This did not prevent his being employed by Henry IV on various missions. In other ways Cheyne received marks of the royal favour, until his death in the spring of 1410.

For the reputed lollardy of Sir John Greyndor[5] there was, perhaps, some slight justification in his friendship with his lollard neighbours Oldcastle and Acton. A pushing energetic

[1] *Privy Counc.* i. 136 f., 163.

[2] Higden, ix. 234, 261, and cf. *Pat. Ric.* v. 15, 208, 210; Devon, 246. Correct accordingly *Privy Counc.* i. 88 where the death is given as April 1390, and Wells where given as 4 March 1392.

[3] Skeat, *Minor Works of Chaucer*, xxviii; *Oxford Chaucer*, 7, 347; Wells, 423–4, 831.

[4] Walsingham, ii. 266; Capgrave, *Chron.* 287 (almost wholly fictitious); *Reg. Gaunt*, i. 127, ii. 117, 236; Wylie, *Hen. IV*, i. 439, ii. 347, iii. 348; *Privy Counc.* i. 122, 127, 146, 191, 195, 222, 237; *Pap. Let.* iv. 328; *Geneal.* vii. 208.

[5] There are abundant references in the *Patent* and *Close Rolls*. See also Usk, *Chron.* 103; Wylie, *Hen. IV*, iv. 243, 248.

yeoman from the Forest of Dean, Greyndor had risen by his merits until he became member of Parliament for Hereford (1401, 1404), sheriff of Glamorgan (1400) and Gloucester (1407), and constable of the castles of Usk, Chepstow, Monmouth, and Radnor. His claim to Henry's gratitude lay in his capture in 1405 of Griffith, the eldest son of Owen Glendower. After the fight Greyndor beheaded 300 of his captives at the gates of Usk. In later life he set up as a Bristol merchant, plundered a ship from Genoa in Milford Haven, and sold its cargo, sixty butts of wine, but was forced to make restitution. This rough fighter probably failed in reverence to bishops and priests and was classed accordingly, unless indeed he was blamed for the offence of his son or nephew Henry, who in 1417 advocated the spoliation of the wealth of the Church and was imprisoned by Henry V for his boldness.

The review of the "lollard" gentry—and we could add others with even lesser claim to the title, such as Sir Thomas Erpingham [1] and William Neville of Raby [2]—will have left the reader in a dilemma between doubt of the judgement of the original authorities, and hesitation whether he understands rightly the title "lollard". Both doubt and hesitation are correct. These men were not lollards in any modern sense of the word; they neither understood nor cared for the religious controversies to which Wyclif attached importance, except in so far as they were weapons in their struggle with clerical opponents. And yet in another sense they were the mainstay of the lollard movement by the strength they gave to its political manifestations. As the sketch of their lives has shown,

[1] So Blomefield, iv. 38, on valueless evidence. In 1884 J. M. Wilson, *Wycliffe*, viii. 112 (quoted in *N. E. D.*), states that "lord (*sic*) Latimer and the lady Alice Perrers were all tinged with lollardry"!

[2] Walsingham, ii. 159; *Chron. Ang.* 377. Accepted without discussion by Foxe, iii. 56; Pollard in *D. N. B.*; Stubbs, iii. 32; *Vict. Co. Durham*, ii. 23. His offence, probably, was that he was a younger brother of Archbishop Alexander Neville (*D. N. B.*), and that his brother John, fifth baron, had assisted Hereford's escape (*supra*, p. 136) and was associated with Clifford and Stury (*Privy Counc.* i. 6, 14, 17). As there were few heretics in the north the following is of interest. In Aug. 1355 Innocent VI ordered steps to be taken against certain Yorkshire heretics who denied that it was possible 'to merit eternal life by good works even when informed by grace', and who asserted that 'original sin does not deserve damnation, also sin was not the cause of Adam's death' (*Pap. Let.* iii. 565).

they were for the most part restless men and therefore easily suspect.

From the first Courtenay realized that the disaffection among the gentry was largely the work of Wyclif's Poor Preachers, against whom in letter after letter the archbishop now attempted to arouse his suffragans to inquisitorial zeal. On the 21st May 1386 he obtained from the Crown power for Walter Skirlaw, the new bishop of Lichfield, 'to arrest and imprison all preachers of unsound doctrine'. A like power was granted on the 18th June to Gilbert of Hereford, and on the 11th August to Braybroke of London. In January 1387 he sent similar powers to Erghum of Bath and Wells, and in March 1387 renewed the powers already sent to Skirlaw. Even Ireland was not all allowed to escape. On the 16th July 1391 the archbishops of Dublin and Cashel and the bishop of Connor were ordered to imprison 'until they come to their senses' all 'preachers of heresies', but whether this was by way of intelligent anticipation of possible trouble or to meet an actual need we cannot say, though imagination would fain linger on Ireland as a refuge for persecuted lollards![1]

Matters in England came to a head in 1388. Hereford, Aston, and Purvey were carrying the fiery cross throughout the west, and in other districts there was a great outbreak of lollardy, in many places with the support of the gentry. So during the 'Merciless Parliament' (3 February–4 June) efforts were made by Courtenay to induce the Lords Appellant, after they had called Richard's favourites to account, to take in hand the suppression of the lollards. Papers were produced by the bishops exhibiting twenty-five heresies attributed to the 'Wyclyviani'. This document, so the lollards averred, was the work of the friars, who may have thought that the vindictive cruelty which the parliament had shown to the friends of absolutism might be turned to the good of the Church. A powerful party in Parliament sought the help of the Crown. As a result the bishops were ordered 'to exterminate errors and bring back the people into the unity of the faith'. Search must be made for the heretical writings 'both in English and in Latin' of Wyclif, Hereford, and Aston, and for the arrest

[1] *Pat. Ric.* iii. 145, 146, 200; iv. 462.

of their owners.[1] To assist the bishops whose sloth Walsingham bitterly laments—' they heard and saw and knew these things, but went away, one to his house, another to his merchandise ' —writ after writ was issued by the Crown covering a wide area of the country.[2] The Lords Appellant were anxious to show that they intended no attack on the Church. Commissioners were appointed before whom offenders might be brought. Purvey himself ' was letted (hindered) from preaching for a time, for causes known of God '. One of the commissioners for Leicester was the former lollard, Thomas Brightwell. On the 20th March 1388 four lollards were cited to appear before Thomas Southam, with whom were associated certain bishops and graduates in law and theology, including William Bottlesham of Llandaff. The lollards objected to plead so long as Bottlesham was present, on the ground that he was an apostate friar, and the trial was deferred until after Easter. On the 20th April the case was taken up again by Southam and resulted in two recanting and two being committed to prison until it should be decided what to do with them.[3] But in spite of these fitful efforts little came of the matter. As the Leicester chronicler bitterly remarks, ' the hour of correction was not yet come ', possibly because many of the bishops were themselves in trouble as Richard's friends—archbishop Neville relegated to St. Andrews, Rushoek to Ireland, Fordham to Ely, and Erghum to Bath and Wells.

We are fortunate in possessing in English a copy written by an unknown lollard of the *Twenty-Five Points* in question :[4] ' These be the points ', it begins, ' that worldly prelates at the suggestion of friars put on poor Christian men '—the title used

[1] Knighton, ii. 260 f. ; *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 455 ; *Rot. Parl.* iii. 229 f. (no mention of lollard matters) ; Walsingham, ii. 188.

[2] 20 Jan. 1388 to Wykeham (*Reg. Wykeham*, ii. 597) ; 30 March, Nottingham (*Pat. Ric.* iii. 430 ; Wilkins, iii. 204) ; 16 April, Yorkshire (*Pat. Ric.* iii. 427) ; 23 May, Leicester, Salisbury, Nottingham (*ib.* iii. 468) ; 29 May, bishop of Worcester (*ib.* iii. 448) ; 28 Sept., bishop Spenser, and 30 Sept. to Thomas Owneby, suffragan of Lincoln (*ib.* iii. 550) ; 18 Jan. 1389, to John Waltham, the new bishop of Salisbury (*ib.* iii. 536).

[3] Higden, ix. 171, 177 ; Knighton, ii. 264–5 ; F. and M. i. p. ix.

[4] *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 454–96, from the unique Bodleian MS. Douce 273. The first clause gives the date as between the opening of Parliament and the death of Urban, i. e. between 3 Feb. 1388 and 15 Oct. 1389. Purvey cannot have been the author, or at any rate the scribe, for it has traces of a northern dialect (Deanesly, 462).

throughout the tract, evidently the one by which the Poor Priests desired to be known—' and what they grant and what they deny.' The Twenty-Five Points are then given and expanded *seriatim* in vigorous and flexible English. The pamphlet thus forms a valuable guide to lollard thought in the years immediately after Wyclif's death. It is noteworthy for its extreme puritan ring, the protest against chanting, against oaths, against saints' days, and against the use by the clergy of ' fat horses ', jewels, or precious vestments. We have here also all the old familiar doctrines and negations ; in one or two matters, perhaps, there is greater definition, as in the statement ' that no curate should be absent from his ghostly children for worldly pomp, womb-joy, and worldly business in the bishops' courts '. Wyclif himself never went quite so far as this document in its comment on the worship of images :

' these images may do neither good nor evil to men's souls, but they might warm a man's body in cold if they were set upon a fire, and the silver and jewels upon them would profit to poor men, and the wax for to light poor men and creatures at their work,'

advice which was carried out by the lollards at Leicester. This protest against images was linked up with a growing emphasis upon humanity. ' Christ is man's brother ', and therefore it is ' open heresy ' to teach ' that it is better and more pleasure to God for to offer to dead stocks or stones than to poor men ' who are ' made in the image and likeness of the holy Trinity '. We note that Wyclif's academic reference to the obedience due to the devil has disappeared.[1] On the other hand Wyclif, though protesting against the pope's canonizations, never taught that many who are reckoned saints are in hell, nor did he disparage St. Thomas Becket. On one point on which Wyclif spoke with two voices there is now certainty : ' Christian men say that a priest being in deadly sin may make and give sacraments to salvation of them that worthily receive them.' The pamphlet ends with the prayer that God of his mercy will destroy

' errors and heresies of Antichrist's church and make known the truths of holy church, and increase righteousness, peace and charity,

[1] *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 463, 466, 471, 473, 479, 483, 489, 493, 495. For the Leicester incident, see Knighton, ii. 182–4.

and light the hearts of lords to know and destroy the heresies of the Church, that pride of priests lese (hurt) not this world.' [1]

The student will note that Wyclif's belief in the intervention of the king has given place to a trust in ' the hearts of lords '. From Richard it was clear that there was nothing to be expected but oppression.

§ 6

Early in 1394 it became evident that lollardy, checked by the stern measures of 1388, was once more raising its head. The continued Schism as well as the efforts of Boniface IX to obtain the repeal of the *Statutes of Provisors* and *Premunire* led to an increase among the malcontents.[2] So on the 20th May Richard renewed in stronger form the powers of arrest of unlicensed preachers. The king's lieges were ordered, ' under pain of forfeiting all they can forfeit, not to assist ' such preachers.[3] The lollards also suffered by the unexpected death of Queen Anne, whose gentle spirit had always made for toleration. Richard, after destroying in his grief the palace at Sheen in which she had died, went off to Ireland,[4] leaving the duke of York as ' guardian of England '.

The lollards seized their chance. Under the lead of Stury, Clifford, Latimer, and Montague—himself a member of the Privy Council [5]—an attempt was made, probably by petition, to secure a full discussion of the reform of the Church in the parliament [6] which met at Westminster on the 27th January 1395. On the failure of their effort to secure an adequate hearing ' in open parliament ' [7]—for no copy of the petition was entered on the Roll,[8] and only Montague, who had been

[1] *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 485, 490, 496.

[2] So Fabyan, 539, and Purvey, *Rem.* 154. [3] *Pat. Ric.* v. 414.

[4] Expedition announced on 20 June (*Pat. Ric.* v. 420) ; special prayers for it on 20 Aug., 31 Aug., and 16 Oct. (*Reg. Wykeham*, ii. 456, 603 ; *Reg. Tref.* 24–6 ; Sheppard, *Lit. Cant.* iii. 30–1). Richard crossed about 8 Sept. (Walsingham, ii. 215 ; cf. *Pat. Ric.* v. 488 ; not 8 Dec. as Deanesly, 282).

[5] *Privy Counc.* i. 59. Clifford and Stury were ex-members.

[6] So expressly Netter, *Doct.* iii. 404 ; and cf. *Ziz*, 363 ; Wilkins, iii. 221 ; *Ann. Ric.* 174 ; and *Eng. Hist. Rev.* xxii. 295, 299.

[7] ' pleno parliamento ', *Ziz*, 360 ; cf. French ' en plein air '.

[8] This does not prove that the matter was not discussed. A petition might be read, which the Crown lawyers refused to redraft and enter on the

summoned to the Lords,[1] was a member of the parliament—the lollard leaders turned to the people. Following the usual custom of those seeking publicity, they nailed to the doors of St. Paul's and Westminster Abbey a paper setting forth *XII Conclusions* which they had learned, as they stated, from 'the evangelical doctor'. Of these *XII Conclusions*[2] two versions exist, one in Latin prepared for parliament, the other in English, prepared for the people, possibly the original. The Latin version, we note, omits the interesting preamble which had been inspired by Poor Priests:[3]

'We, poor men, tresoreris of Christ and His apostles, denounce to the lords and the commons of the parliament certain conclusions and truths for the reformation of Holy Church of England, the which has been blind and leprous many years by maintenance of the proud prelacy, borne up with flattering of private religion the which is multiplied to a great charge and onerous to people here in England.'

The author of this petition is uncertain.[4] No one would think of suggesting Clifford and his associates. It cannot have been Nicholas Hereford, for he had relapsed four years earlier. The learned Welsh lollard, Walter Brut,[5] had also recanted.

Roll. Cf. Stubbs, ii. 602–10, iii. 34. The form of a bill instead of a petition was not substituted until Henry VI.

[1] Dugdale, *Summons*, 347, on 20 Nov. 1394, as also his uncle. The only known lollard member of the Commons was Sir Thomas Broke (*Members*, 249–51).

[2] For this, see *Ziz*, 360–9; Wilkins, iii. 221–3; Lewis, 298–305; *Ann. Ric.* 174–83 (probably the best text); and Foxe, iii. 203–6. In the *Brut* series it is found in fragmentary form, e. g. by Richard Fox, the monk of St. Albans (Davies, *Eng. Chron.* 112). For an examination of document with text in Latin and English, see H. S. Cronin in *Eng. Hist. Rev.* xxii. 292–304. To this pamphlet a reply was made by Dr. Roger Dymok in a work dedicated to Richard II entitled *Opus distinctum libris xii adversus xii haereses Lollardorum*, and from this the English version has been obtained. The presentation copy ornamented with Richard's emblem of two white harts is in Trin. Hall, Camb. (James, *MSS. Trin. Hall*, 35, for description). There was a copy at Wells in Leland's day (*Collect.* iv. 156). Cronin's plea that the English was the original (cf. Deanesly, 374) is somewhat shaken by the discovery of a Latin original for the *XXXVII Conclusions* (see *infra*, p. 394 *n.*).

[3] It is not omitted in *Ann. Ric.* 174. As it is quoted by Boniface IX, either the English version was forwarded to the pope or the version in *Ann. Ric.*

[4] Bale, *Oldcastle*, 11, followed by Goodwin, 167, and Tanner, 561, state that the *Conclusiones* were drawn up by Oldcastle and Purvey. Oldcastle was only a boy at the time.

[5] For Brut I must refer to a volume to be published shortly, entitled *The Origins of Nonconformity*. The main source is the long account in *Reg. Tref.*

Historians therefore have assigned it to John Purvey—for we know no other lollard capable of drawing up the document. But this line of argument is not always safe, especially when we remember the large lollard literature, the work of unknown writers, *The Lantern of Light*, *An Apology for Lollard Doctrine*, *The Pore Caitif*, *The Twenty-Five Points*, and the like. The ascription to Purvey rests upon a reference at the end of the 12th conclusion to ' another book, wholly in our own language ', in which these matters here ' shortly knit ' are more ' longly declared '.[1] This book has been identified by many[2] with a work in English ascribed to Purvey entitled *Ecclesiae Regimen*, or, to use the unwarranted title given to it by its modern editor, *Remonstrance against Romish Corruptions in the Church addressed to the People and Parliament of England in 1395*.[3] The book in question is composite, the basis consisting of a series of Latin propositions called the *XXXVII Conclusiones*, afterwards literally translated and expanded into the more violent English of the *Ecclesiae Regimen*.

The *XXXVII Conclusiones* have recently been published[4] from an undated and in some places undecipherable manuscript first brought to light in a sale in November 1897. In a note " written apparently by a later hand on a fly-leaf " of the only manuscript, and " repeated in a different hand on the leaf following ", the pamphlet is ascribed to Wyclif. The *XXXVII Conclusiones* are marked by " statesmanlike qualities of moderation and restraint ". They are the work of a " staunch lollard " of the more conservative school. They represent the opinions of Wyclif before he gave way to the extremes of language and thought of his later writings. But it is not likely that the tract is by Wyclif himself, for the absence of all reference to the doctrine of " Dominion " precludes an early date in his career. The nearest approach to this doctrine is the 31st *Conclusion* :

' Secular lords ought to be adorned or clothed with righteousness to God and men both rich and poor, and to treat reasonably and charitably their tenants and subjects and servants or bondmen.'

[1] *Eng. Hist. Rev.* xxii. 295 ; *Ziz*, 369 ; Wilkins, iii. 223.
[2] Shirley, *Ziz*, 383 *n.* ; F. and M. i. pp. xxv–xxviii.
[3] Ed. J. Forshall (1851). Forshall's title should be discarded.
[4] *Eng. Hist. Rev.* xxvi. 738–49.

The idea that 'God ought to obey the Devil' is never once hinted at. A later date is equally excluded by the fact that the *XXXVII Conclusiones* speak with a certain respect of the pope's office. The bishop of Rome, whom the writer never calls Antichrist, 'must be obeyed, as the blessed Peter or blessed Paul in things lawful and speedful for salvation, but no further'. The pope is treated with a restraint that is far from the abuse of Wyclif's later treatises. All that the writer claims is that

'Christian men be not holden to believe that the bishop of Rome that liveth now in this sinful life is a member of holy Church, yea the least member of holy Church.'

There is the same restraint in speaking of 'prelates and curates and other priests', and of the 'religious possessioners, monks and canons'. Nor are the 'friars of the four orders' insulted by the title of 'Caim', but are urged to

'be a mirror of lewd men in all holiness and forsaking of the world and of worldly vanity in drawing them by work and word to heavenly conversation meek and simple.'

As regards the Eucharist there is a guarded statement:

'The sacrament of the altar which is white and round, visible and palpable, and is broke with the hands of a priest and is chewed with the teeth of a priest is bread which we break and the very body of our Lord Jesus Christ.'

According to Netter in his *Doctrinale*[1] this thesis was affixed by 'Wyclif or his disciples' to the doors of London churches. Netter's reference is somewhat vague, but would seem to point to an early date. The reference in the first conclusion to the unlawfulness of 'priests and clerks' fighting 'by material sword' may also point to the crusade of Lancaster in Spain; it is far too mild to be a reference by Wyclif to Spenser's Crusade.[2] Though packed with Wyclif's thoughts the *XXXVII Conclusiones* are not by the master, any more than the *Twenty-Five Points* of 1388.[3]

[1] *op. cit.* ii. 316, a reference overlooked in the able argument in *Eng. Hist. Rev.* xxvi. 741.

[2] *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 454–9. One resemblance is the attack on the Sarum ritual (*ib.* iii. 482), with which cf. Purvey, *Rem.*

[3] For the resemblance of this last to the *Ecclesiae Regimen*, see *Eng. Hist. Rev.* xxvi. 741 *n.*

We have said that the basis of the *Ecclesiae Regimen* consists in the *XXXVII Conclusiones*, crudely translated into English [1] —for the idea that the recently discovered Latin version is a translation into Latin from the English is untenable.[2] To each 'conclusion' there is added a commentary, introduced by some such phrase as 'This sentence is proved by, &c.', and the 'commentaries' are often followed by one or more 'corollaries', a form that is also kept in the *XII Conclusions*, thus pointing to common authorship or source. A careful comparison of the *XXXVII Conclusiones* with the 'commentaries and 'corollaries' in the *Ecclesiae Regimen* shows different authorship, or if the same author, then different intention, for commentaries and corollaries are characterized by an absence of the self-restraint of the *XXXVII Conclusiones*. An instance may be given in the corollary to the third *conclusion*: 'Prelates and priests and curates owe to show to the people ensample of holy living, and to preach truly the gospel by work and word.' The corollary is that the omission of preaching is worse than unnatural vice! We have referred to the restraint of the *XXXVII Conclusiones* in speaking of the pope. Very different is the treatment in commentary and corollary where he is called, 'cursed bishop of Rome', 'Lucifer', 'Devil incarnate'. A similar comparison may be made between the treatment of the Eucharist in the *Conclusiones* and in the commentary. But perhaps the most remarkable difference is over tithes. In the *XXXVII Con-*

[1] The English renderings will be found in Forshall, *Remonstrance*. They are more accurately transcribed from Cotton MSS., Titus, D. i, in *Eng. Hist. Rev. l. c.*

[2] Mr. Compston, in *Eng. Hist. Rev.* xxvi. 740, though holding the Latin version to be the original, seems to think the matter open to dispute. A careful study has convinced me that the Latin is undoubtedly the original, for the following reasons, among others: (1) The Latin is the more flowing and easier; the English is often harsh and literal, e. g. Conclusion 31, where 'ornari' is translated literally as 'ournid', a word which according to *N. E. D.* s.v. 'orn' was a favourite word of Purvey, if indeed it was not introduced by him into the language. (2) The English version is often expanded, the Latin version never. The 2nd, 10th, and 15th Conclusiones may be given in illustration. (3) The punctuation and exposition in the Latin is more sensible than in the English. We may illustrate from the position of 'in Anglia' in Conclusion 29 with the forced position of 'in Ingeland' in the same article. (4) In the first article 'deacons' is the translation of 'levite'. It is absurd to suppose that 'deacons' should not have been translated into Latin as 'diaconi', a word employed in Conclusion 2.

clusiones tithes are stated to be a voluntary debt for ' Christian people enformed in God's law by faithful curates '; in the corollaries it is suggested that tithes may be useful for the army or for ' relieving lords out of debt '.

From the above analysis it is clear that the *XXXVII Conclusiones* is anterior to and the kernel of the *Ecclesiae Regimen*. If, moreover, we are correct in holding that this English *Ecclesiae Regimen* is the ' other book wholly in our own language ' in which ' these matters here closely knit ' are ' longly declared ' to which the final of the *XII Conclusions* refers, it is further clear that the *XII Conclusions* is the last of the three.[1] We note further that according to Richard Lavenham the *XXXVII Conclusiones* were the work of Purvey, or at least so produced under his editorship that Lavenham could justly impute their heresies to him.[2] It is true that Lavenham's strictures embrace a wider range than either the *XXXVII Conclusiones* or the *Ecclesiae Regimen*.[3] Lavenham's or rather Netter's ' heretical book ' should be regarded as really a volume. We note further in the three an ascending note of violence. The first treatise, *XXXVII Conclusiones*, is balanced and moderate, the *Ecclesiae Regimen* is unrestrained, while the *XII Conclusions* is written from the standpoint of the extreme left, and charges the clergy with indulgence in the grossest sins. This might lead us to reject Purvey as the author of the *XII Conclusions* were it not for the reference to his own earlier work. Moreover, Purvey cites these very charges with approbation in his *General Prologue*.[4] From his writings, as well as from his own confession, Purvey was evidently a writer capable of adapting his tone to his audience. We believe that we should assign to Purvey, or to clerks working under him, the virtual authorship of all three works.

Our investigation of the authorship of the *XII Conclusions*

[1] I dismiss as absurd the idea that the *XXXVII Conclusiones* were presented to the Lords, the violent *XII Conclusions* to the Commons.

[2] See *supra*, p. 166.

[3] Compston, *l. c.* 739, stresses this in his doubts as to Purvey's authorship of the *XXXVII Conclusiones*. But as a matter of fact reference is made not only to ' another book ' but to ' many other more ' (*Ziz*, 369; *Eng. Hist. Rev.* xxii. 304).

[4] *Ziz.* 361, 369; cf. *supra*, p. 165, and *infra*, p. 399.

has led us somewhat afield. In supplying the lollard knights with this tract, Purvey—if we are correct in our investigation—lays on his paint thickly, and keeps clear of all subtleties. The *XII Conclusions* follow in succinct form the familiar lines of Wyclif's later teaching. The ' usual priesthood '—the phrase would seem to hint at the existence of lollard preachers—' which took its origin from Rome ', our ' great step-mother ', is condemned as ' not the priesthood which Christ ordained unto his apostles '. The ordination of the bishops is ' a painful spectacle for men of sense ', in which they ' sport with the Holy Ghost '. Transubstantiation is proclaimed to be an ' imaginary miracle ', ' tending, save in a few cases, to idolatry ' —' Would to God the priests would believe that which the Evangelical Doctor teacheth in his *Trialogus* '. ' The service of Corpus Christi, made by friar Thomas (Aquinas), is untrue and painted full of false miracles.' Exorcisms, the blessing of wine, bread, wax, crosses, vestments, and the like are practices that savour of ' necromancy '. Auricular confession ' exalts the pride of priests ' who ' for a drink or twelve pence will sell the blessing of heaven with charter '. Moreover, it induces deadly sin by its ' secret talks '. Scorn is poured upon the craze for relics : ' the lips of Judas ' would be ' a wondrous great relic if any were able to get them '. Pilgrimages to ' blind roods ' and ' deaf images ' are near of kin to idolatry ; ' needy man ' alone is ' the image of God, in a more perfect similitude than wood or stone '. The petition emphasizes the condemnation by Wyclif of the employment of priests in secular occupations. ' Caesarean clergy ', as Wyclif used to call them, are now contemptuously described as ' hermaphrodites ' and ' ambidexters ', men of ' double estate '.

In one or two matters the petitioners go beyond the teaching of Wyclif. They proclaim that Thomas Becket was no martyr. Wyclif had the usual medieval respect for virginity ; in the *XII Conclusions* there is a strong attack upon vows of celibacy as tending to sodomy and immorality. In addition to a protest against capital punishment—little did Montague foresee his own fate—we find two doctrines, in later days associated with the Friends : the denunciation of all war ' without spiritual revelation ' as ' expressly contrary to ' the New Testament ;

and the proposal to ' destroy, for the increase of virtue, the abundance of unnecessary arts practised in our realm, goldsmiths, armourers, and the like ', all of which go beyond what ' sufficeth for the need of man '.[1] But apart from this Puritan outburst—we should like to know whether Montague and Stury had really read it ?—there is nothing in the petition on the duties of wealth. Wyclif's doctrine of lordship founded upon grace has been quietly dropped.

One clause of the *XII Conclusions* fitted in with the policy adopted by Henry VIII and Edward VI. Protest was made against the ' special prayers for the souls of the dead '. Such are ' a false foundation for alms ' and for almshouses, whose endowment therefore is ' poisonous '.

' The corollary is : effectual prayer springing from perfect love would in general embrace all whom God would have saved, and would do away with that well-worn way of merchandise in special prayers made for the possessionary mendicants and other hired priests, who are a people of great burden to the whole realm, kept in idleness : for it has been proved in a book, which the king had, that a hundred houses of alms would suffice in all the realm, and from this would rather accrue possible profit to the temporal estate.' [2]

This formed part of a wild scheme of disendowment which Purvey had already laid before the king.[3] Why the other parts of Purvey's scheme were not presented at this time we cannot say. Possibly Montague, a member of the Privy Council, had persuaded Purvey of the wisdom of omitting them. The nation, with its memory of de Vere and Holland and Richard's other favourites, was in no mood for creating out of the plunder of the Church ' fifteen earls and fifteen hundred knights '.

Purvey's scheme of disendowment is of importance as illustrating the ' lollardy ' among the gentry to which he made appeal. When Parliament met at Westminster on the 27th of January 1410, the knights of the shires, ' satellites of Pilate ' as Walsingham calls them, presented to the king a daring petition,

[1] *Ziz.* 368. More moderately stated in Purvey, *Rem.* 34–5. Cf. also Hereford in *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 137–41.

[2] *Ziz.* 364 ; *Eng. Hist. Rev.* xxii. 299.

[3] ' Fuit probatum in uno libro quem rex habuit ' (*Ziz.* 364). This must be the ' quodam alio tractatu speciali ' to which Lavenham refers (*ib.* 393).

in reality Purvey's suppressed scheme of 1395. According to this petition, which was presented on April 23rd:[1]

'Our lord the king may have of the temporalities by bishops, abbots and priors occupied and wasted proudly within the realm, fifteen earls and 1,500 knights, 6,200 squires and 100 houses of alms more than he hath now at this time, well maintained and truely by lands and tenements sustained. And evermore when all this is performed our lord the king may have every year in clear to his Treasure for defence of his realm 20,000 pounds and more, as it may be truely proved. Every earl may spend by year 3,000 marks of lands and rents. And every knight 100 marks of rent and four plow land in his own domains. And every squire 40 marks with two plow land in his domains. And every house of alms 100 marks by oversight of good and true seculars, because of priests and clerks that now have full nigh destroyed all the houses of alms within the realm. And also for to ordain that every town throughout the realm should keep all poor men and beggars, who may not travail for their sustenance, after the Statute made at Cambridge. And in case that the foresaid commons might not extend for to sustain them, then the foresaid houses of alms might help them.'

Then followed a financial scheme showing how this might all be done. The temporalities of bishops, abbots, and priors were estimated at 322,000 marks a year, and a list is given, by no means complete, divided very artificially into groups of 20,000 marks. It was further estimated that 100,000 pounds were 'wasted among worldly clerks'. With this could be endowed 15,000 priests and clerks, with every clerk to receive three marks a year. There would be money still for fifteen universities—this care for higher education is the special feature that redeems this crude scheme—£20,000 a year for the king's treasury, and for the 100 almshouses with their '100 marks with lands' to 'feed the needful poor and no cost to the town'. The scheme concludes by pointing out that

'we have not touched chantries, white canons, cathedral churches, churches, churches appropriated to houses of monks, charterhouses, French monks, Bonhommes,[2] hospitals, hermitages nor Crooked friars. . . . And therefore all the true commoners desireth to the worship of God, and profit of the realm, that these worldly clerks, bishops, abbots and priors, that are so worldly lords, that they be

[1] Not in *Rot. Parl.* See Appendix Z for its sources.

[2] The Bonhommes were a French order of Austin canons (cf. *Pap. Let.* i. 573) whose only English houses were at Ashridge in Bucks. and Edington in Wilts. The reader will remember that Purvey came from a district not far away from Ashridge.

put to live by their spiritualities; for they live not now, nor do the office true curates and prelates should, nor help the poor commons with their lordships as true secular lords should, nor live in penance nor in bodily work as true religious by their possession. But of every estate they take lust and ease and put from them travail and take profits that should come to true men.' [1]

We are not surprised that to this petition 'none answer was made'.

Tacked on to *XII Conclusions* we find in most existing copies [2] some curious verses. The bishops and clergy are condemned as 'Giezitae', men guilty of the sin of Gehazi,[3] whose sins of the flesh [4] cause England to mourn. According to Bale, when 'the *Conclusions* were laughed to scorn of the bishops, then were these verses copied out by diverse men, and set upon the windows, gates and doors' of the houses of clerics known to be 'fleshly livers'. This, adds Bale, 'made the prelates mad'.[5]

The petition to Parliament, and the appeal to the citizens of London, stirred the bishops into activity. On the 18th February Convocation addressed to Richard a petition, urging him to take steps against the lollards lest their numbers increase 'into a multitude'.[6] It is probable also that they attempted in Parliament to suppress the lollard translations of the Scriptures, an effort frustrated by John of Gaunt.[7] Richard was in Ireland. After vainly floundering about in the bogs with a great army during the autumn of 1394, he was now endeavouring to dazzle into submission the Irish chiefs, the great O'Neil and others, by the splendour of his housekeeping—three hundred cooks and the like—in his winter quarters at Dublin.[8] So Arundel of York and Braybroke of

[1] 'True men' in later days was the usual term used by the lollards to describe themselves or their priests.

[2] They are not in the English version. See *Eng. Hist. Rev.* xxii. 304. Their popularity is shown by their being brought by J. Weever into his *Oldcastle* as part of a song with a translation by Oldcastle! They are 'Englished' by Foxe, iii. 206.

[3] This was the very title given by Courtenay in 1391 to the rectors he rebuked as 'Chopchurches' (Wilkins, iii. 216 b; see *supra*, p. 116). The title therefore was probably current slang.

[4] '*Crimen sodomorum*' (Wilkins, iii. 223; *Ziz.* 369; *Ann. Ric.* 183). Cf. *supra*, p. 165.

[5] Bale, *Oldcastle*, 54. [6] Wilkins, iii. 223. [7] See *supra*, p. 193.

[8] Ramsay, *Gen. Lanc.* ii. 299–301. See also Froissart, iv, c. 42.

London were dispatched overseas in hot haste; they had in fact taken all necessary steps for their journey before Convocation closed. At the same time the Council also wrote to Richard urging him to return at once, now that his purpose in going to Ireland was sufficiently accomplished. The fact that one of the signatories to the letter was Sir John Montague possibly led the Council to give as the reason difficulties with the Scots.[1] The bishops had every hope of success. Richard had long ceased to coquet with heresy. Now his proud boast—as we can still read on the splendid tomb 'of pure marble' which he was building in the Abbey in memory of his late queen, at a cost of over £200—was that 'he hung the heretics and laid their friends low'.[2] He atoned for nights spent in drinking by his devotion to the Church, and for making boon companions like Tideman of Winchcombe into bishops [3] by his zeal against lollardy. So, on hearing the news that the bishops brought him, Richard hurried back to London (May 1395),[4] vowing that he would hang all lollards. Stury was compelled to recant; 'If ever thou break thine oath', added the king, 'thou shalt die a foul death.' [5] Orders were also issued to the chancellor to expel from Oxford Robert Lechlade and all other lollards. Lest there should be any faltering on the part of Richard, letters were sent on the 17th September 1395 by Boniface IX to the archbishops of Canterbury and York, and in abbreviated form to other bishops, as also to the king. The letter to Richard did not mince matters. He was exhorted

'to suppress the crafty and daring sect who call themselves the poor men of Christ's treasury and of His disciples, but whom the common people designate by the better title of "lolards" (sic) as

[1] *Pat. Ric.* v. 587; *Privy Counc.* i. 57–9.

[2] Stanley, *West.* 136; Devon, 202–3 (drinks for artificers, £2 13*s.* 4*d.*), 258. See also the interesting *Chart. Rolls*, v. 347–8 (£200 a year to pray for her soul).

[3] Not Rd. Clifford, as Wylie, *Hen. IV*, iii. 132. Tideman, whose other name is not known, was a Cistercian from Hayles (cf. *Pat. Ric.* iv. 253), who acted as Richard's physician; made bishop of Llandaff (1393), then Worcester (1393), and died 13 June 1401 (*Sede Vac. Worc.* 371, correcting *Ang. Sac.* i. 536, 10 June).

[4] Orders for arrest of shipping to be brought to Waterford before 1 May were issued on 5 April (*Pat. Ric.* v. 590). Richard was back before 21 May, for on that day he licensed the vessel which had conveyed him back to carry sixty pilgrims to Santiago (*ib.* v. 568).

[5] Walsingham, ii. 216–17; *Ann. Ric.* 183; Capgrave, 260.

RICHARD II WITH EARL PERCY

See note on p. xxvi

RICHARD II DELIVERED TO THE CITIZENS OF LONDON

See note on p. xxvi

being a dry tare (*lolium aridum*)—men subversive of all ecclesiastical authority,—and to extinguish the baneful torch that had been first kindled under his protection.'

To the archbishops Boniface wrote in more detail. He selected out of the *XII Conclusions* certain articles—namely, 3, 4, 5, 7, and 11—which were specially 'detestable and heretical'. Against these heretics—'not men but damnable shades of men', though 'some are in a measure lettered'—the archbishops must act 'without fear or pusillanimity'. A month later (18 October) the pope took the extraordinary course of sending a letter to the 'mayor, sheriffs, and commonalty of London' exhorting them to urge the king to act according to the pope's wishes.[1]

For political lollardy 1395 proved the turning-point in its fortunes. Among some of the lesser gentry it still had hold, but those of higher degree yielded to the royal displeasure, and their lollardy—whatever its nature—withered away. Stury was taken back into favour.[2] Froissart, who had known him twenty-four years earlier at Brussels, on his arrival at Richard's court in the following July inquired anxiously after him and found him at Eltham. 'After dinner' he told Froissart state secrets about John of Gaunt and his ambition in Aquitaine. But Stury did not long survive his rough handling.[3] Latimer also—in spite of parson Robert Hoke, who seems, however, to have retained his confidence—returned to the faith. Probably his lollardy was a real desire for more spiritual life. In his last will [4] he calls himself 'a false knight of God'. His prayer is that God 'would take so poor a present as my wretched soul to His mercy through the beseeching of His blessed mother, and His holy saints'. In proof of his penitence he directs that his body be buried, not in the church at Braybroke 'but in the utterest corner as he that is unworthy to lie therein'. No cost must be incurred in meat or drink, only

[1] *Pap. Let.* iv. 515–16 (also in *Reg. Tref.* 405–7, with wrong date of 1394); Walsingham, ii. 219; Sharpe, *Letter-Book H.* 428 (wrongly dated as 1396); Foxe, iii. 193–5.

[2] On 26 May reappointed a commissioner (*Pat. Ric.* v. 570).

[3] Froissart, ii. cc. 196–7. Stury died before 10 Jan. 1396 (*Pat. Ric.* v. 655).

[4] Dated 13 Sept. 1401, proved 20 April 1402. For this will and that of his wife (proved 27 Oct. 1402), see *Ancestor*, x. 19–20, and less fully and accurately *Test. Vet.* i. 158, 160.

'two tapers in wax' at his hearse. His old friend, Lewis Clifford, is left as his executor. A few months later his wife Anne passed away with the same expressions of penitence. Her will was witnessed by the lollard, 'Sir Robert, priest of Braybroke', but her executors were Philip Repingdon and Lewis Clifford.

Lewis Clifford also found it expedient to mend his ways. A few years later (1402), after the burning of Sawtre and the recantation of Purvey, whether stricken with remorse because of the death of his son Lewis, or in the hope—vain though it proved—of preventing the threatened revocation of the grant of the manor of Risborough,[1] or possibly influenced by Richard Clifford, bishop of Worcester,[2] or from the usual zeal of the pervert, Clifford laid an information before Arundel exposing under seven heads the teaching of the lollards and giving the names of the leading preachers of this heresy. Some of the charges are correct, others the exaggeration of the utterances of extremists. According to Clifford the lollards asserted that the seven sacraments are dead symbols, and that unmarried priests and nuns

'be not approved of God, for they destroy the holy seed of which shall grow the second Trinity. Item, If a man and a woman desire to be wedded, that desire is very matrimony. The Church is the synagogue of Satan. The sacrament of the altar is the tower of Antichrist. Item, Children need not be baptized.'

Lollards also maintained that no special day is holy, but that every day is lawful alike for eating, drinking, and work. They denied the existence of purgatory; the only penance for sin was repentance, as with Mary Magdalene.[3] Clifford, now an old man, thus once more regained high favour. In the following year, the year of Henry's marriage and of his victory at Shrewsbury, he received four casks of wine, the gift of the king.[4] In the autumn of 1404 he passed away, confessing himself a false traitor to his God and 'unworthy to be called

[1] Granted with pension of 100 marks a year on 25 Feb. 1377, revoked 15 July 1404 (*Pat. Ric.* i. 157; *Pat. Hen.* ii. 399, 402).

[2] His relationship to Lewis is obscure; possibly his son, as Godwin, 187.

[3] Capgrave, 280; *Ann. Ric.* 347–8; Walsingham, ii. 252–3.

[4] See Wylie, *Hen. IV*, iv. 201. Gifts of this sort (cf. *supra*, p. 338) cost the king little, for he was entitled to take from vessels under 20 tons one cask, from others two casks at low fixed rates (*Eng. Hist. Rev.* xxvi. 98).

a Christian man'. With the same abject penitence as Latimer he ordered his

'wretched carrion to be buried in the furthest corner of the churchyard in which parish my wretched soul departeth from my body. On my stinking carrion be laid neither cloth of gold nor of silk but a black cloth and a taper at my head and another at my feet; no stone nor other thing whereby any man may know where my stinking carrion lieth.'

The only link with his old lollardy was his appointing Oldcastle one of his executors, though this was cancelled in a later revise.[1]

But the most serious defection was that of Montague, whose position on the Council and as a friend of Richard had given lollardy so much political strength. In 1396, by the death of his mother, he became Baron Monthermer; in June 1397, by the death of his uncle, he became the third Earl of Salisbury, and a year or so later a Knight of the Garter. He remained faithful to Richard to the last, in itself sufficient proof that he had done with lollardy. Entering into a conspiracy to restore Richard to the throne he was beheaded by the mob in the streets of Cirencester (8 January 1400). The hatred of the Church pursued Montague beyond the grave. 'John Montague,' we are told, 'the friend of lollards, the derider of images, the scoffer at sacraments, died miserably, refusing the sacrament of confession, if the common account be true.'[2] But Christine de Pisan, who knew him well—he brought back to England a collection of her poems, and her elder son, Jean de Castel, was educated in his household—has sketched his portrait thus:

'He was humble, sweet, and courteous in all his ways, loyal in all places and right prudent. He was brave and fierce as a lion. Ballads and songs and lays and roundels right beautiful he made. Though but a layman his deeds were all so gracious that never, I think, of his country shall be a man in whom God put so much of good. May his soul be set in Paradise among the saints for ever.'[3]

[1] Nicolas, *Test. Vet.* i. 164–5 (proved 5 Dec. 1404), and for Oldcastle, cf. Devon, 323.

[2] *Ann. Ric.* 326; Capgrave, 276; Froissart, iv. c. 80, cannot let an earl die at the hand of a mob, and invents an Homeric tale which was officially adopted, later, for political reasons (*Pat. Hen. VI*, i. 497; cf. *Brut*, ii. 361; *Traïson*, 88).

[3] Boivin, *Vie de Christine de Pisan*, in Kéralio, *Coll. des meilleurs Ouvrages franc.* (1787), ii. 118. For Christine, see also G. F. Warren, *C. de Pisan Ep. Hector* (Roxburghe Club, 1904).

Montague's head was sent by the mob in a basket, 'as one carries fish to market', to Henry, who was then at the Carmelite friary at Oxford. When Henry returned to London (16 January) the heads and quarters of Montague and seven of his companions were sent on before, 'partly in sacks and partly slung on poles between men's shoulders', at an expense to Oxford city of fifty shillings. On arriving at London the ghastly burden, which was attended by 'twelve living gentlemen, prisoners, bound with whipcord', was met by Arundel, his suffragans, and thirty-two mitred abbots, with music and trumpets. After a solemn Te Deum in St. Paul's, when 'the archbishop gave the king holy water', the remains were 'salted' and set up on London Bridge or in 'other good towns'. A few days later (10 February) Arundel ordered special thanks to be given to the Virgin for saving 'our most Christian king from the fangs of wolves and the jaws of wild beasts'.[1]

Thus Montague perished, and with him all hope of success for political lollardy. Among the gentry the movement either withered away from lack of spiritual root, or else, as with Oldcastle, passed into rebellion. Nevertheless, driven from the university and abandoned by the rich and noble, Wyclif's teaching proved a lasting influence among the people in the larger story of Nonconformity.

[1] Froissart, iii. 243; *Brut*, ii. 361; Usk, 42 (an eyewitness); *Traïson*, 92–3; Waurin (Eng. trans., R. S.), ii. 41–2; Wilkins, iii. 246; Hurst, 23.

APPENDIXES TO VOL. II

APPENDIX L

VICARIOUS PILGRIMAGES

With pilgrims and pilgrimages all our readers will be familiar. But pilgrimages could be made vicariously; to the modern mind a curious conception which seems to have presented no difficulty to the medieval. As a result of the Black Death the idea obtained wider extension (*Vict. Co. Lond.* i. 208). At first the vicarious pilgrim had to be of equal rank with the original, but this was found so impracticable that the regulation was soon relaxed (Sharpe, *Wills*, p. xxviii; *Test. Vet.* i. p. xxxii; *Pap. Let.* iv. 389). In consequence there arose a set of professional pilgrims who would go anywhere for a consideration, always on the road, 'charged to say masses at all places where he conveniently can' (*Test. Vet.* i. 68), always begging, and not seldom a cause of scandal. For a vicarious pilgrim to the Holy Land and Sinai £20 was necessary; for an expedition 'against the infidels' 200 marks (Gibbons, 29); for Santiago £7 sufficed, while for Rome, where there was a hospital for their accommodation dedicated to the Holy Ghost and St. Thomas Becket (*Reg. Stafford*, 308), it was possible to obtain a substitute for £5, though the more usual rate was £10, including the famous Roman 'stations' (Gibbons, 62; Sharpe, *Wills*, ii. 251). For other prices of vicarious pilgrimages, see *ib.* ii. 41, 107, 163, 343, e. g. in 1361 'a pilgrimage with naked feet' to Walsingham 40*s.*; ditto to Canterbury 20*s.*; in 1373 to Santiago 40*s.* and a 'best silver girdle'. Executors who had to carry out these duties often handed over the obligation undischarged to the next generation, e. g. Sir Roger Beauchamp in 1379 to his grandson Roger the 'service on the infidels to the expense of 200 marks' devised by his grandsire (*Test. Vet.* i. 103; cf. Gibbons, 29). For sums for vicarious pilgrimages left in Northamptonshire wills, see *Arch. Jour.* lxx. 262–3. In 1425 William Newland of London left 10*s.* for one to go barefoot to Canterbury; 20*s.* for another to ride to St. Michael's Mount (it is not stated whether the horse was provided), and 50 marks 'that a man may be found to go to Rome and Jerusalem' (Furnivall, 65). But lesser sums were sometimes left in wills, and we cannot now tell whether these sweated rates were effectual, or whether the bequest was simply a pious wish

never fulfilled. But when in May 1388 Sir John Moulton left '5 marks for a man going for my soul to Jerusalem' (Gibbons, 62), he can have had little expectation that such could be obtained, except it were on a sort of joint-stock system. From the obtaining of substitute-pilgrims by payment to the commutation of the vows for money payment made direct (see *Pap. Let.* iv. 389) was but an easy step on a downward road, at first concealed by pilgrimage being commuted for contributions to some crusade 'against the enemies of the catholic faith', or 'to some other works of piety' (*Pap. Let.* iii. 17; *Pap. Pet.* i. 23. This last was for a lady of forty, too old to go to Santiago).

APPENDIX M

DATE AT WHICH WYCLIF RAISED THE EUCHARISTIC CONTROVERSY

MATTHEW, in *Eng. Hist. Rev.* v. 328–30, dated as in the summer of 1380. In *Ziz.* 104 it is given as 'in the summer of 1381', i. e. in the summer term of 1381. But this is too late, for the reasons stated below, and because in *Chron. Ang.* 311 the murder by the peasants of Sudbury on 14 June 1381 is attributed to his neglect of the false doctrines Wyclif was spreading *re* the Eucharist. Evidently they had been spread for some time or else, as Matthew points out, the retribution was "swift, not to say hasty". In reality I take *Ziz.* 104–6 to refer not to Wyclif's first promulgation of his doubts, as Lechler, 368, but to the condemnation by the Oxford doctors of doctrines drawn from Wyclif's writings by one of their number and already preached for some time. If these had been twelve theses of challenge by Wyclif, as Lechler supposes, the reply of the doctors would have been in similar form. For the date of this condemnation, see *supra*, p. 141. The controversy had not been raised in 1378, for it is not mentioned in the *de Ecclesia*. I am inclined to date as early in 1379. In this year the *de Pot. Pap.* was published, and in *ib.* 105 Wyclif distinctly lays down his views. Cf. also *Serm.* iv. 499, where Wyclif contrasts the Urbanites and Robertines, and sums up in favour of the Urbanites as preaching the true view of the Eucharist and resting on the Gospel. The Robertines, he added, who pleaded accident without subject should be suppressed. This sermon must have been written early in

Urban's career, and before the confiscation by Richard of the possessions of the Robertine cardinals (*supra*, p. 61). I may add that the earlier the date the more easy is it to fit in Wyclif's later works without throwing too great a strain on his last years.

APPENDIX N

THE GREAT SCHISM

A LIST of sources for the election will be found in Creighton, i. 363–5. But several of importance have been published since. They are clearly analysed in Leclercq-Hefele, vi. 970–7. The following sources seem to me of chief value :

A. For Urban—

(*a*) Raynaldi, xxvi. 312, the letter sent on 19 April by the cardinals to Avignon, and the Cardinal of Geneva's statement. The last is the sort of thing that could be invented, but the first seems to me impossible to get over. Also in Ciaconius, ii. 626–7.

(*b*) Raynaldi, xxvi. 328, the dying statement of the Cardinal Tebaldeschi.

(*c*) The striking testimony of the French Cardinal d'Aigrefeuille in Pastor, i. App. 14. See also Gayet, ii. 111 f.

(*d*) The letter of St. Catherine to the Italian cardinals, the argument of which seems unanswerable (Pastor, i. 131, from *Lettere*, iv. 150–161). So also Raynaldi, xxvi. 340.

(*e*) The statement or *Factum* of Urban's case sent to the king of Castile (Raynaldi, xxvi. 348–60; Leclercq-Hefele, vi. 1010–18). This seems a clear and accurate document.

(*f*) The depositions of the guardians of the Conclave in Gayet, i. 39–64.

B. For Clement—

(*a*) The two lives of Gregory XI in Mollat-Baluze, i. 414–59. The graphic style of the *Secunda Vita* (the source followed by Milman) points to an eyewitness.

(*b*) The declaration of the French cardinals in Mollat-Baluze, i. 450–8.

The statements of the lawyers, John da Lignano and Baldo of Perugia (in Raynaldi, xxvi. 318–20, 631–57, 613–31)—for Lignano see also Gayet, ii. 26 f.—are of interest rather for canonists than

historians. The work *de Schismate* of Dietrich von Nieheim, an abbreviator in the curia, is of primary importance (ed. G. Erler, 1890. The first edition was published at Nuremberg in 1532). Recent works of value are N. Valois, *La France et le grand schisme d'Occident* (1896), a work of vast research and impartiality; M. Salembier, *Le grand schisme d'Occident* (1902); L. Gayet, *Le grand schisme d'Occident* (1889, 2 vols.; with Pièces justificatives), who leans towards Avignon.

APPENDIX O

APPROPRIATED CHURCHES AND VICARS

I. For Wyclif's strictures on appropriations and 'starveling' vicars, see *Ver. Script.* ii. 252; *Civ. Dom.* ii. 14; iii. 14, 49, 252, 310; *Pol. Works*, i. 131–7, 196, 351; *Sel. Eng. Works*, iii. 216; *Eng. Works*, 97, 116, 212, 223, 236, 419, 425, 427 (to colleges). For the scandalous condition of churches appropriated to Exeter Cathedral, see *Reg. Brant.* i. 486–7 (1382). For dues exacted in 1401 by Abingdon from its appropriated churches, see *Pap. Let.* v. 351–4.

For the system of vicarages, see S. Pegge, *Life of Grosseteste* (1793), App. VII, pp. 322–33; A. Gibbons, *Liber Antiquus de Ordinationibus Hugonis Wells* (1888); F. N. Davis, *Rotuli R. Grosseteste* (1913); F. Stevenson, *Grosseteste*, 140 f. H. Thurston, *St. Hugh* (1898), 319–25, shows that the introduction of perpetual vicarages is usually dated too late. For a list of appropriated churches in Exeter diocese in 1416, see *Reg. Stafford*, 5–6; for London, *Vict. Co. Lond.* i. 204; for Worcester diocese, 40 out of 200, see *Vict. Co. Glos.* ii. 8. See also other vols. of *Vict. Co. Hist.* for other details. By 1291 the Austin canons of Butley had appropriated fifteen churches (*Vict. Co. Suff.* ii. 95–6. At Oxford Wyclif would note six churches appropriated to St. Frideswyde's (*Cart. Frid.* i. 129, 132, 149, 160, 192, 302–4). For some scandalous appropriations in Wyclif's day, see *Pap. Let.* iv. 410, vi. 134, 313; *Pap. Pet.* i. 130. For appropriations to support students at Oxford, see *Pap. Let.* v. 547; *Pap. Pet.* i. 121; *Collect.* iii. 9 *n.*, 30, 34.

II. The following list of statutes, &c., on the salaries of vicars, stipendiaries, &c., may be of service:

(*a*) Synod of Oxford, 1222. Minimum fixed at 5 marks (Wilkins, i. 587, c. 16; Lyndwood, *Prov.* 64).

(*b*) Synod of Exeter, 1287. Minimum for vicars 60*s.* (Wilkins, ii. 147).

(*c*) On 30 Oct. 1353 Islip established a limit of 7 marks, stipendiaries 5 (Wilkins, iii. 30; *Reg. Grand.* ii. 1140–1).

(*d*) On 9 Nov. 1362 Parliament petitioned that 'parish chaplains under no pretext should receive more than 6 marks'; priests residing in the house of a layman to have their *mensa* reckoned as worth 3 marks; all excesses above these to be paid to the Crown (*Statutes*, i. 373; *Rot. Parl.* ii. 271).

(*e*) On 16 Dec. 1362 Islip promulgated this as a canon, but an exception was made if a parish was very large (Wilkins, iii. 50).

(*f*) The limit repeated by Thoresby of York in 1367 (*ib.* iii. 69).

(*g*) On 16 Nov. 1378 Sudbury at Gloucester fixed the limit at 8 marks, or 4 marks 'cum cibariis' (victuals), a mark less if no cure (*ib.* iii. 135; *Reg. Brant.* i. 406; *Reg. Wykeham*, ii. 306–7).

(*h*) Michaelmas 1402, petition of the Commons for the strict enforcement of the Act of 1362 (*Rot. Parl.* iii. 501).

To estimate the above, note that an agricultural labourer with a wife and two children would make £4 a year (Rogers, *Six Cents.* 170). The king's dogs cost three farthings each a day (Devon, 163). In 1380 a London guardian found that his ward cost him £3 6*s.* 8*d.* a year (*Mem. Lond.* 447).

III. One result of appropriation was the growth in the number of regulars ordained for parish work. Bund, in his *Reg. Sed. Vac. Worc.* pp. xlviii f., shows that in the diocese of Worcester the regulars in parish work exceeded the seculars. Cf. *Reg. Giffard*, i. p. cvi.

IV. One factor in the lowering of salaries has not, I think, ever been pointed out. By a decree of the Lateran Council in 1179 bishops ordaining a deacon or priest must satisfy themselves that he had a 'convenient stipend', unless indeed he had sufficient from his 'paternal inheritance'. If not, the bishop was responsible, unless the ordinand could prove that he had a title to a living or 30*s.* or 40*s.* a year of his own. The details of this financial liability are all entered in the registers. This insistence would reduce salary in two ways: (1) the 'paternal title' would reduce insistence on a living wage; (2) where no 'paternal title' the bishop in self-defence would fix a low minimum (see Bund, *op. cit.* pt. iv, Introd. pp. xiv–xvi, who, however, fails to realize the economic results).

APPENDIX P

THE FOUR JOHN WELLS

THERE are four John Wells or Wellys, who must be distinguished.

(1) John Wells of Ramsay. For whom, see *D. N. B.*

(2) John Well—the usual form—a Franciscan who had ' studied theology at Exeter, London, and Oxford '. After lecturing on the *Sentences* at London he secured at Avignon a licence (21 Jan. 1367) to receive his degree in theology after examination by five masters (*Pap. Let.* iv. 61 ; cf. Wadding, viii. 209). Eventually he secured his degree at Florence in Sept. 1368 (*Pap. Let.* iv. 68). On 5 July 1375 bail was taken in £1,000 that he would not depart over seas to prosecute his causes (*Close Ed.* xiv. 237). For the theft of his ' horses, cups, books, money, silver vessels, and divers other goods ' from his ' inn ' in London, see *Pat. Ric.* i. 133 ; printed in full in Little, 311. The stolen goods were found at Cambridge and restored to Well on 22 Feb. 1378.

(3) John Wells or Valeys, a Franciscan, who took a riotous part in the election of Wylliot as chancellor (*supra*, i. 82). Wood, *Univ.* i. 448 ; Little, 175, identifies this Wells with No. 2. But the dates seem to me to be against it.

(4) John Wells, who took a part in the condemnation of Wyclif's doctrines in 1410 (Wood, *Univ.* i. 546 ; Salter in *Snappe*, 100), and who was a noted orator at Constance (Wood, i. 560). See *supra*, p. 366.

APPENDIX Q

RALPH STRODE

I. *Strode the Thomist.* That Strode was a fellow of Merton before 1360 sufficiently disproves the romance of Dempster, 596, that he was a Scots monk of Dryburgh. This was further expanded by Quétif, i. 666*a*, into Strode becoming a Dominican who travelled through Germany, Italy, and the Holy Land, ' violently disputing against the dogmas of Wyclif '.

Strode's *Consequentiae* has often been printed, first at Padua in 1477, then at Venice in 1481, 1484, 1488, 1493. All these editions had a commentary thereon of Alexander Sermoneta, and the 1493 edition, printed at the expense of a Scot, a citizen of Modena, also

contained Strode's *Obligationes* and the *Consequentiae* of Richard of Ferabrich. The Venice 1517 edition also contained the *Consequentiae Tisberi*, i.e. of Wm. Heytisbury (*supra*, i. 64). Other commentaries on Strode were also printed, showing his favour in the Italian schools. The *Obligationes* were also printed at Pavia in 1494. (See Hain, ii. 15093–100; corrected by Coppinger, *Suppl.* i. 451, and further corrected by Reichling, i. 196, iii. 190, vi. 160. Bale, *Index Script.* 389, cf. Tanner, 697, needs correcting.)

II. *Strode the Lawyer.* The identification of poet, Thomist, and lawyer has been urged by I. Gollancz, first in *D. N. B.*, then in his editions of the works, *The Pearl*, eds. 1891, 1921, and facsimile E. E. T. S. 1922. [For other editions, see C. G. Osgood (1906), and G. G. Coulton's verse rendering, 1906. *Patience*, a homilectic paraphrase of Jonah by R. Morris (E. E. T. S.) in 1864; by H. Bateson, 1912, who rejects the Strode theory; by I. Gollancz, 1913. *Cleanness*, ed. Gollancz, 1922. *Sir Gawayne*, eds. 1839, 1869, 1897, 1912 with large literature (Wells, 770). *Sir Erkenwald*, ed. Gollancz, 1922.] On the other side, J. T. Brown in *Scottish Antiquary*, 1897, who holds that Strode the poet is a mistake in Bale for David Rate, confessor of James I of Scotland and vicar of the Dominicans, to whom in Ashmole MS. 61 there is ascribed an *Itin. Terrae Sanctae.* It should also be noticed that Bale, *Index Script.* 334, 389, differentiates Ralph Strode the poet from 'Robert, whom the Italians call Rodolph Strode', the logician, though in *Script. Cat.* i. 477, he calls both Radulphus. On the whole subject, see also Wells, c. 15, and the strong opposition of Professor Carleton Brown in *Publications of Modern Language Assoc. of America*, vol. xix (1904).

Strode the lawyer (whose will was proved in 1387 but is now missing from Somerset House) was sworn in as 'Communis Narrator', Common Pleader or Common Sergeant (Riley, *Mun. Gild.* i. 310), on 25 Nov. 1373 (Sharpe, *Letter-Book G*, 317; *Close Rolls*, xiv. 26). In Dec. 1382 his resignation was reported. Driven from office by John of Northampton he had been replaced by John Reche (*Letter-Book H*, 180, 208). There was a Robert Strode, mercer, with a son Ralph who in 1387 claimed the freedom of the city by patrimony (*ib.* 310). Possibly the two were brother and nephew of our Ralph. The grant to Strode of the Aldgate house, originally for period of office (Riley, *Mem. Lond.* 388; *Letter-Book H*, 15), was made for life 4 Nov. 1377 (*ib.* 83), but on the triumph of Northampton was cancelled (*ib.* 208). On the return of Northampton's rivals Strode was granted a pension of 4 marks in lieu, evidently the rent of the

house (*ib.* 245, 31 July 1384; cf. *ib.* 287–8. On 23 May 1386 Strode was made standing counsel for the city for seven years at a salary of 20 marks (*ib.* 288). Grants of residence over London gates were common (Riley, *Mem. Lond.* 127, 136), but were made illegal on 29 Sept. 1386 (*ib.* 489; *Letter-Book H*, 290).

APPENDIX R

BROADGATES HALL

(1) THERE seem to have been seven Broadgates Halls, full details of which are collected in Macleane, 27–8. One of these, originally called Borouwaldescote Inn, appears at one time to have belonged to St. John's Hospital, and possessed a chapel to which was attached the privilege of sanctuary (Wood, *City*, i. 81–2). But its name of Broadgates Hall was not given until 1426 (Hurst, 176).

(2) The second was a tenement belonging to Osney somewhere opposite All Souls gateway, at one time inhabited by scholars, but at this date inhabited by illuminators (Wood, *City*, i. 135; Hurst, 186).

(3) A third Broadgates, often called Hunsingore Inn from a certain clerk (fl. 1317) who made great additions to it (Wood, *City*, i. 140–1), also possessed a chapel and was "an eminent receptacle for scholars".

(4) The fourth Broadgates Hall was also called Segrim Hall from the very ancient burgher Saxon family of that name (on whom, see Macleane, c. 1). It was chiefly inhabited by lawyers (Wood, *City*, i. 564–5), and is undoubtedly the hall to which Repingdon would repair. For its site, see Hurst, 36–7, and for details of its development, Macleane, cc. 3 and 4. The refectory of Broadgates still survives. Until 1847 it was the dining-hall of Pembroke, and is now the library (Macleane, 36; and for view, *ib.* 432). See also Skelton.

(5) The fifth, which belonged to Copin the Jew of Worcester, was obtained by William Burnell and called Burnell's Inn. In 1307 it was given to Balliol. See *supra*, i. 73. The other two 'Broadgates' were small and insignificant, but dated from 1220 and 1362 (Macleane, Nos. 1 and 3).

APPENDIX S

THE PEASANTS' RISING

I. The student, anxious to pursue this matter, is recommended to read André Réville and C. Petit-Dutaillis, *Le Soulèvement des Travailleurs d'Angleterre en 1381* (Paris, 1898); C. Oman, *The Great Revolt of 1381* (1906), somewhat severely criticized in *Eng. Hist. Rev.* xxii. 161 f.; E. Powell, *The Rising in E. Anglia in 1381* (1896); G. M. Trevelyan, *England in the Age of Wycliffe*, c. 6 (the best chapter in the book); C. Petit-Dutaillis, *Studies and Notes supplementary to Stubbs* (1914), ii. 252–304. There is a valuable series of documents in E. Powell and G. M. Trevelyan, *The Peasants' Rising and the Lollards* (1899). We may add G. Kriehn, *Studies in the Sources of the Social Revolt of 1381* in *Amer. Hist. Rev.* vii. For other articles, &c., especially on the economic side, see *infra*. To the usual chroniclers, which need to be read, especially Froissart, ii. cc. 107–9, with caution, there should be added an anonymous French chronicle first published by G. M. Trevelyan in *Eng. Hist. Rev.* xiii. 509 f., and called by him *The Anonimal Chronicle of St. Mary's, York*, A translation is given in Oman, 186–205. There is much material in *Pat. Ric.* ii. For a survey of the social condition of the peasants, see A. Réville, *Les paysans au moyen-âge* (Paris, 1896), or G. G. Coulton, *The Medieval Village* (1926), a work published since my chapter was in print.

II. The theory (p. 226, *supra*) first put forward by Blomefield, *Norfolk*, iii. 105, and in detail by Thorold Rogers, first in 1866 in his *Hist. Prices*, i. 81–2, then in 1884 in *Six Cents.* 251–5, accepted by Stubbs, ii. 476–7, was the favourite theory until overthrown by the researches of F. W. Maitland, *History of a Cambridgeshire Manor*, in *Eng. Hist. Rev.* ix. 417–39, Réville (xxiii f., especially xxxiii–v), and the painstaking studies of T. W. Page, *End of Villeinage in England* (German ed. 1897, Eng. 1900), especially p. 47. See also E. P. Cheyney, *Disappearance of English Serfdom*, in *Eng. Hist. Rev.* xv. 20 ff. Page's statistics were, however, taken mainly from the south-east of England where commutation was slower. In 1914 they were criticized by H. L. Gray in *Eng. Hist. Rev.* xxix. 625–56, in an article on "The Commutation of Villein Services in England before the Black Death". Gray showed that commutation had proceeded very unequally in England; in the north commutation was almost complete, in the midlands less so, in the

south and east there were left considerable services on half the manors, in Kent none. As his evidence is chiefly from Inquisitions post mortem some of it may be questioned, but his main conclusion is probably sound. The latest study is by Miss Levett, *The Black Death* (1916), to which frequent reference is made in the notes of this chapter. She concludes that the Black Death had no permanent effect on rural organization. Rogers's theory has been recently revived by the Petrograd professor, Petrushevsky (*Eng. Hist. Rev.* xvii. 780–2), and accepted by A. F. Pollard, *Factors in Modern History* (1907), 137. On the other hand, the studies of Page led Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce* (1905), i. 397 *n.*, to withdraw his previous support.

APPENDIX T

THE XXIV CONCLUSIONS

As these Conclusions are of great importance for the study of both Wyclif and Hus, I append a translation in full.

I. The following ten were deemed 'heretical':

1. That the substance of material bread and wine doth remain in the sacrament of the altar after consecration.
2. That the 'accidents' do not remain without the 'subject' in the same sacrament after consecration.
3. That Christ is not in the sacrament of the altar identically, truly, and really in His proper corporeal person.
4. That if a bishop or a priest be in mortal sin, he doth not ordain, consecrate the elements (*conficit*), nor baptize.
5. That if a man be duly contrite, all outer confession is for him superfluous and invalid.
6. The persistent assertion (*item, pertinaciter asserere*) that it hath no foundation in the Gospel that Christ did ordain the Mass.
7. That God ought to obey the devil.
8. That if the pope, according to the Divine foreknowledge (*quod si papa sit praescitus*), be an evil man, and consequently a member of the devil, he hath no power over the faithful of Christ given to him by any, unless, peradventure, by the emperor.
9. That after Urban VI none other is to be received for pope, but that Christendom ought to live after the manner of the Greeks under its own laws.
10. The assertion that it is contrary to Holy Scripture that ecclesiastical persons should have temporal possessions.

II. The following fourteen were regarded as 'erroneous and against the decision of the Church':

11. That no prelate ought to excommunicate any man except he first know him to be excommunicated by God.

12. That he who doth so excommunicate is thereby himself a heretic or excommunicated.

13. That a bishop excommunicating a cleric who hath appealed to the king or (*et*) to the council of the realm, in so doing is a traitor to God, the king, and the realm.

14. That they who cease to preach or to hear the word of God or the preached gospel, for fear of the excommunication of men, are already excommunicate, and in the day of judgement shall be held traitors to God.

15. The assertion that it is lawful for any deacon or presbyter to preach the word of God without the authority of the Apostolic See, or of a Catholic bishop, or of other recognized authority (*seu alia de qua sufficienter constet*).

16. The assertion that no man is a civil lord, a bishop, or prelate, whilst he is in mortal sin.

17. That temporal lords may at will withdraw their temporal goods from ecclesiastics habitually delinquent; or that the commonalty (*populares*) may at will correct delinquent lords (*dominos*).

18. That tithes are pure alms, and that parishioners may, on account of the sins of their curates, detain them and bestow them on others at pleasure.

19. That special prayers, applied to any one person by prelates or religious men, do no more profit the same person than general prayers would, *caeteris paribus*, profit him.

20. Moreover, in that any man doth enter into any private religion whatsoever, he is thereby made more unapt and unable to observe the commandments of God.

21. That holy men who have instituted any private religions whatsoever, both possessioners and mendicants, in so instituting did err.

22. That the religious living in private religions are not of the Christian faith.

23. That friars are bound to obtain their living by the labour of their hands, and not by begging.

24. That whosoever doth give any alms unto friars, or to any friar that preacheth, is excommunicate; as also is he that taketh.

APPENDIX U

THE CONSTITUTIONS OF OXFORD

(a) For these *Constitutions*, see Wilkins, iii. 314–19 (Eng. trans. in Foxe, iii. 242–8), or Mansi, xxvi. 1031–46. *Eulog. Cont.* iii. 412 is very confused. For the 6th and 11th, see also Salter, *Snappe*, 115–17.

(b) *The date of the synod* was 27 Nov. 1407, as Wilkins, iii. 306; Wake, 346, followed by Lyte, 280, *Vict. Co. Hants*, ii. 45; James,

MSS. Corpus, i. 170; Deanesly, 400, and not 1408 as Rashdall, ii. 432; Lechler, 456; Pratt in Foxe, iii. 822; Wood, *Univ.* i. 544; Mansi, xxvi. 1046 ("according to the inscription of a Paris edition which we have followed"); Leclercq-Hefele, vi. 1448; cf. *Eulog. Cont.* iii. 412. In Wood, *Univ.* i. 526, by a blunder dated in 1394. Arundel as chancellor was certainly at Oxford on 5, 8, 10 Dec. 1407, for patents are so dated (*Cal. Pat. Hen.* iii. 367, 391, 417, 477).

(c) *Lyndwood's Interpretations.* See *supra*, p. 194.

For Lyndwood, see *D. N. B.* and F. W. Maitland, *Canon Law in the Church of England* (1898), *passim.* For a volume with Creed, Paternoster, and theological notes that belonged to him when a fellow of Pembroke, Camb., see James, *MSS. Caius*, 370. As Lyndwood's *Provinciale* is somewhat rare, and the passage quoted is of great importance, I give it in full (*Prov.* 286).

Libri. Sc. de novo compilandi. Secus si hoc fiat per modum sermonis publici, exponendo textum in lingua vulgari. Et quod dicit *per viam Libri* intelligere potes sic, videlicet, ut inde conficiat Librum continentem tota Biblia. Appellatione namque Libri simpliciter sumpti continetur Liber completus et integer, et non secundum numerales partes, prout saepius unum volumen dividitur in plures Libros, ut patet in Bibliis . . . ut scil. unum Librum particularem textus Bibliorum transferat. Nam talis particularis translatio poterit dici Libellus ut sequitur.

Aut tractatus. Sic videlicet, quod de dictis doctorum, vel propriis, aliquem tractatum componat applicando textum sacrae Scripturae, et illius sensum transferendo in Anglicum vel aliud idioma. Et eodem modo potest intelligi, quod dicit de Libro sive Libello, ut scil. textum sacrae Scripturae in tali Libro vel Libello applicet, et textum ipsum transferat in aliud idioma.

Noviter. Et ex hoc quod dicit *noviter compositus*, apparet, quod Libros, Libellos vel Tractatus in Anglicis, vel alio idiomate prius translatos de textu Scripturae legere non est prohibitum.

Lyndwood thus lays down that *libri* equals whole Bible, *libelli* any particular books, and *tractatus* a treatise applying and translating the text of Scripture.

The importance of Lyndwood lies in the fact that, whether his interpretation be right or wrong—viewed merely as a translation it is far from the obvious one—as the chief canonist of Canterbury and Oxford, it would be the translation that ruled, as lollards found to their cost.

The *Provinciale* was printed at Oxford in 1483 (Madan, 3), also at Westminster by Caxton and Wynkyn de Worde in 1496, reprinted in 1499, 1508, 1517, 1529, &c. (see *D. N. B.*), and an English translation was published by Redman in 1534 entitled *Constitutions Provincialls*. It is usually quoted from the Oxford edition of 1679.

(d) *Lyndwood on the Fourfold Interpretation of Scripture.*

Expos. sacrae Scripturae. Scilicet historice, tropologice, allegorice et anagogice. Allegoria est credendorum, tropologia est amandorum, anagogia sperandorum. Unde sensui allegorice respondet Fides, sensui tropologico Charitas, sensui anagogico Spes (*Prov.* 284).

APPENDIX W

RICHARD FLEMING

For Fleming, see *D. N. B.* But as Fleming is of great importance for Oxford (Lincoln College) I add one or two matters.

I. *Family of.* See the full statement in *Vict. Co. Lanc.* vi. 92; *Test. Ebor.* ii. 230, which supplants the meagre Baines, *Lanc.* iv. 120. There is a pedigree of the family in Jos. Foster, *Visitations of Yorks.* (1875), 358, from which it would appear that his father was Sir Thomas Fleming. For the family arms, see *Vict. Co. Lanc.* vi. 93. In Wood, *Coll.* 234; Tanner, 286, Fleming is assigned to Croston, which Wood states as in Yorkshire. From *Lanc. Inq.* iii. 6–7, it appears that in 1325 John Fleming let his manor of Wath to Michael de Wath for life and three years after Michael's death, but retained Clifton near Wakefield worth 20 marks, the moiety of Croston, Co. Lancs., worth 10 marks, the manor of Dalton by one rose yearly, &c. The Wath in question is not the Wath near Ripon, as Wylie, *Hen. IV*, iii. 434 *n.*; see *Vict. Co. Yorks.* (*N. R.*), i. 392–3, and cf. Fletcher, *Picturesque Yorks.* iii. 16, who goes too far in saying he was born at Wakefield. For the Flemings of Wath, probably from the name of Flemish origin, see also J. Hunter, *S. Yorkshire* (1831), ii. 64–7. The family lived there until the Reformation, when their lands passed to Savile of Wath. Was Nicholas Fleming, for whom Boniface IX made provision to the see of Armagh in April 1404 (*Pap. Let.* vi. 5), of the same family? For the bishop's nephew, Robert Fleming, see Tanner, 287; Bale, i. 595–6. He was one of the English precursors of the Renaissance, living for the most part in Italy. He was buried at Lincoln in the chantry of his uncle.

II. For the account of Fleming by a contemporary, the Carthusian Stone, see *Snappe*, 138–44. It contains also his epitaph, for which see also Wood, *Coll.* 235. Salter, in *Snappe*, 95, dates his M.A. in 1402, " because a proctor was generally a master of five or six years' standing ". I have followed Boase, *Exet.* p. lxvii *n.*, where he pays 6*s.* 8*d.* for the rent of the schools in 1408. He was still only a B.D. in 1414 (*Snappe*, 184).

APPENDIX Y

CHANCELLOR THOMAS PRESSBURY

On 6 Apr. 1399 orders were given for the arrest of Pressbury, a monk of St. Peter's, Shrewsbury, with orders that he be brought to Westminster (*Pat. Ric.* vi. 584). He was arrested probably as a partisan of Lancaster, and on Henry's seizing the power, assent was given on 17 Aug. to his election as abbot (*ib.* vi. 592). He was readmitted to the abbey on 4 Sept. (Owen and Blakeway, *Hist. Shrewsbury*, ii. 121) and the temporalities restored on 7 Sept. (*Pat. Ric.* vi. 594). Before the battle of Shrewsbury he was used by Henry to offer terms to the rebels (Walsingham, ii. 257), and on 20 May 1405 Henry further showed his favour by exempting his abbey from all tenths during his lifetime (*Pat. Hen.* iii. 22). That Pressbury had been elected chancellor in 1409 (Wood, *Fasti*, 38) is evident also from *Pat. Hen.* iv. 190 (12 March 1410). Pressbury, who in 1409 was given charge of the vacant see of St. Asaph (Wylie, *Hen. IV*, ii. 12), died before 23 July 1426 (*Pat. Hen.* i. 345 ; Owen and Blakeway are thus in error in supposing that he survived until 1432). That Pressbury was chancellor in 1393 (Wood, *Fasti*, 34, who miscalls him ' abbot ') is probably a misdate (see *Pat. Ric.* v. 588). For other details in his life see Wilkins, iii. 308, 310 ; Wood, *Univ.* i. 557 (misdated 1413).

APPENDIX Z

PURVEY'S SCHEME OF DISENDOWMENT

(1) Until the publication by Kingsford, *Chron. Lond.*, in 1905 of the Chronicle in Cotton MS., Julius B. II, the best text of this bill had been in Fabyan, 575, who, however, only gave an imperfect copy with an abstract of the conclusions. Walsingham, ii. 282,

translated the first paragraph only. Otterbourne, 267–8, noticed the proposal briefly, and says that it was vetoed by Prince Henry and the king. A fuller statement is in the pamphlet distributed by Jack Sharpe in 1431 (Amundesham, *Ann.* i. 453–6). Sharpe's statement agrees closely with the bill as printed in Kingsford, 65–7, up to the conclusions. These, however, differ considerably in form, and omit the founding of fifteen new universities. The differences of the three texts are clearly pointed out by Kingsford, 295–6.

I have attributed the scheme to Purvey. See *supra*, p. 397. Thence it was 'drawn out of Purvey's books more at large' from a certain 'tractatu speciali' by Richard Lavenham (*supra*, p. 166) in a tract printed in *Ziz.* 383–99, especially 393 (cf. Foxe, iii. 286–92, espec. 290). Purvey's statement is further expanded in a MS. of Titus Livius Forojuliensis, *Life of Henry V* in *Parl. Hist.* i. 310. This passage is not in the MS. used by Hearne in his printed edition (Wylie, *Hen. IV*, iii. 310 *n.*). From Fabyan it passed to Stow, *Chron.* 339. The scepticism of Waugh in *Eng. Hist. Rev.* xx. 440, who deemed presentation to parliament as either the "gross exaggeration" or "sheer invention" of Walsingham, is thus not justified. Shakespeare's use of it in *Henry V*, Act 1, Sc. i, is well known.

The date given in Kingsford, *op. cit.* 65, is 1407; more correctly in 1410, as Kingsford, 295, Walsingham, Fabyan, and Otterbourne, and in the unprinted Longleat MS. Chronicle (Flenley, 58).

Walsingham, ii. 282, pointed out that the lollards could not justify their balance sheet. Their income worked out at 342,000 marks, not 322,000 as stated, and their proposed expenses to 453,000. In Sharpe's bill a better budget was struck by reducing earls to 1,000 marks and squires to £20, and estimating the income at 332,000 marks. Kingsford points out that in the original scheme a balance is struck by reading for each squire 'xl.', i. e. £10, instead of 'xl marks' (*l. c.* 296), and bringing into the account the £100,000 thus saved. Income and expenditure then work out at 482,000 marks.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

Vol. i. p. 40. From *Cal. Fine Rolls*, vi. 193, we learn that Roger de Wycliffe was one of the collectors of the subsidy for the North Riding in September 1349. The collectors failed to do anything in the matter, probably because of the Black Death, and were warned in April 1350 (*ib.*, vi. 222). Roger was again appointed in January 1353 (*ib.*, vi. 375). We may infer that he died shortly after this date.

i. p. 44. On 20th May and 30th May 1368 Wyclif undertook mainprise for sundry persons in Yorkshire, including John de Clervaux (*Cal. Fine Rolls*, vii. 384).

i. p. 45. On 30th June 1372 and 16th February 1373 Robert Wyclif undertook mainprise for lands at Sprotton, and for lands of an alien abbot in Bucks (*ib.*, viii. 175). We must therefore date his legal career earlier than is given, *supra*, i. 46, n. 6.

i. p. 101. Philargi or Philaretus was the only Oxford man who ever became pope. He was born about 1340 at Candia in Crete, and told his cardinals that he had ' never known father or mother '. Picked up by the Franciscans he was trained at Norwich, then Oxford, where he took his B.D. in 1370 (*Eulog. Cont.*, iii. 415 ; Gascoigne, 161 ; Little, 249 n. ; Niem, *Schis.*, 320), at a time when Wyclif was reading for his doctorate. In 1378 he read the *Sentences* in Paris, a course finished in 1380 (*Chart. Par.*, iii. 302 n. ; for his doctorate, September 1381, iii. 359 § 52). Entering the service of the Visconti, he became archbishop of Milan, 17th May 1402, and pope, 26th June 1409, dying suddenly at Bologna, 3rd May 1410 (Eubel, i. 25, 31, 348). For his works see Little, 249–50.

For Easton see Poole in *D.N.B.* Easton is said to have translated the Hebrew Bible into Latin, except the Psalter (Bale, i. 517 ; *Index* 4). This has not yet been identified (James, *MSS. Corpus*, i. 420). To this Easton added a preface. In the early sixteenth century a copy of this work was in the possession of Robert Wakefield, but was stolen by a Carmelite friar, together with ' two parts of a Chaldaic dictionary or lexicon ' (Wakefield, in his rare *Syntagma de Heb. Codicum Incorruptione*, ? 1530, H ii d).

i. p. 183. Easton had been sent by Urban V to Edward III on 3rd May 1368 to obtain an inhibition against the English free lances in Italy (*Pap. Let.*, iv. 27). He returned, however, with Langham, February 1369.

i. p. 213. Since the printing of the main text the publication of Sir J. H. Ramsay's *Revenues of the Kings of England* (2 vols., 1925) enables us to see how gross was the exaggeration of the Good Parlia-

ment in its comparison of the revenues of pope and king. It would appear (*op. cit.*, ii. 292) that the total royal revenue for 1376 is not known. But for 1374 it was £222,325, and in 1368 actually reached the figure of £253,000. Ramsay (ii. 294) gives a useful table of clerical subsidies. A tenth worked out at about £18,000.

i. p. 268. For a clear account of the ' petty custom ', levied only on aliens, see Ramsay, *op. cit.*, ii. 280 f.

i. p. 335. Wyclif's Philosophical Works. An American scholar, Rev. Dr. S. H. Thompson, has kindly sent me the following results of his studies at Prague. They confirm the scepticism expressed, *supra*, i. 333, regarding the authorship of the *de Universalibus*.

" As to the tractates published by the Wyclif Society in the two volumes of *Miscellanea Philosophica*, a sort of Olla Podrida, there are these corrections to be made :

Out of the ten separate tracts, two are by Wyclif, and no more—*De Actibus Anime*, called by Wyclif himself *De Anima*, and *De Materia et Forma*. The rest are an almost hopeless muddle. The *De Universalibus* is by Stanislas of Znoymo. The following is the manuscript proof. There are five copies of the work in Prague, viz :

Univ. Prag.	773 (IV. H. 9) acephalous.
	1536 (VIII. E. 11) *M. Stanislai de Znojma Universalia realia.*
	1605 (VIII. G. 23) *M. Stanislai Universalia.*
Metrop. Chapter Lib.	1279 acephalous.
	1448 acephalous.

That is to say, in *none* of the extant codices is this tractate assigned to Wyclif, and wherever it is assigned to any one it is assigned to Stanislas of Znoymo.

The *Replicacio de Universalibus* is by an unknown opponent of Stanislas. This is also moderate Realism. He differs from Stanislas on definitions. It is the fourth of a series of polemics. First is Stanislas' *De Universalibus*, then comes this opponent's answer, then Stanislas' answer to that, and then the *Replicacio*.

The *De Materia* (ii. 170 ff.) is, I feel sure, by Hus himself. I have prepared for publication, with Professor Novotný, Hus' *Questio* which has the same incipit as this. It sticks much better to the question proposed than the one printed in the *Misc. Phil.*, which wanders off into a discussion of Universals in general (cf. top of f. 173), in answer to a discussion by Stephen of Paleč, " Utrum universalia solum nude pure habeant esse ydeale in esse mente divina." Paleč's *Questio* is preserved in one MS. in the Metropolitan Chapter Library, viz. 1996, f. 103 ff.

As to the fragmenta and *Notae et Questiones Variae* it is hard to say anything definite. It is hard to open a manuscript of the period

without finding such Questiones: they fill page after page of perfectly good paper and vellum that might be used for something else. There was absolutely no reason whatever for putting these particular ones in a volume purporting to contain Wycliffian treatises."

I may add that Stanislas was at one time the leader of the reform party in Bohemia, but with Paleč turned against Hus. (See Workman, *Age of Hus*, pp. 145, 180–2.)

i. p. 342. Dr. S. H. Thomson points out to me that the *Sermones* are probably not by Peraldus, for the writer often refers to Peraldus. Dr. Thomson adds that the still unpublished works of Wyclif would fill seven or eight volumes of the size of the *de Eucharistia*.

ii. p. 29. Wyclif could not know, probably few would know, the great cost of 'building a tower', &c., at Calais, Cherbourg, and other forts. Calais alone swallowed up in 1380 over £19,000, and in 1399 £25,000 (Ramsay, *op. cit.*, ii. 306, 428), i. e. more than a clerical tenth.

ii. p. 94 n. Add also the excellent new work by R. H. Snape, *English Monastic Finances* (1926).

ii. c. vii, § i. The publication of G. G. Coulton's *The Medieval Village* (1925) was too late for me to make any use of it in my text. For fuller study of the social background in the village in Wyclif's time it is indispensable. Coulton furnishes also the justification of Wyclif's teaching; its extreme statements were to some extent a protest against wrongs that were also extreme. The reader should note Coulton's dictum in his examination in c. xiii on "The Chances of Liberation", that "Only one well-known medieval philosopher, I believe, takes the opposite view, and that is the heretic John Wyclif" (*op. cit.*, p. 155), i. e. opposite to the view that the justification of serfdom is based on the Bible, on Aristotle, &c. Chapter xii, "Monks and Serfs', chapter xviii, "Church Estimate of the Peasant", chapter xix, "Religious Education", are of special importance For heriots and mortuaries (*supra*, ii. 230) see Coulton's full account, pp. 448–64; for 'leyrwite' (*supra*, ii. 230 n.), Coulton, pp. 477–8; for the sale of wives (*supra*, i. 196), Coulton, pp. 250, 524.

ii. p. 391. Dymok's work was published in 1922 for the Wyclif Society by H. S. Cronin.

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N.B. This Index is mainly confined to names and works. For subjects the reader should consult the Table of Contents.

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